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PREFACE.

WITHIN the last twenty-five years historical criticism has made nowhere greater advances than in the history of Rome. Aside from a more careful and critical examination of the ancient authors, many other departments of study bearing directly or indirectly on Roman history have within that period been begun and pursued with the most gratifying results. Great progress has been made in the study of comparative philology and that of the Italian dialects.[1] The inscriptions[2] for the time of the republic and the empire, as well as those in the provinces and in the city of Rome itself, have been collected and edited, and they have served in very many cases to correct or supplement the statements of ancient writers. The excavations[3] that have been made at Rome and Pompeji[4] have settled many disputed questions of topography and brought to light inscriptions[5] that have added to our knowledge of the manners and customs and private life of the Romans. In fact, within twenty-five years the whole subject of Roman history has been reviewed in the light of these accessory means of information, and very important contributions have been added to our knowledge of the regal period and the early republic,[6] of the internal history in the time of the republic,[7] of the organization of the senate and the popular assemblies,[8] of the conquest of Italy and the manner in which the subject states

[1] Those of Lower Italy, edited by Mommsen in 1850: the Sabellian and Oscan, by Huschke in 1856, and the Etruscan and Oscan, by Corssen in 1874.
[2] Edited by Ritschl, Mommsen, Henzen, and others, 1863-74.
[3] Begun by Canina, but soon discontinued; resumed by the Italian government, under the supervision of Pietro Rosa, in 1871.
[4] Overbeck.
[5] Used by Dr. Henzen and Jordan, the first part of the first volume of whose work on Roman topography appeared in 1878.
[6] Mommsen, Lange, Schwegler, Clason, Rubino, Peter, and Ihne.
[7] Drumann, Mommsen, and Lange.
[8] Mommsen, Lange, and Rubino.

were governed,[1] of the influence of oriental conquests and of Hellenism on the Roman character,[2] of Grecian philosophy and the Roman religion,[3] of the provincial system[4] and the military organization,[5] of the history of the empire,[6] the revival of the study of philosophy,[7] the influx of oriental forms of worship, the revival of Paganism and the spread of Christianity. In short, all who have busied themselves with the subject are aware how valuable and interesting the contributions to Roman history have been, and how few of them have found their way into our school-books on that subject. The aim of the present volume is to treat Roman history in the light of the most recent investigations, and to present the results so far as they have been unanimously accepted by scholars in a form suitable for school instruction.

The various subjects have been worked up after a careful and critical study of the original as well as the latest and best modern authorities. Besides a general obligation to many works on Roman history and antiquities, I am especially indebted to the published works and the private instruction of Professors Ludwig Lange and Georg Voigt, of the University of Leipsic.

Statements have often been substantiated by notes and references to ancient and modern authorities, but the object in these cases was more to suggest the means for additional reading and investigation than to introduce scientific information.

The book has been prepared on the theory that history is something more than mere biography and the records of battles; that it ought to set forth the connection of events, showing how each was the product of what preceded and the cause of what followed; that it deals with the inner life of the people; that its aim is, as it were, "to penetrate into the workshop of the national mind and watch the operations

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[1] Mommsen and Marquardt.
[2] Mommsen and Ihne.
[3] Preller.
[4] Zumpt, Mommsen, Madvig, and others.
[5] Rüstow, Göler, Lange, Marquardt, and others.
[6] Walter, Kuhn, Rudorff, and Mommsen's edition of the Monumentum Ancyranum, 1865.
[7] Friedländer.

going on there." Hence an unusual amount of space for a book of this kind has been devoted to the study of the internal government, the inner life, the religion, manners and customs, the influence of foreign conquests and foreign religions, the provincial system, the military organization, military roads, etc. The space for this extra matter has been gained without enlarging the book so as to make it unserviceable for school use, by omitting details of battles and sieges and briefly indicating the results—a plan that was made possible without detracting from the value of the book, by the use of engravings, plans and maps.

The summaries have been prepared with a great deal of care, and although they have added somewhat to the size of the book, it is hoped that they will be found serviceable. If we leave the summaries, the space occupied by maps, engravings and notes, the chapter on military organization, which will be mainly for reference, except for advanced classes, and the chapter on manners and customs, out of consideration, the narrative is brought within the moderate compass of three hundred pages.

Many interesting topographical details of the ancient city have been introduced, illustrated by maps, modified to correspond with what we have learned from the excavations.

The whole book is amply illustrated with maps (mostly from Spruner's and Kiepert's Atlases), plans and numerous engravings selected from Becker, Guhl and Koner, and others.

The table of contents gives a complete analysis of the whole work. It is so arranged that it suggests topics as well as questions for examination and review, and affords a full chronological index of the whole volume.

R F. L.

Brooklyn, N. Y., *March, 1879.*

For convenience of reference or for special study of Roman history and antiquities the following list of the best modern authorities is subjoined:

Abeken, Life and Letters of Cicero 1854
(Translated by Merivale.)

Arnold, History of Rome 1846-1849
(To the Second Punic War.)

Brückner, Leben d. Ciceros 1852
(Very valuable.)

Bryce, J., Holy Roman Empire 1870
(The author has availed himself of the best German authorities.)

Becker, W. A., Gallus, or Roman Scenes of the Time of Augustus, with Notes and Excurses illustrative of the manners and customs of the Romans 1847

De Coulanges, The Ancient City; a study on the Religion, Laws, and Institutions of Greece and Rome. (Trans. by W. Small; a work of great value, as giving the view of the ancients of their own institutions.) 1877

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A biographical history of the Fall of the Republic.
(A copious citation of authorities.)

Dyer, Kings of Rome 1868
(Written mainly from the old standpoint; to be used with care.)

Forsyth, Life of Cicero 1863
(Popular, but prepared with discrimination and care.)

Friedländer, L., Sittengeschichte Roms, 2 vols 1873
(Indispensable; it covers the time from Augustus to the last Antonine.)

Froude, Cæsar, a sketch 1879

Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Empire, 8 vols 1854

Guhl & Koner, Life of the Greeks and Romans 1874
(Very valuable.)

Hultsch, F., Griech. und Röm. Metrologie 1862
(The latest and best.)

Ihne, History of Rome, 3 vols 1871
(This is a very valuable work, although some of the author's views in regard to the early institutions are not accepted.)

Jordan, Topographie d. Stadt Rom im Alterthum 1871
(The second volume containing a list of authorities appeared in 1871; the first part of the first volume, in 1877.)

Kiepert, Atlas Antiquus (12 maps, with index) 1877

Lange, L., Röm. Alterthümer, 3 vols 1876
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Marquardt & Mommsen, Handbuch d. Röm. Alterthümer, 6 vols 1871

Mommsen, Roman History, 4 vols 1872
(To the Establishment of the Empire.)

" Gesch. d. Röm. Müntzwesens. (French translation) 1861

" Röm. Forschungen, Vol. I 1864

Niebuhr, History of Rome 1833
(Later researches have modified Niebuhr's theories, still his works are of great value.)

Niebuhr's Lectures, ed. Schmitz (To the Fall of the Empire) 1870

Pauly, Real-Encyclopädie d. class. Alterthümerwissenschaft, 7 vols 1868

Peter, C., Gesch. Roms, 3 vols 1871

" Röm. Zeit-tafeln .....

Preller, Röm. Mythologie .....

Ramsay, Manual of Roman Antiquities 1865
(Not reliable for the early institutions.) 1870

Schwegler, Röm. Gesch., 3 vols; continued by Clason 1873
(To the capture of Rome by the Gauls.)

Smith, Dict. of Grecian and Roman Antiquities and Biographies 1858

Spruner, Atlas Antiquus (27 maps) 1874

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[1] In the first period (from the foundation of the Roman state until the time of Tarquinius Priscus) Italian deities alone were worshipped. The second period extends to nearly the end of the Second Punic War. During this period new forms of worship were introduced; the old patriarchal and priestly character of the constitution gave way before the influence of civilization and intercourse with foreign nations. The third period extended to the time of Augustus. During this time the state religion lost its hold on men's minds.

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LIST OF ROMAN PROVINCES IN A.D. 117.

(ACCORDING TO MARQUARDT.)—*Vide* Map, pp. 492–3.

	Date of Acquisition.	*Administration.*	*Division of these Provinces A.D. 400.*
1. SICILIA	B.C. 241	Senatorial	1. Sicilia.
2. SARDINIA ET CORSICA	B.C. 231	Senatorial, later Imperial.	2. Sardinia. 3. Corsica.
3. HISPANIA TARRACONENSIS OR CITERIOR	B.C. 197	Imperial	4. Tarraconensis. 5. Carthageniensis. 6. Gallæcia et Asturia. 7. Insulæ Baleares.
4. BAETICA OR HISPANIA ULTERIOR	B.C. 197	Senatorial	8. Baetica, to which belong—
5. LUSITANIA	Separated from Hisp. [illegible] B.C. [illegible]	[illegible]	9. Tingitana. 10. Lusitania.
			(xvii Gallic Provinces.)
6. GALLIA NARBONENSIS	B.C. 120	In B.C. 27 Imperial; since B.C. 22 Senatorial.	11. Lugdunensis I. 12. Lugdunensis II. 13. Lugdunensis III. 14. Lugdunensis Senonia. 15. Belgica I.
7. AQUITANIA	Conquered in B.C. 50; reduced to Provinces A.D. 17.	Imperial.	16. Belgica II.
8. LUGDUNENSIS		Imperial.	17. Germania I.
9. BELGICA		Imperial.	18. Germania II.
10. GERMANIA SUPERIOR	A.D. 17.	Imperial.	19. Maxima Sequanorum.
11. GERMANIA INFERIOR	A.D. 17.	Imperial.	20. Alpes Grajæ et Pœninæ.
12. ALPES MARITIMÆ	A.D. 14.	Imperial.	21. Viennensis.
13. ALPES COTTIÆ	Under Nero.	Imperial.	22. Aquitanica I.
14. ALPES PŒNINÆ	In 2d century.	Imperial.	23. Aquitanica II.
			24. Novempopulana.
			25. Narbonensis I.
			26. Narbonensis II.
			27. Alpes Maritimæ.
15. BRITANNIA	A.D. 43.	Imperial	28. Maxima Cæsariensis. 29. Flavia Cæsariensis. 30. Britannia I. 31. Britannia II. 32. Valentia.
16. RHÆTIA	B.C. 15.	Imperial	33. Rhætia I. 34. Rhætia II.
17. NORICUM	B.C. 15.	Imperial	35. Noricum Mediterraneum. 36. Noricum Ripense.
18. PANNONIA SUPERIOR	A.D. 10; divided under Trajan	Imperial	37. Pannonia I. 38. Pannonia II. 39. Savia. 40. Valeria.
19. PANNONIA INFERIOR			
20. ILLYRICUM, later DALMATIA	Between B.C. 167 and B.C. 59.	Senatorial, after B.C. 11 Imperial.	41. Dalmatia. 42. Prævalitana.
21. MŒSIA SUPERIOR	B.C. 29; divided under Domitian	Imperial	43. Mœsia I. 44. Dacia Ripensis. 45. Dacia Mediterranea. 46. Dardania.
22. MŒSIA INFERIOR			47. Mœsia II } Annexed to Thrace 48. Scythia }
23. DACIA	A.D. 107	Imperial	Given up by Aurelian (A.D. 270-275).
24. THRACIA	A.D. 46.	Imperial	49. Europa. 50. Thracia. 51. Hæmimontus. 52. Rhodope.
25. MACEDONIA	B.C. 146	Senatorial (from Tiberius to Claudius Imperial).	53. Macedonia I. 54. Macedonia II. 55. Thessalia. 56. Epirus Nova.
26. ACHAJA	B.C. 146. (At first united with Macedonia.)	Senatorial. (A.D. 15–14 Imperial).	57. Achaja.

27. Epirus	Probably after the time of Vespasian	.....	58. Epirus.
28. Asia	B.C. 133	Senatorial	59. Asia Proconsularis. 60. Hellespontus. 61. Lydia. 62. Phrygia Salutaris. 63. Phrygia Pacatiana. 64. Caria. 65. Insularum Provincia.
29. Bithynia et Pontus	B.C. 74; enlarged B.C. 63; again enlarged B.C. 7	Senatorial until A.D. 135; then Imperial.	66. Bithynia. 67. Honorias. 68. Paphlagonia. 69. Helenopontus.
30. Galatia	B.C. 25	Imperial	70. Pontus Polemoniacus. 71. Galatia I. 72. Galatia Salutaris. 73. Lycaonia. 74. Pisidia.
31. Cappadocia	A.D. 17	Imperial	75. Cappadocia I. 76. Cappadocia II. 77. Armenia I. 78. Armenia II.
32. Pamphylia et Lycia	B.C. 25; Lycia annexed to it A.D. 43.	Imperial until A.D. 135, then Senatorial.	79. Pamphylia. 80. Lycia.
33. Cilicia	Cilicia Aspera, conq. B.C. 67; Cilicia Campestris, B.C. 66; org'd B.C. 64.	Imperial	81. Cilicia I. 82. Cilicia II. 83. Isauria.
34. Cyprus	Acquired B.C. 64; organized B.C. 27.	Imperial B.C. 27-22; then Senatorial.	84. Cyprus.
35. Syria	B.C. 64.	Imperial; under Severus divided into— 1. Syria Cœle; 2. Syria Phœnice; 3. Syria Palæstina.	85. Euphratensis. 86. Syria I. 87. Syria II. 88. Phœnicia I. 89. Phœnicia II. 90. Palæstina I. 91. Palæstina II.
36. Arabia	A.D. 105	Imperial	92. Palæstina III. 93. Arabia.
37. Armenia	A.D. 114.	Imperial	(Given up A.D. 117.)
38. Mesopotamia	A.D. 115; given up A.D. 117; conquered again A.D. 165.	Imperial	94. Osrhoene. 95. Mesopotamia.
39. Assyria	A.D. 115	Imperial	(Given up A.D. 117.)
40. Ægyptus	B.C. 30	Imperial	96. Ægyptus. 97. Augustamnica. 98. Heptanomis (Arcadia). 99. Thebais. 100. Libya inferior.
41. Creta et Cyrenaica	Cyrenaica B.C. 74; Creta B.C. 67; united B.C. 27	Senatorial	101. Libya superior. 102. Creta.
42. Africa	B.C. 146	Senatorial	103. Africa Proconsularis.
43. Numidia	Conquered B.C. 46; organized after A.D. 211.	Imperial	104. Byzacena. 105. Tripolitana. 106. Numidia.
44. Mauretania Tingitana	A.D. 40	Imperial	Annexed to Baetica, see No. 4. 107. Mauretania I (Stifensis).
45. Mauretania Cæsariensis		Imperial	108. Mauretania II (Cæsariensis).

TO THE LIST GIVEN ABOVE MUST BE ADDED THE ITALIAN PROVINCES:

109. Venetia et Histria.
110. Æmilia.
111. Liguria.
112. Flaminia et Picenum Annonarium.
113. Tuscia et Umbria.
114. Picenum Suburbicarium.
115. Campania.
116. Apulia et Calabria.
117. Lucania et Bruttii.
118. Samnium.
119. Valeria.
120. Alpes Cottiæ.

INTRODUCTION.

I. THE GEOGRAPHY OF ITALY.

1. Italy in Early Times.—The history of Rome, like that of her great rival, Carthage, is the history of a single city. This city was at first small and insignificant, but in the course of time it extended its dominion not only over Italy, but over the chief countries around the Mediterranean Sea. During all this time, however, Rome remained the centre of the empire, and refused to extend her constitution to the conquered peoples until a terrible war[1] compelled her to grant the rights of citizenship to the whole of Italy. Henceforth Italy, like Rome, was under the authority of the ordinary Roman magistrates, and the citizens, on going to Rome, had a right to vote in the popular assemblies and to take part in the government of the state. It will be well, then, before beginning the history of the city itself, briefly to describe Italy and the several districts into which it was divided.

2. The Divisions of Italy.—Italy, the central one of the three peninsulas of Southern Europe, is bounded on the north by the Alps, on the east by the Adriatic Sea, and on the south and west by the Mediterranean and Tuscan seas. The country may be conveniently divided into Northern, Central, and Southern Italy.

3. Northern Italy.—Northern Italy is watered by the Po (*Padus*) and its numerous tributaries, and embraces the country between the Alps and the Apennines. The names of the districts into which Northern Italy was in ancient times divided may for the sake of convenience be enumerated, although all of this great plain, which we now call Lombardy, was not regarded, at the time Rome was founded,[2] as a part of Italy.[3] The names of these countries were :

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[1] See p. 235.

[2] B. C. 753.

[3] The word *Italia* embraced at first only the southern part of the peninsula (see colored map No. 1), but after the conquest of Southern Italy by the Romans the name was applied to the whole peninsula south of the rivers Arnus and Æsis (see p. 108). It was not until a later time (see p 257) that the basin of the Po became incorporated with Italy.

RAETIA
GALLIA CISALPINA
ALPES LEPONTIAE
ALPES RAETICAE
L. Verbanus
L. Larius
Tridentum
Forum Julium
Augusta Praetoria
Comum
Eug
Aquileja
Tergeste
MEDIOLANUM
L. Benacus
Brixia
Verona
Altinum
Eporedia
Transpadani
Gallia Transpadana
Silvium Pr.
VERCELLÆ
Acerrae
Mantua
PATAVIUM
Hatria (Adria)
Padus F.
Augusta Taurinorum
Placentia
Hostilia
Athesis F.
Alvona
Taurini
Asta
Dertona
Brixellum
Padus F.
Pollentia
Celeiates
Parma
Mutina
Statielli
Tanarus F.
Ligures Baeburi
Ligures Bodincomagi
BONONIA
Spina
Ravenna
Ligures Apuani
Ligures Friniates
Faventia
Ligures Montani
Ligures Statielli
Ligures Celeiates
Ligures Ingauni
Ligures Intemelii
Ligures Bagienni
Ligures Vagienni
Ligures Marici
Ligures Ingauni
Ligures Montani
Ligures Friniates
Ligures Celeiates
Ligures Statielli
Ligures Bodincomagi
Ligures Baeburi
Ligures Apuani

1. *Liguria*, which was situated in the western part of Northern Italy. Its chief towns were Nicæa (*Nice*), Asta (*Asti*), Genua (*Genoa*), and Dertona (*Tortona*).

2. *Gallia Cisalpina*,[1] which was divided by the river Padus (*Po*) into Gallia Cispadana and Transpadana, and contained in Roman times many flourishing cities, among which may be mentioned Augusta Taurinorum (*Turin*), Augusta Prætoria (*Aosta*), Mediolanum (*Milan*), Brixia (*Brescia*), Cremona, and Verona.[2] On the south side of the Padus were Placentia, Parma, Mutina (*Modena*), Bononia (*Bologna*), and Ravenna.[3]

3. *Venetia*, which was situated in the eastern part of Northern Italy. Its chief cities were Patavium (*Padua*), Altinum (*Altino*), and Aquileja.

4. Central Italy.—Central Italy extended[4] as far south as a line drawn from the river Silarus (*Sele*) to a point just above the mouth of the river Frento (*Fortore*), and embraced the following countries:

1. *Etruria* was bounded on the north by the Apennines, on the east by Umbria and the territory of the Sabines, on the south by the Tiber, which separated it from Latium, and on the west by the Tyrrhenian Sea. The important rivers were the Arnus (*Arno*), the Umbro, and the Clanis, a tributary of the Tiber. The Etruscan state consisted of a confederacy of twelve great cities, the most important of which were Tarquinii, Perusia (*Perugia*), Clusium (*Chiusi*), Volaterræ, Cortona, Arretium, Cære near Mt. Soracte, and Veji on the river Cremera, about twelve miles from Rome.

2. *Latium* embraced at first only the narrow strip of land between the Alban hills, the river Numicus, and the Tiber,[5] but it was gradually extended to the south and west, until, after the conquest of the Æquians, the Hernicans, the Volscians, and the Auruncans, it comprised all the country as far as the river Liris.[6] The Latins[7] were united in a league of thirty cities, at the head of which was Alba Longa. The chief towns were Rome, Alba, Tibur (*Tivoli*), Gabii, Tusculum, Præneste, and Corioli.

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[1] It is called Cisalpina because on this (the Italian) side of the Alps, in distinction from Transalpine Gaul (*France*); Gallia Cispadana, *i. e.*, Gaul on this (the Roman) side of the Po.

[2] Interesting on account of the remains of an amphitheatre, which are in a good state of preservation.

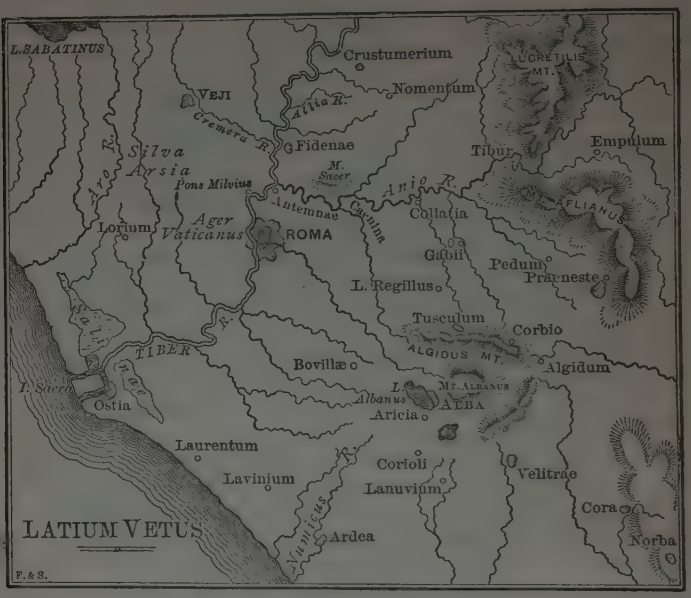
[3] These towns were mostly Roman colonies. While the country remained in the possession of the Gauls it was almost wholly without cities.

[4] See colored map No. 1.

[5] *Latium Vetus*, or *ancient Latium*. See map, p. 4.

[6] *Latium adjectum*, or Latium after the territory of these tribes was added to it.

[7] *Latini Prisci*. For a list of the thirty Latin cities see map, p. 94.



3. *Campania* extended along the coast from the river Liris on the north to the Silarus on the south, and was bounded on the south and east by Samnium and Lucania. The soil was exceedingly fertile,[1] the landscape beautiful, the climate mild, and the harbors excellent. The numerous thermal springs in the neighborhood of Bajæ[2] (*Baja*). Puteoli[3] (*Pozzuoli*), and Neapolis (*Naples*), gave it an additional attraction to the wealthy classes, who crowded its shores with their villas. Capua, the capital, was situated in the midst of a plain of great fertility and beauty.[4]

4. *Umbria* extended along the Adriatic from the river Rubicon to the river Æsis, and was separated from Etruria by the

[1] Hence called *Campania felix*.

[2] Horace (Ep. i., 85) says: "Nothing in the world can be compared with the lovely bay of Bajæ." Of the numerous baths and villas, whose foundations were often thrown far into the sea, nothing but mere fragments remains.

[3] The pozzolana earth from which a cement is manufactured derives its name from Pozzuoli. Puteoli was at one time the chief commercial city in Italy, and the principal depot for the vast traffic with the East. As many as 10,000 slaves were sometimes landed here in one days; see map, p. 98.

[4] It was within the borders of Campania that Pompeji and Herculaneum were situated. These cities were buried in A. D. 79 under a dense bed of ashes and cinders. See p. 455.

Tiber, and on the south and east from the Sabines by the river Nar. This fertile district had been in early times conquered by the Gauls, and was therefore called by the Romans the Gallic territory.[1] Among the numerous cities were Ariminum (*Rimini*), Sena Gallica (*Sinigaglia*), Sarsina, Sentinum, and Narnia (*Narni*).

5. *Picenum* extended along the Adriatic from the river Æsis to the Matrinus (*La Piomba*), which separated it from the country of the Vestini. In the interior the hills were covered with extensive forests, while the slopes along the sea produced an abundance of apples, olives, corn, and wine. The towns were Ancona, Hatria, Asculum, and Firmum.

6. *The Sabini* inhabited the country from the sources of the Nar on the north, to the Tiber and Anio on the south. They were one of the most ancient races in Italy, and when first known lived in the neighborhood of Amiternum, whence they spread to the south and became the progenitors of the Marsians, Marrucinians, Pælignians, Vestinians, and Frentanians, all of whom, including even the Sabines, are comprised under the general name of Sabellians. At a later time[2] the Sabines proper, under the name of Samnites, spread to the south, and mixing with the Oscans, gave themselves also the name of Sabellians, a name under which modern writers have comprehended the Sabines and all the various races descended from them.[3] The Sabellians then may be regarded as the genuine Italians, for they and the various tribes that sprang from them spread over Italy and caused their language and customs to prevail over the others. The Sabines were a hardy and industrious race, chiefly engaged in agriculture. Their country, though densely populated, had but few cities, among which were Amiternum, Reate, and Nursia.

7. *Samnium* was properly the name of the district bounded on the north by the Marsians, Pælignians, and Frentanians, on the east by Apulia, on the south by Lucania, and on the west by Campania and Latium. The capital was Bovianum. The inhabitants were the most warlike people in Italy, and, as the most powerful member of the Sabellian races, carried on a long war with Rome for the dominion of Italy.

5. Southern Italy.—Southern Italy included Lucania and Bruttium on the west, and Apulia and Calabria on the east.

1. *Lucania*[4] extended from Campania, Samnium, and Apu-

[1] *Ager Gallicus.* [2] Since B. C. 450. [3] See colored map No. 1.
[4] This country was called by the Greeks Oenotria.

lia on the north to the river Laus on the south, and on the Gulf of Tarentum from Apulia to Thurii. The chief Greek cities were Posidonia,[1] Thurii, and Heraclea.

2. *The Land of the Bruttii*[2] was in the southern extremity of Italy, and was bounded on the north by Lucania, and on the other sides by the sea. The important cities were Petelia (*Strongoli*), Croton (*Crotona*), Locri, Rhegium (*Reggio*), Medma.

3. *Apulia* included the whole of the southeastern part of Italy, or the three districts inhabited by the Dauni, Peucetii, and Messapii. The Romans, however, generally confined the name to the country bounded on the north by the Frentani, on the west and east by the Apennines and the Adriatic Sea, and on the south by a line drawn from a point a little north of Tarentum to the eastern coast. The important towns were Luceria, Arpi, Asculum, Venusia, Canusium, and Cannæ.

4. *Calabria* was called by the Greeks Messapia, Iapygia, or Salentina, and was sometimes reckoned a part of Apulia; but the Romans confined the name to the southern extremity of Apulia, or to what is sometimes called the "heel" of Italy. In the middle ages the name was applied also to the land of the Bruttii. The towns were Brundisium (*Brindisi*), Hydruntum (*Otranto*), and Tarentum (*Taranto*). At a very early time the Greeks founded in Southern Italy numerous cities, which became so powerful and wealthy that the whole country was called Magna Græcia, or *Great Greece*. Tarentum soon became the most flourishing and powerful of these cities, and carried on an extensive commerce and inland trade that brought to it great wealth and prosperity. The situation was so delightful and the soil so fertile that even after the decline of the prosperity of the city, and its conquest by the Romans,[3] Horace called it "the most smiling corner of the world, where the spring was long, and Jupiter vouchsafed mild winters."[4]

6. The Mountain System.—The mountains of Italy consist of two chains, the Alps and the Apennines. The Alps, which separate Italy from the rest of Europe, were the natural barriers against the barbarous nations on the north and west. The Apennines, extending from their junction with the maritime Alps (*Col di Tenda*) in a southeasterly and southerly direction, traverse the peninsula its entire length. Central and Southern Italy are thus divided into two parts. In the eastern part the

[1] The city of Neptune; in B. C. 273 the Romans founded the colony of Pæstum here.
[2] The name Bruttium has been given to this country by modern geographers. The Romans called it *Bruttius Ager* or *Bruttiorum Ager*.
[3] See p. 149.
[4] Carm. ii. 6.

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No. 1.

MAP OF ITALY
(See page 108 ¶ 0)
Sabellian Nations
Greek Colonies
Phoenician Colonies
Latins
SARDINIA
Tyrrhenum
Neapolis
Caralis
MARE TYRRHENUM
Posidonia (Paestum)
Aletrium
Grandola
Metapontum
Tarentum
SINUS TARENTINUS
Sallentinum Iapygium Pr.
Sybaris
Consentia
Locri
Rhegium
Lipara
Melina
Mylae
Tyndaris
Messana
Taurominum
Aetna M.
Herete Mantorum
Eryx
Egesta
Lilybaeum
Himera
SICILIA
Enna
Agrigentum
Heraclea
Leontini
SYRACUSAE
Gela
MARE AFRICUM
MARE SICULUM
MARE IONIUM
Long E. from Paris
8
10
12
14
37
39

mountains approach nearer the shore, and lateral ranges branch off with considerable regularity. Therefore, the rivers, as the Aternus (*Aterno*), Frento (*Fortore*), and Aufidus (*Ofanto*), pursuing nearly parallel courses at right angles to the main chain, are swift, small, and unimportant. The valleys are small, and separated as they are, sometimes by narrow ridges of moderate elevation, sometimes by rugged ranges of considerable height, must have tended to isolate the inhabitants. Quite different is the case in the western part. Here between the sea and the mountains is an extensive tract of country consisting of large valleys and fertile plains, watered by the Arno and Tiber, the two principal rivers of Central Italy. Both taking their rise in the highlands of the Abruzzi, where the Apennines reach their greatest height, the one, winding westerly and then northerly, turns to the west and empties into the Tyrrhenian Sea; the other, breaking through the mountain chain at Perugia (*Perusia*), pursues its course in a southerly direction, but after receiving the waters of the Nar, turns in a westerly direction and falls into the Tyrrhenian Sea by two mouths forming an island sacred to Venus and still called Isola Sacra.

7. The Campagna.—Here, on the western side, were the largest and most remarkable of the valleys of Central and Southern Italy, the present Campagna and the Campania of the ancients. The Campagna extends along the coast for about ninety miles, from a line drawn from Mt. Soracte (*Monte S. Oreste*) to Ostia on the north and to Tarracina in the south. The northern part of the Campagna is watered by the Tiber, on whose left bank about eighteen miles from its mouth is situated the city of Rome. The view of the Campagna from the tower of the Capitol is unsurpassed. To the northwest across the Tiber lies Mt. Janiculus, and in the distance flows the Aro, but in by the Etruscan hills. To the north rises, like a blue island in the Ægean Sea, the summit of Soracte, rendered famous by the poet Horace, while to the eastward, just where the Anio breaks through the mountains, is Tivoli (*Tibur*), the home of the poet, and in the background lie the Sabine Apennines. Here was the home of the Latin race, with their sanctuary on the Alban Mount, and their "Long White City," *Alba Longa*, skirting its side. Far to the southward, over the line of the Appian Way[1] and the ruins of aqueducts[2] as far as the eye can reach, extends the bare, desolate plain, with no

[1] See p. 112.

[2] See pp. 112 and 113.

trees, no human habitation, until it sinks into the sea. In ancient times the country was exceedingly rich and densely populated, and even the Pomptine marshes (*Pomptinus Ager*) were celebrated for their fertility, and contained twenty-three flourishing cities.

8. The River System.—The rivers of Italy all take their rise in the Apennines, and all wash down from the mountains a slime that raises their beds and would spread them over the adjacent plains if they were not restrained by dikes.[1] Most of the rivers, with the exception of the Tiber and Arnus, particularly those on the east, having no great length of course, are swollen and violent in winter and spring, but in summer are nearly dry. The Tiber retains at all seasons a considerable body of water, and is navigable for large ships up to Rome, where it is about three hundred feet wide, and from twelve to eighteen feet deep.

9. The Islands.—The islands about Italy are numerous and important. Sicily is triangular in shape, and therefore often called Trinacria; it has no large rivers or lakes, but its mountain system traverses the island from east to west, the highest peak of which is Ætna (10,874 ft.). There were many Carthaginian and Greek settlements, of which may be mentioned Messana, Syracuse, Gela, Agrigentum, Egesta, Panormus, besides Enna, a native town. Sardinia was traversed through its whole length from north to south by mountains, and had but few rivers or towns. The capital was Caralis (*Cagliari*). The climate was unhealthy, but still the country was noted for its abundant harvest of wheat and its rich silver mines. Corsica (Greek ἡ Κύρνος) is much more mountainous than Sardinia. The mountain districts afforded excellent pasturage for sheep, goats, and cattle, and were covered almost throughout the whole extent with dense forests of fir and pine. The two Roman colonies were Aleria and Mariana. Of the smaller islands may be mentioned Ilva (*Elba*), Igilium (*Giglio*), Capreæ (*Capri*), Lipara (*Lepari*), and the Ægatian Islands.

10. The Position of Italy.—The position of Italy in the Mediterranean, on whose borders most of the civilized nations of antiquity lived, was peculiarly favorable. Italy possessed a

[1] The Romans gave great attention to aqueducts (see p. 112), construction of dikes, and the whole subject of irrigation. "It was next proposed," says Tacitus, "whether it was not expedient, in order to restrain the overflowing of the Tiber, to give a new course to the rivers and lakes by which it was fed. Upon this question the deputies from the several cities were heard. The Florentines besought that the bed of the Clanis might not be turned into the Arnus, for that would prove their ruin."

fertile soil and a delightful climate, tempered by the Apennines and the sea, and its rich alluvial plains on the west were well suited to agriculture, while the grassy mountain-slopes and highlands of the east afforded excellent pasturage for the raising of cattle. The long extent of sea-coast gave it a favorable position for trade and intercourse with the peoples of the Mediterranean. Still it was not, like Greece, broken up by bays and arms of the sea, nor had it so many islands around about it, which made the Greeks a seafaring people.

II. The Early Inhabitants.

1. The Races in Italy.—Central and Southern Italy were inhabited from the earliest times to which our knowledge extends by three races. These were the *Iapygians*, the *Italians*, and the *Etruscans*.

2. The Iapygians.—The Iapygians were found in that part of Southern Italy which the Greeks called Messapia and which the Romans called Calabria. Their language has been preserved in the Messapian inscriptions,[1] and has been found to be more nearly related to the Greek than to the other languages of Italy. This suggests the probability that they emigrated from Greece to Italy rather than that they were the first of the various races to enter Italy from the north, and were afterwards pressed to the south by other tribes that entered later.

3. The Italians Proper.—The Italians[2] entered Italy later than the Iapygians, and occupied in historical times nearly the whole of Central Italy. They were of the same common stock as the Hellenes, both belonging to the Indo-European[3] family. They both wandered westward from the highlands in

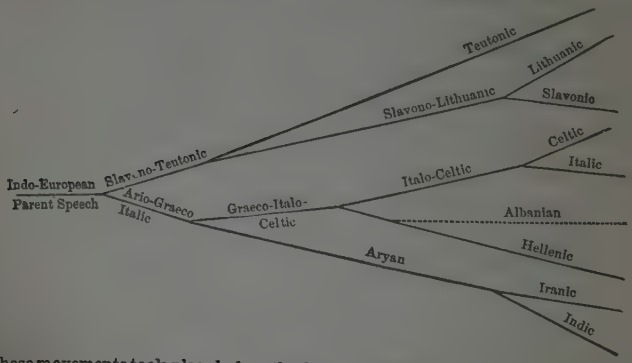
[1] The inscriptions were discovered in the Terra di Otranto, and have been edited by Mommsen.

[2] The term Italian or "Italic" is used to designate the races that chiefly peopled the Italy of the Romans.

[3] Philologists have designated the table-land where the Indus, Oxus, and Jaxartes rivers take their rise—the Bactrian plateau—as the place whence the different races were dispersed. The first which left the common centre settled in Phœnicia, Egypt, and Ethiopia. This race has been called *Turanian*. The next settled in the country extending from the Mediterranean Sea beyond the Tigris; to this race the name *Semitic* has been given. The last race that left the common centre emigrated to the south, crossed the Hindo Koosh mountains, and entered India, subjugating the earlier Turanian tribes, and advancing west over most of Europe, became the progenitors of the Greeks, Romans, Persians, and the Teutonic tribes. This race has been called *Indo-European*, because different branches of it settled in India and Europe, or Indo-Germanic, because the Germans have been the foremost to investigate its affinities. The name Aryan is now, particularly by German philologists, applied to one class of the great Indo-European stock. The following diagram shows the order (according to Schleicher) in which the Indo-European race branched:

the western part of Central Asia, the Hellenes passing from Asia Minor[1] to Greece, while the Italians, pushing further west, crossed the Apennines into Italy. The Italian race was divided into two chief branches, the *Latin* and the *Umbro-Sabellian*. The Latins occupied the central and southern parts of the peninsula west of the Apennines, *i. e.*, Latium, Campania, Lucania, and Bruttium. The Latins came in contact first with the Greeks in Campania, and received from them the name of *Opici* (*Osci*), a name which the Romans gave to those Samnites who afterwards overran Campania. The *Siculi* (early pressed to the south, and finally crossing to the island of Sicily), as well as the *Ausones*,[2] sprang from the Latin race. These races came in contact at an early time with the Greek colonies in Southern Italy, and either completely yielded to their superior civilization or were so far weakened that they could offer but little resistance to the Samnites.

4. Umbro-Sabellians.—The Umbrians entered Italy later than the Latins, and settled at first in Etruria. They were afterwards pressed to the east by later incomers, whence they spread over the whole of the eastern part of the peninsula, under the name of *Sabini*, *Samnites*, and *Picentes*, or *Sabellians*, a general appellation for the Sabines and all the races or tribes that have derived their origin from them. These Sabellian tribes descended from the mountains like streams that flood and fertilize



These movements took place before the dawn of history. The earliest literary remains are found in the Indo-Persian or Aryan branch, not far from two thousand years before Christ. It was formerly supposed that the Italic branch had a more intimate relation with the Hellenic than any other, because their ancestors lived long together, in what is called the Græco-Italic time; but later researches have proved that the Italic and Celtic branches were the last to begin an independent history.

[1] Or the valley of the Danube.

[2] See colored map No. 1.

the valleys. The Latins, who settled near the Tiber, belonged to the oldest of these successive migrations. Then came the Sabines, the Æquians, the Hernicans, the Volscians, who pressed hard on the Latins, hemming them in on the east and south, so that they were confined to the small district between the Tiber and the spurs of the Apennines on the north and east, and by the Alban hills on the south. This plain, the home of the Latin race, was a district[1] of about 700 square miles, and was watered by the Tiber and the Anio.

5. The Etruscans.—The Etruscans[2] entered Etruria from the north and either pressed the Umbrians who were already in possession of the country, and to whose further migration southward the Latins of Latium set a limit, to the east or subdued them. It was this conquered people probably that was called Tusci, and to them the Rasennæ owed their great advance in civilization. The Rasennæ assumed the name of the people whom they had enslaved and absorbed, and the whole were known as Tusci or Etrusci. They were a powerful people, extending from the Alps over the western part of Italy as far south as the Tiber. They were driven from the plains of the Po by the Gauls, and were finally subdued by the Romans. At an early period they carried on navigation, trade, and manufactures, which called cities into existence in Etruria earlier than elsewhere in Italy. These cities were united in a league consisting of twelve communities, which recognized a metropolis especially for purposes of worship; yet these confederations, still more than the Italian leagues, were deficient in a firm and powerful central authority.

6. Their Civilization.—The Etruscans were especially noted for their maritime ascendency, and they succeeded in founding towns on the Latin and Campanian coasts. Their religion was a gloomy and tiresome mysticism, delighting in wild and horrible rites. The Etruscans borrowed their arts from the Greeks, and the remains which exist (particularly at Perugia) of temples, roads, dikes, as well as the castings in bronze[3] (*Tuscana signa*), figures in terra-cotta,[4] golden chains and bracelets, and other ornaments that have been found in the tombs, all attest that the Etruscans produced massive and

[1] See map, p. 94, for the extent of this territory (*ager Romanus*).

[2] They called themselves Rasennæ; they were named by the Greeks Tyrrheni, and by the Latins, Tusci or Etrusci.

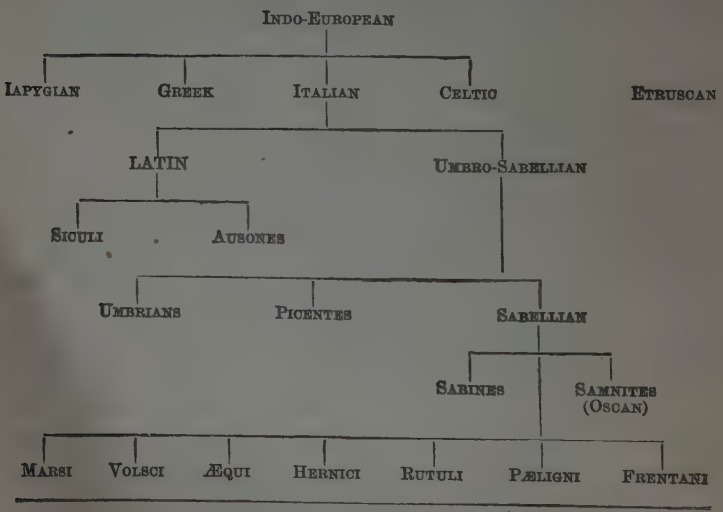
[3] The *orator* and *chimæra* in the Etruscan Museum at Florence; one found on Lake Trasimene, the other at Arezzo.

[4] In the Museo Gregoriano in the Vatican are sarcophagi of terra-cotta, vases and bronzes, mostly found at Chiusi, at Volterra, and at Corneto near Tarquinii.

rich workmanship; yet their works are inferior to those of the Latins and Sabellians in appropriateness and utility, no less than in spirit and beauty. The influence of Etruria on Latium, and particularly on Rome, has been very much over-estimated; while, on the contrary, too little weight has been laid upon the immediate contact with Rome of the original (Umbrians) Tuscans, produced by their being pressed to the borders of Latium by the Rasennæ. The origin of the Etruscans (Rasennæ) is still a matter of controversy, but they are by many of the best authorities assigned to the Indo-European family.

7. The Unity of the Races in Italy.—From this brief sketch of the different races that inhabited Italy, we learn that, in spite of many diversities, they all belonged to one and the same great family whose home was in the western part of Central Asia. We are unable to fix definitely the time when they left their home or when they entered Italy. There is no doubt, however, that it took many years for them to wander from Asia to Europe, and that their arrival in[1] Italy was very gradual and extended over a long period of time.

RACES IN ITALY.



[1] It may be assigned to about B.C. 2000.

History of Rome.

CHAPTER I.

The Foundation of Rome.

1. The Primitive Civilization of the Latins.—With this brief introductory sketch of the geography of Italy, and of the different races that inhabited it, we now turn to the Latins as historically the most important, and as the race with which our history has particularly to do. The degree of civilization and the social condition that the Latins had attained on their entrance into Italy are questions of much importance, because, in the absence of all written records,[1] the answer gives us a starting point for our history. This information, combined with what we know of their social and political condition at a later time, enables us to derive a tolerably correct idea of how their institutions were formed. A careful study of the words of their language has given the starting point for these researches.[2] Pursuing this investigation, we learn that the Latins before they entered Italy, had learned the elements of agriculture, how to manage the plow, sow the seed, cultivate the vine, and press out the oil from the olive. With the knowledge of agriculture arose the necessity, for a time at least, for a fixed habitation and the domestic hearth. Hence the basis of the family was formed and the elements of religion developed. That the habitation was not permanently fixed was owing to the pressure of later migrations and the contests with

[1] The whole history from the founding of Rome in B. C. 753 down to B. C. 390, when all the written records were burnt by the Gauls, is not derived from contemporary witnesses, but was composed at a later date. Some of the Roman historians, therefore, began their narrative at B. C. 390, instead of at the foundation of the city. What little we do know of the early history is mainly derived from inference.

[2] If these words are essentially the same in both Latin and Greek, it is pretty certain that the Latins and Greeks, before their separation in what is called the Græco-Italian time, were acquainted with the objects that these words represent; *e. g.*, Gr. δόμος and Lat. *domos, house*; ἄρότρον, *aratrum, plow*; χόρτος, *hortus, garden*; ἀγρός, *ager, a field*, etc.; hence, the house, the plow, etc., were nearly the same among both peoples.

other tribes. Hence the knowledge of war, and the use of the spear, the bow, and the war chariot.

2. The Latins in Italy.—The basis of the social constitution of the Latins was the households, which either by ties of blood or nearness of locality were united to form clans, the dwellings forming the clan-villages.[1] These villages, although each had its own local government, were not regarded as independent, but as forming parts of a larger community, the canton.[2] Each canton had a local centre,[3] which was situated on some hill-top and was strongly fortified, where the markets were held, games celebrated, justice administered, and religious rites observed. The foundation of this clan-constitution was already laid when the Latins entered Italy and settled on the slopes of the Alban hills. Here, where the position was secure and the springs fresh, the oldest Latin towns,[4] such as Alba, Lanuvium, Tibur, Prænestе, Gabii, and Rome, were founded. How many cantons there were originally in Latium, it is impossible to tell; tradition mentions thirty as forming the famous Latin league, at the head of which was Alba Longa, "the long white city," the oldest and most eminent of the Latin cantons.

3. Rome a Latin Settlement.—Among the Latin cantons the Roman, or at least its capital, Rome, was destined to be the most eminent. On one of the isolated hills on the left bank of the Tiber, about eighteen miles from its mouth, settled a tribe of Latins called *Ramnes* or Romans. The Romans had their stronghold on the Palatine hill, and this was the foundation of Rome. Its territory extended at that time little more than five miles to the east and south, while it embraced the suburbs of the hill Janiculus on the right bank, and the whole course of the Tiber down to its mouth.[5] The right of trade,[6] and the home which it offered to adventurers,[7] combined with its favorable situation, account in a measure for the rapid growth of the city. Standing as it did on the Latin bank of the Tiber, three miles below its confluence with the Anio, it seemed admirably adapted to be the emporium of Latium.

[1] *Vici* or *pagi*.
[2] *Civitas*, or *populus*.
[3] Called *capitolium*, or "height."
[4] See map, p. 4.
[5] See map, p. 94.
[6] *Jus commercii*.
[7] *Jus exilii*.

4. The Palatine City.—The original city occupied only the Palatine hill, from the shape of which it derived its name of "Square Rome" or *Roma Quadrata*. From the very first the city, according to the custom of the Latins, was encompassed by a ring-wall[1] and the sacred belt of the *pomerium*,[2] which could be extended only by those whose victories had enlarged the Roman territories. Under the protection of the stronghold on the Palatine, suburbs grew up, forming almost from the first a city of seven hills,[3] within and distinct from the more famous seven hills of historic Rome. The Palatine city, even in its first beginning, was increased in power by its union with a Sabine canton.

5. Sabine City.—On the Quirinal hill, which lay entirely beyond the bounds assigned to the circuit of Rome, was an independent city of Sabine origin. We have already learned that the Latins and Sabines were nearly related, and that the latter, issuing from their mountain home, had hemmed the Latins in on the east and south. A body of these bold adventurers had settled on the Quirinal, and after coming in contact with the Romans, had finally gained possession of their stronghold on the Capitoline. This compelled the Romans to form an alliance (*foedus*) with the Sabine city, by which the two races were united and both helped to form the Roman state. After their union the people were divided into two divisions or tribes, Ramnes and Tities, as they were called, and each tribe was divided again into ten *curiæ* or wards; and as the *curia* formed the basis of the union, the people were called *Quirites*.[4] Their common place of meeting was in the *comitium*, between the Palatine and Quirinal hills. Tradition relates that the rule was to choose the king in turn from the Romans of the Palatine and the Sabines of the Quirinal.

6. The Union of the Romans and Sabines.—By the incorporation of the Sabine city, a conservative element was

[1] The recent excavations have brought to light portions of the original wall in five different places, enough to trace its situation with considerable precision. Of the three gates which penetrated the wall, the sites of but two have been found, *Porta Mugionis* and *Porta Romana*.

[2] See colored map No. 2.

[3] Palatinus, Germalus, Velia, Fagutal, Oppius, Cespius, Subura.

[4] By some the word Quirites is derived from *quiris*, a spear. Quirites and curia are probably from the same root, *sku*, cover; cf. κύριος κυρια, *curare* with A. S. *hûs*, house.

introduced into the Roman state. From the situation of Rome, so favorable for trade and intercourse with foreigners, the Romans had made greater advances in civilization, while the Sabines, loving agriculture and the rearing of the flock, held firmly to the pious customs of their ancestors. After the union of the two cantons, Rome was so much increased in power, that she was able to subdue the surrounding tribes and extend her boundaries. The Latin communities[1] on the upper Tiber, and between the Tiber and Anio, early forfeited their independence. A long contest was carried on with Gabii; and Alba, the ancient metropolis of Latium, was subdued and destroyed, and the conquered population was moved to Rome and settled on one of the hills around the Palatine, called *Mons Cœlius*. Some of the most distinguished Alban families[2] were admitted into the Roman state on a footing of equality, and formed the third tribe, called *Luceres*. They were admitted to the *curiæ* and the senate, thus completing the number thirty and three hundred respectively.

7. Rome the Capital of Latium.—Rome, after the destruction of Alba, the head of the thirty Latin cities, became the leading community in Latium and the recognized head of the Latin confederacy. The leadership of Rome over Latium was the more readily recognized from the fact that it was only by this means that the Latins could defend their coast against the Carthaginians and Hellenes, and their extended frontier against the Etruscans and Sabellians. Rome was now able to extend her power over the Æqui and Sabini, and to form an alliance with the Hernici. On her southern frontier she carried on a long contest with the Rutuli and Volsci, and in this direction the Latin colonies, as they were called, were planted by Rome and Latium.

8. The Forum.—While the Latin stock was thus becoming united under the leadership of Rome, the city itself had been converted from a small commercial and agricultural town into the capital of a flourishing province. The intrenchments of the

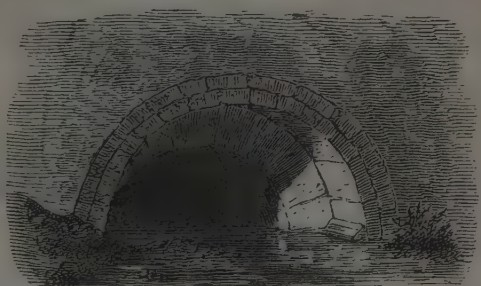
[1] See map, p. 94.
[2] The origin of the Luceres is very doubtful; see Schwegler, Rom. Gesch., I. 505.

No. 2.

ROME
The four Regions of Servius Tullius.
The Capitoline and Aventine hills outside of the Pomerium.
Roma quadrata.
Wall of Servius Tullius
TIBERIS FL.
CAMPUS MARTIUS
Navalia
Porta Triumphalis
Porta Collina
Campus Viminalis
Porta Salutaris
T. Salutis
Collis
QUIRINALIS
REG. III.
Porta Sanqualis
T. Quirini
Vallis Quirini
COLLIS VIMINALIS
COLLINA
REG. II.
Porta Fontinalis
Capitolium Vetus
M. Cespius
Porta Esquilina
Porta Ratumena
Arx
M.
ESQUILINA

Via Aurelia
Porta Flumentana
Porta Trigemina
TIBERIM FL.
TIBERIS FL.
Emporium
RX
CULUS
PALATINA
M.
PALATINUS
REQ. I.
Caeliolus
M.
Porta
Caelimontana
SUBURANA
M. CAELIUS
CIRCUS
MAXIMUS
Murcia
T.
Dianae
M.
Porta Lavernalis
AVENTINUS
Porta
Capena
Porta
Querquetulana
Porta
Rauduscula
Porta Naevia
Clivus Publicius
Porta Ratumena
Porta Romanula
Porta Mugonia
Curiae Veteres
Clivus Victoriae
Clivus Palatinus
Porta Romana
Porta Palatina
Porta Veliensis
Porta Fagutal
Porta Sanqualis
Porta Carmentalis
Porta Ferentina
Porta Esquilina
Porta Viminalis
Porta Collina
Porta Salutaris
Porta Quirinalis
Porta Sanqualis
Porta Fontinalis
Porta Ratumena
Porta Romanula
Porta Mugonia
Porta Palatina
Porta Veliensis
Porta Fagutal
Porta Sanqualis
Porta Carmentalis
Porta Ferentina
Porta Esquilina
Porta Viminalis
Porta Collina
Porta Salutaris
Porta Quirinalis
Porta Sanqualis
Porta Fontinalis

seven hills now seemed inadequate for the defence of the capital of Latium, and hence was constructed the fortification ascribed to Servius Tullius, which enclosed not only the Palatine and Quirinal, but also the heights of the Aventine, Capitoline, Esquiline, Viminal, and Cælian hills, with a great ring-wall.[1] After the city had been protected from foreign foes, the necessity for internal improvement became more apparent. Hence the *cloaca*,[2] or sewer, was constructed for draining the marshy valley[3] between the Palatine and Capitoline hills down to the Tiber. Here in this valley was located the *comitium*, the assembling place of the people, and in the *comitium* were the tribunal or judgment-seat, and the *rostra* (*vetera*) from which the people were addressed. The prolongation of the *comitium* towards the south and east formed the *forum*, which afterwards became the centre of the civil and political life of Rome. The *forum* was cut by streets, the most important of which was the *via sacra*,[4] or Sacred Way, ascending the declivity[5] of the Capitoline hill to the capitol, and along its sides were butchers' shops and traders' stalls.[6] On the north



CLOACA MAXIMA.
(In its present condition, 1879.)

[1] The wall is computed to have been about seven miles in circumference; remains of t are found on the Aventine and Esquiline; see colored map No. 2.

[2] The *cloaca maxima* is still to be seen under the platform of the *Basilica Julia*, and empties into the Tiber near the temple of Vesta. Several canalicolæ, or tributary drains, have been recently discovered.

[3] The Forum Velabrum and Forum Boarium.

[4] The course of the *via sacra* has not yet been satisfactorily determined. It probably entered the *forum* at the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, and continued on the north side of the forum to a point a little beyond the temple of Julius Cæsar, then turned directly south toward the temple of Castor and Pollux, and then turned at right angles running along the front of the Basilica Julia. When the arch of S. Severus was erected, the *via sacra* was probably continued along the northern side of the forum; this, however, cannot be determined until the forum is excavated between the temple of Julius Cæsar and the arch of S. Severus.

[5] *Clivus Capitolinus.*

[6] *Tabernæ veteres et novæ.* See map, p. 386.

side of the *forum* was the senate house, called from the builder *curia Hostilia*. On the south side, beneath the Palatine hill, rose the temple of Vesta with its eternal fire, and the *regia* or the official dwelling house of the king.[1]

9. Growth of Rome.—In the valley between the Palatine and Aventine hills[2] a space was set aside for the *circus*,[3] where games, chariot-racing and boxing were celebrated once every year in honor of the three gods to whom the capitol was built. Temples and sanctuaries arose on the other summits, as the temple of Diana, the representative of the Latin confederacy on the Aventine, and above all, on the summit of the Capitoline, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus,[4] dedicated to the three great gods of the Latin and Sabine races, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.

CHAPTER II.

The Early Government of Rome.

1. The Form of Government.—The government of the people of these three cantons at this early time was very simple. It was modeled on that of the Roman household, in which the father[5] ruled over all its members and descendants with absolute authority.[6] As the union of several households formed the clan,[7] so the union of several clans formed the tribe.[8] After the admission of the Sabines[9] and the Albans[10] into the community on a footing of equality, the number of tribes or parts

[1] The other building attributed to this period, remains of which still exist, is *Carcer Mamertinus*, or prison, built over the well, or *Tullianum*.

[2] *Vallis Murcia*.

[3] This was the *circus maximus*, and the beginning of the great Roman games (*ludi maximi Romani*).

[4] The exact location of this temple has been in modern times a matter of dispute; the Italian topographers placing it on the northern summit, which is now occupied by the church and monastery of Araceli, and the *arx* with the temple of Juno Moneta on the southwestern point of the hill. German scholars have reversed this order. The recent excavations for the new German Archæological building and inscriptions discovered by Dr. Henzen have set this question at rest, fixing the site of the temple definitely on the southwestern summit near where the Caffarelli palace is. See p. 37.

[5] *Pater familias*. [6] *Patria potestas*. [7] *Gens*, or house.

[8] That is, part (*tribus*) of the whole community. This division had reference primarily to the people, but it was also applied to their lands so far as they were divided. As the curies were made up of the *gentes* (theoretically ten in each *curia*), there is not much doubt that the curies had their own lands. This division into curies had a religious as well as a political significance. The two peoples met and voted by curies for judicial purposes, and the levies and valuations were made by curies. Each *curia* was under the charge of a special warden (*curio*), and had a priest of its own (*flamen curialis*). See p. 34.

[9] See p. 5. [10] See p. 16.

of the community, was increased to three, named respectively *Ramnes*, *Tities*, and *Luceres*, each of which was divided into ten *curiæ*, or wardships, and each *curia* into ten houses or *gentes*.

2. The King.—To rule this enlarged family or household of the Roman state, there was selected one from its own ranks, called the king;[1] who ruled for life and exercised the same unlimited authority over the community that the father exercised in the household. The king possessed the supreme civil[2] and military[3] power; that is, he commanded the army, administered justice, and presided whenever he summoned the whole community[4] or the heads of the different clans[5] to consult them concerning any measure of public policy. He was also the high-priest of the nation, for he alone could mediate between the gods and the people, and perform the sacrifices for the state.

3. The Senate.—Just as the father of a household could call the different members of the same clan together in case of need for consultation, so the king, in matters pertaining to the interest of all the clans collectively, or that of the whole community, selected the clan-elders, or heads of the most influential families[6] to form a state council, called the senate[7] or "council of elders." The senate consisted of three hundred members, because it was intended that each of the three hundred houses composing the community should be represented in the senate. The senators held their seats for life, and in case of death the king filled the vacancy. The senate was merely a consultative body, free to give advice, but with no means to enforce its acceptance.

4. The Comitia Curiata.—The king could summons the members[8] of the different families that formed the state to a popular assembly called *comitia curiata*, to decide such matters of general importance as he chose to lay before them. The king presided, and the voting was done by *curiæ*, that is, there were thirty votes, as the members of each *curia* formed one vote. This

[1] *Rex*, *leader*, or *dictator*, *commander*, or *magister populi*, *master of the people*.
[2] *Regia potestas*. [3] *Regium imperium*.
[4] *Comitia curiata*, *i. e.*, the heads of the families and their grown-up sons.
[5] *Regium concilium*.
[6] The number in the senate corresponded to the number of clans. [7] *Senatus*.
[8] *Patres familias patriciarum gentium et filii familias*, *i. e.*, the chiefs of the families and their sons.

assembly confirmed the election of the king,[1] the declaration of war or peace, enacted laws, and, when the king allowed, judged all matters pertaining to the life or privileges of the people.

5. The Army.—In case of war each tribe furnished, under the command of an officer called the tribune, for the common defence, 1000 foot-soldiers, and 100 horsemen or *equites*. The quota from the three tribes, the 3000 foot-soldiers and the 300 horsemen, formed the army or legion.

6. The Patricians.—The members of those families forming the state, exercised exclusively all the political power and enjoyed all the honors. They alone rendered service in the army and constituted the people or *populus*.[2] They guarded their privileges with great jealousy; and that these might be enjoyed by them and their descendants alone, they denied to all foreigners the right of intermarriage.[3] When any member of one of these clans concluded a marriage in the usual form, the children received the same rights that their father enjoyed, and hence they were called "fathers' children," or patricians.[4] All others were not regarded as members of the community, and were entirely destitute of political rights.

7. Clients.—By the side of the patricians there existed an inferior class, the clients, to whom the patricians stood in the relation of patron.[5] They were probably prisoners of war, subject not as the plebeians were to the state, but to the different heads[6] of the great patrician houses, whose lands they cultivated, or under whose protection they carried on trade. It

[1] It was to the heads of all the families, the *patres*, and not to the few represented in the senate, to which the full power (*summa potestas*) returned in case the king died. All the heads of families (*patres familias patriciarum gentium*) assembled on the death of the king in a council (*concilium patrum*) and chose from their number a temporary king (*interrex*) for five days, and he nominated his successor. To the second *interrex* or his successors belonged the duty of nominating a king for life. This new king must, however, before being installed in office, receive "the authority from the fathers" (*patrum auctoritas*) to convoke the *comitia curiata*, *i. e.*, the body of patricians before which he laid for their approval the *lex curiata de imperio*, by which the people (*i. e*, the fathers and their grown-up sons) delegated to him the power to command the army, impose taxes (*tributum*) or fines (*multæ dictio*), and decide absolutely in regard to the life or death (*jus vitæ necisque*) of a member of the community. By some authorities the right of electing the king is assigned to the senators, *i. e.*, to those heads of the families represented in the senate, instead of to the heads of all the families assembled in a council. Mommsen, who thinks that plebeian families were represented in the senate, assigns the election of the king to the patrician part of the senate. The view presented in the text accords with the tradition, and seems more satisfactory, because the full power ought to return, on the death of the king, to the heads of all the families, and not to those who happened to be represented in the senate. See p. 50, n. 3.

[2] They were called *Populi Romani Quirites*, but in their civil capacity simply *Quirites*. [3] *Jus connubii*. [4] *Patricii*. [5] *Patronus*. [6] *Patres familias*.

was the duty of the patron to protect the public and private interests of his clients, and they in turn were obliged to aid and support in every way the patrician to whom they were bound.

8. Slaves.—There were also the slaves,[1] who had no personal and political rights, but were the mere property of their masters, and could be bought and sold at pleasure.

9. Plebeians.—In addition to these three classes, there gradually grew up another class, the plebeians,[2] as they were called, from not being, like the patricians, members of the *curiæ*. This class was composed of the former inhabitants of conquered towns,[3]—particularly the members of the Latin communities and the Tusci in Etruria, who sought protection in Rome from the victorious Rasennæ,[4]—and of others who had fled to Rome for refuge.[5] They were personally free, could acquire and bequeath property and engage in trade, but were entirely without political rights.

10. The Reform of Tarquinius Priscus.—In consequence of the rapid growth of territory and the removing of large masses of population to Rome, the plebeians constantly increased in numbers and soon demanded a share in the political privileges of the state. This demand was met first by the reform which tradition attributes to Tarquinius Priscus.[6] The reform was brought about by inserting into the existing tribes and *curiæ* the most important plebeian families,[7] not on a footing of equality, but in the subordinate relation of the second Ramnes, Tities and Luceres. The king, by virtue of his power to fill up the senate,[8] added a number of new mem-

[1] *Servi.* [2] *Plebs, multitude.* [3] *Peregrini deditícii.* [4] *Vicus Tuscus.* [5] *Transfugæ.*

[6] The king wished to incorporate the plebeians with the state by adding three new tribes; but as every change in the constitution must receive the sanction of the *patres* (*patrum auctoritas*) in their assembly by *curiæ* (*concilium curiatum*), and this must be ratified by the whole people (*jussus populi*) in the *comitia curiata*, he was unable to accomplish it. This opposition tradition has expressed in the story of the Sabine augur Attus Navius, who said that the *patres* (*i. e.*, the Sabines) refused their authority, and that the auspices were unfavorable. The story runs that the king, in order to test the augur, asked him if what he was thinking of could be done. The augur replied, after consulting the auspices, that it could. Thereupon the king said, "I was thinking that thou shouldst cut this whetstone with a razor." Navius took the razor and immediately cut the stone in two. In consequence of this miracle the king gave up his design. The knife and the stone were buried in the forum, and a statue of Attus Navius was erected there to commemorate the miracle he had wrought.

[7] *Cooptatio.* [8] *Lectio senatus.*

bers, called *patres minorum gentium*, to distinguish them from the old senators who were termed *patres majorum gentium*. The number of *equites* was increased to six hundred.

11. The Reform of Servius Tullius.—The reform begun by Tarquinius is said to have been carried out by his successor, Servius Tullius. His object was to incorporate the whole body of plebeians with the state. This he did by a new division of the people, in which he assigned to property the influence which formerly belonged to birth. The reform was based on the principle that taxes[1] and military service should devolve upon the freeholders[2] or the wealthy,[3] whether they were patricians or plebeians. He divided the whole Roman territory into four tribes, and the whole population subject to military service and possessing two or more *jugera*[4] of land, into five classes, according to their property. The position of every citizen in the classes was determined by a *census*, which was a register of the citizens and their property. There were 170 centuries of infantry—80 from the first class, 30 from the fifth, and 20 from each of the other three—18 of cavalry, and 5 of musicians, armorers and carpenters, in all 193 centuries.

12. The first class embraced those who possessed a normal farm[5] of about 20 jugera;[6] the other classes possessed respectively $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{10}$ as much. The first class was divided into infantry[7] and cavalry,[8] as were all five classes into *seniores* and

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[1] *Tributum.* [2] *Assidui.* [3] *Locupletes.* [4] *Jugerum*, about $\frac{2}{3}$ of an acre.

[5] The census—of the first class 100,000 *asses* or more, and of the others 75,000, 50,000, 25,000, and 11,000 respectively—was not until the time of Appius Claudius (B. C. 312) expressed in money. The following table will show the census of each class, and number of centuries it contained:

I. HORSEMEN, OR KNIGHTS.

1. 6 old centuries, *sex suffragia*....census....first class.
2. 12 new centuries, " "

II. FOOT.

1st class,	80	centuries	(40 of seniores,	40	juniores),	census	100,000	asses.
2d "	20	"	(10 "	10	"),	"	75,000	"
3d "	20	"	(10 "	10	"),	"	50,000	"
4th "	20	"	(10 "	10	"),	"	25,000	"
5th "	30	"	(15 "	15	"),	"	11,000	"

1 century of proletarii, census under 11,000 asses.
4 centuries of musicians and workmen, census none.
Total, 193 centuries.

Dionysius gives the census of the 5th class 12,500 asses.

At the time (B. C. 268) silver coinage was introduced, 10 asses = 1 silver denarius = about 20 cents. This is about the time that the census was expressed in money: 1,000 asses = $20.

[6] *Heredium.* [7] *Pedites* [8] *Equites.*

juniores. The younger men, from seventeen to forty-five years of age, were employed for service in the field; the elder, from forty-five to sixty, were retained at home for the defence of the city. All the classes had to provide their own arms and armor.

13. The Armor.—The first class appeared in full armor, with shield of brass,[1] helmet,[2] cuirass,[3] greaves,[4] spear[5] for attack, and sword,[6] and fought in the front rank of the phalanx. The second class[7] was placed behind the first. They wore no cuirass, but had instead a large wooden shield[8] covered with leather. The third class had the same except the greaves; and the fourth carried only the shield, spear and sword. The fifth class did not serve in the phalanx, but fought outside with darts and slings.[9]

Besides these classes, there were the non-freeholders,[10] who furnished four centuries of workmen and musicians, and one century of substitutes, who marched with the army unarmed,[11] and, when vacancies occurred, took their places in the ranks. These five classes formed the infantry and cavalry. The cavalry was taken from the first class, and twelve new centuries were added, thus increasing the number to eighteen.

14. The Comitia Centuriata.—This was the military order of the people. The same order was observed when the king summoned them from time to time to meet outside of the city, on the *campus Martius,* to consult them concerning war or peace, laws or elections, or other important matters. This assembly was called the *comitia centuriata,* and each century had one vote, which was decided by the majority of individual voters. The tendency of this system was to place in the hands of the wealthiest—who formed the eighty centuries of the first class, and the eighteen centuries of *equites*—whether patricians or plebeians, the chief power.

In case of war the levy,[12] sufficient to form two legions of 4,250 men each, was made by tribes from the 85 centuries of *juniores.* Of the 8,500 men, each tribe furnished 2,125.

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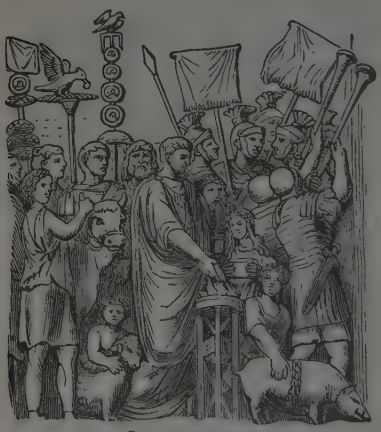
[1] *Clipeus*
[2] *Galea.*
[3] *Lorica.*
[4] *Ocreæ.*
[5] *Hasta.*
[6] *Gladius.*
[7] *Principes.*
[8] *Scutum.*
[9] *Lapides missiles.*
[10] *Proletarii.*
[11] *Velati.*
[12] *Delectus.*

15. This constitution, while it gave the plebeians a share in the defence of the state, and placed them side by side with the patricians in the five classes of citizens, where nothing prevented them from reaching the highest, left untouched all the old privileges of the patricians—the right to elect the *interrex,* take the auspices,[1] eligibility to the senate and *comitia curiata,* the power to authorize or not the chief magistrate[2] to appear before the *comitia curiata* for them to ratify[3] his election, or any change in the constitution which he might propose.

16. The Lustrum.—After completing his arrangements, Servius Tullius performed a solemn purification of the city and people. He summoned the whole people to assemble in full armor in the *campus Martius,* ranked according to classes and centuries. The sacrifices,[4] consisting of a pig, sheep and ox, were carried three times around the assembled multitude,[5] and then offered to Mars. After that the king prayed to the gods to bless and preserve the people. This ceremony was preserved under the republic as the closing act of the census, and as the census was regularly taken once in five years, the word *lustrum* was frequently used to denote that space of time.



SUOVETAURILIA.[6]

[1] *Jus auspiciorum.* [2] *Patrum auctoritas.* [3] *Lex curiata de imperio.*
[4] *Suovetaurilia* (from *sus, pig; ovis, sheep; taurus, ox*). [5] Hence called *ambilustrium.*
[6] The expiatory sacrifice was performed as the closing act of the census, and also after the triumph. The engraving is from the arch of Constantine, and shows the sacrifice performed by Trajan (see p. 458) in presence of his army. The emperor surrounded by his army bearing *vexilla* (standards made by fastening cloth to a transverse piece of wood) and the *signa* (the eagle-standards, one being decorated with portraits and the other plain; the *vexillum* to the left has a decorated pole) is pouring a libation on the burning altar. The animals are led forward by servants; a *camillus* offers a box of incense to the emperor, while the trumpeters are intoning the fanfare. In the bas-relief of the sacrifice at the *lustrum* the censor stands at the left inserting the names of citizens and soldiers in the census list; two musicians are playing the cithara and flute respectively, while a priest pours the libation into a vase presented by a *camillus;* the animals are crowned and led forward by servants, while another servant carries a box of incense on his shoulder.

CHAPTER III.

The History of the Regal Period—Its Credibility—Livy's Narrative—Other Sources.

1. The chief authorities for the history of the regal period are Livy and Dionysius of Halikarnassus. They both wrote their histories in the time of Augustus, and, so far as this period is concerned, nearly one thousand years after the events they relate. It is true they gained their information from the annalists; but the oldest of these, Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus, did not live earlier than the time of the second Punic war.

2. Early Records.—For the time after the regal period they no doubt made use of contemporary records, as the *annales maximi*, chronological lists of events kept by the *pontifex maximus;* of the inscriptions[1] in the houses of the great families, enumerating the magistracies they had held; or of other archives, which were preserved with great care at Rome. But for the regal period there were very few public documents of any kind. This is not surprising, for the art of writing was not introduced into Rome until the time of Tarquinius Priscus, and probably for many centuries after its use was confined to the few; and further, most public and private records were destroyed in the burning of the city by the Gauls (B. C. 390).

3. Oral Tradition.—The only information, then, which the historians and annalists had of the regal period was, in the main, oral tradition, which in the lapse of time became so changed that but little reliability could be placed in it as a groundwork for history.[2] This unwritten tradition, however, which had

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[1] These were inscriptions under the wax portraits which stood in the Atrium, recording the magistracies held by the distinguished members of the family.

[2] Livy (vi. 1) realized this, for he says: The history of this period is obscure, partly from great antiquity, like objects rendered almost imperceptible by their distance, partly because in these times the use of letters, the only faithful guardian of the memory of events, was inconsiderable and rare, and besides whatever was contained in the commentaries of the pontiffs, or other public or private records, perished for the most part in the burning of the city.

grown up in the course of so many centuries, and which often gave contradictory narratives of the same event, the early historians accepted without hesitation. In this way it came to pass that even in regard to the foundation of the city no less than twenty-five different accounts were developed. The one that was accepted with the most favor, attributing the origin of Rome to a Trojan colony, was reduced to its present form by Fabius Pictor, the first prose writer at Rome, and adopted by Vergil and Livy.

4. Livy's Account of the Origin of Rome.—According to this legend, Æneas, the son of Anchises, having collected a few friends, fled after the fall of Troy to seek a new home. After various adventures he arrived on the coast of Italy, and was hospitably received by the king Latinus, who made a league with him and gave him his daughter Lavinia in marriage. Æneas then built a town and called it in honor of his wife Lavinium. After the death of Æneas, his son Ascanius became king. He left Lavinium and built a new city on Mt. Albanus, which he called *Alba Longa*. The succession continued in his family until the time of Numitor, the son of Procas, who was deprived of his throne by his younger brother Amulius. Amulius, that he might retain the government, killed the son of Numitor, and made his daughter, Rhea Silvia, a vestal virgin, in order that she might remain unmarried. But when she bore the twins, Romulus and Remus, to the god Mars, the king ordered her to be killed and the twins thrown into the Tiber.

5. Romulus and Remus.—At this time it happened that the Tiber had overflowed its banks, forming shallow pools. In one of these the servant of the king placed the cradle with the children, thinking that it would float down the stream and then sink. The gods watched over the children, and the cradle was wafted to the foot of the Palatine, where it was overturned by the roots of a wild fig-tree, near the cave of the god Lupercus. The water subsiding left the boys on dry land. Here they were suckled by a she-wolf from the cave of Lupercus until they were found by the shepherd Faustulus, who took them to his

wife, Acca Larentia, to be brought up with his own children, and called them Romulus and Remus. The two brothers discovered the mystery of their birth by accident, and restored the throne to their grandfather, Numitor.

6. The Foundation of Rome.—They determined to leave Alba, and found a city on one of the hills by the Tiber, where they had been brought up. But as neither of the brothers would yield to the other, there arose a quarrel between them and their followers, who should give a name to the new city and govern it. It was agreed to let the gods decide the question by a sign from the sacred birds. Romulus and his followers took their station on the Palatine, and Remus on the Aventine. Remus first saw six vultures, but Romulus straightway after saw twelve. Each claimed the augury in his own favor, one on account of the priority of time, the other on account of the number of birds. The shepherds, however, decided in favor of Romulus, who built the town on the Palatine[1] and called it Rome, from his own name. He then drew a furrow round it with the sacred plow, and along by the furrow he built a wall which marked the line or sacred belt of the *pomerium*. Remus, in derision, leaped over the new built wall, whereupon Romulus slew him, saying: "So shall every one die who dares to leap over these walls."

7. The War with the Latins.—In order to people his new city, Romulus opened an asylum[2] or place of refuge on the Capitoline hill, to which he invited the lawless and discontented from all the country round. These he received, protected, and made citizens of his new town. Women were wanting, and he applied to the neighboring cities to give their daughters in marriage. This they scornfully refused. When Romulus heard this, he concealed his anger, but presently invited the dwellers round about to come to Rome, with their wives and children, to see the games which he was going to celebrate in

[1] According to the Varronian era, Rome was founded April 21, 755, on the day of the *Palilia*. This is generally accepted. The other principal eras are those of Cato, 751 B.C.; of Polybius, 750 B.C.; and of Fabius Pictor, 747 B.C. In practice the era of Varro is reckoned from Jan. 1, 753.

[2] Plut Rom.

honor of the god Consus. The Sabines and Latins came in great crowds, and when all were intent on the games, the Romans rushed on their guests and carried away the young women. The parents returned home and prepared to take vengeance on Romulus and his people. First, the men of the Latin towns, Cænina, Antemnæ, and Crustumerium, rushed to arms, but these were defeated by Romulus, who slew with his own hand Acron, king of Cænina, and dedicated his armor, as *spolia opima*, to Jupiter.

8. War with the Sabines.—The Sabines, who lived farther up the mountains, next raised an army and marched to Rome, and encamped on the Quirinal hill, directly opposite the capitol. Now one day when Tarpeja, the daughter of the warden of the capitol, went out to draw water, the Sabines begged her to open the gate to the citadel. This she promised to do if they would give her what they wore on their left arms, meaning the gold bracelets and rings. When they had penetrated into the citadel, they threw their heavy shields, which they wore on their left arms, on Tarpeja, and crushed her to death. The Romans attempted to recover the hill, and the two armies met in the valley between the Palatine and the Capitoline. The champion of the Romans was Hostus Hostilius, and that of the Sabines Mettus Curtius. The Sabines prevailed and were pursuing the Romans from the Velia up the hill, when Romulus vowed a temple to Jupiter Stator,[1] the Stayer of Flight. The Romans stopped and renewed the battle, and drove the Sabines back towards the Capitoline hill. Then it was that Mettus Curtius sank with his horse into the marsh and nearly perished. The place where this happened was called the Lake of Curtius. At length the Sabine women rushed between the combatants and prayed their husbands and fathers to be reconciled. The prayer was heard, and the chiefs of the two peoples made peace.

9. The Union of the Romans and Sabines.—It was agreed that the Sabines should remain in Rome and the two

[1] The temple of Jupiter Stator was situated near the *Porta Mugionis*. Remains of tufa blocks belonging to an ancient restoration of the temple have been found.

peoples form one nation. The Romans still occupied the Palatine, and the Sabines the Quirinal under their king Titus Tatius, who reigned jointly with Romulus. The united people were called Romans and Quirites,[1] because Tatius came from the city of Cures. The two peoples met to transact their affairs in common in the valley between the two hills, which was called *comitium*, or the place of meeting. Titus Tatius quarreled with the men of Laurentum, and while offering sacrifices at Lavinium was slain. From this time Romulus reigned alone over the two peoples, and made laws to govern them in peace and war.

10. The Constitution of Romulus.—First of all he divided his people into patricians and clients. He then divided the patricians into three tribes, the Ramnes, Tities and Luceres, and each of the three tribes into ten curies. The patricians, when they assembled to vote or make laws, came each in his *curia*, and each *curia* had one vote decided by the majority of voters in it. The *curia* was composed of the heads of the houses, which also had their own laws, customs, and sanctuaries. The clients were the dependents of the patricians, whom they were to protect in every way against injustice. From the patricians he chose three hundred of the oldest and wisest to be his council of senators. Out of the young men he chose a legion of 3,000 foot-soldiers and 300 horsemen, according to the number of the three tribes and thirty curies, out of every *curia* 100 foot-soldiers and ten horsemen.

The story goes on in the same mythical vein to tell how, after a reign of thirty-seven years, Romulus was suddenly removed from the world while reviewing his people on the *campus Martius*. There arose suddenly a fearful storm, the sun was darkened, but when daylight returned Romulus had disappeared. His father, Mars, had carried him up to heaven in a fiery chariot. His people mourned for him until Proculus, a senator, said that on his way to Alba Romulus had met him and promised to protect the Romans under the name of Quirinus.

[1] For the derivation, see p. 15, note.

11. The Legend attributes the introduction of the religious institutions, the reformation of the calendar, the formation of the guilds,* and the erection of a temple to Janus, at the entrance of the forum, the gates of which were opened during war and closed in time of peace, to Numa Pompilius.[1] Tullus Hostilius broke the power of the Latins and destroyed Alba. Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa, built the port of Ostia, the fortress on the Janiculus, a bridge across the Tiber, and laid the foundation of the plebeian order by the settlement he gave to the conquered people on the Aventine.

12. The Etruscan Dynasty.—After this, the state assumed a new character from the accession of an Etruscan dynasty of three kings. The first, Tarquinius Priscus, defeated the Sabines and took Collatia, subdued the Etruscans, doubled the number of noble houses in each tribe by enrolling plebeians, commenced the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, built the *cloaca maxima*, laid out the circus in the valley of *Murcia*, and introduced games from Etruria. The second, Servius Tullius, devised the new constitution, concluded a treaty with the Latins, and erected a temple of Diana on the Aventine as a federal sanctuary of the Latin and Roman people. The third, Tarquinius Superbus, formed an alliance with Octavius Mamilius of Tusculum, established the Latin games on the Alban Mount to Jupiter Latiaris, waged war on the Volscians, took their most important town, *Suessa Pometia*, from the spoils of which he finished the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, completed the sewers begun by Tarquinius Priscus, obtained the Sibylline books from Cumæ, sent his two sons to consult the Delphian oracle, and finally ruling with insolence, and endeavoring to build up his arbitrary power on the destruction of the nobility, was driven from the throne, and the monarchy which had endured two hundred and forty-four years ended with his reign, and the era of the republic began.[2]

13. The Value of this Narrative.—However much the story of the expulsion of Tarquinius and all his house may have

* See p. 398, n. 8.

[1] Plut. Numa.

[2] See p. 45.

been interwoven with anecdotes, it cannot in its leading outlines be called in question. There can be no doubt that the last king was a cruel and arbitrary tyrant; that he neglected to consult the senate and complete its numbers; that he unjustly pronounced sentence of death and confiscation against the leading members of the great houses, in order to weaken them in influence and numbers, that he might the easier build up his own arbitrary power; and that he finally exacted from the people military labors and task-work beyond what was due. These measures, which threatened to convert the government of the state into an arbitrary despotism, united the two parties, patrician and plebeian, against him. The exasperation of the people was attested by their vow never again to tolerate a king. In regard to the other events, the acts of each king, how many kings there were, how many years each reigned, and how long the regal period lasted, the tradition, interwoven with inconsistencies and improbabilities, at one time attributing institutions to one person and then the same to another, is utterly untrustworthy. The full extent of these inconsistencies, and the vast number of traditional histories, entirely inconsistent with each other, are not generally known, because the history of the regal period is usually learned from Livy. When we, however, compare Livy's narrative of events with those of other writers, we then become aware of the uncertainty which prevailed even among the Romans themselves.

14. Other Sources.—Still, while rejecting the traditional history in the main, we must remember that it is essentially of Roman origin, and closely interwoven with Roman manners, customs, and localities. This fact, taken in connection with what we learn from other sources in regard to the Roman people, enables us in a measure to eliminate much that is uncertain, and deduce a tolerably true and consistent history of the political and civil institutions, and of the religious and social customs of the Romans, even in that early period of their history. These other sources are: (1) the excavations which have recently been made in the very locality where the events were transacted; (2) the study of comparative philology, which has discovered

that the different races in Italy belonged to the Indo-European family, that the Romans, when they first appeared on the stage of history as a separate people, had already in the Græco-Italian time passed through a long period of development, and that the groundwork of their religious, social, and legal life had already been formed; (3) the physical geography of the country, which teaches how far the development of peoples is influenced by climate and the peculiar formation of their country; (4) the later history, which enables us in some instances to draw inferences in regard to the earlier history.

15. The Results.—From a study of these sources, certain broad conclusions have been arrived at, the chief of which have already been indicated. They may be summed up in the steady growth of the city until it became the head of Latium, and derived wealth and commercial importance from its favorable position. A constitution based on a patriarchal aristocracy, with an elective monarchy at its head, was modified by the introduction of new elements, chiefly from the conquered states.

Soon the necessity arose for incorporating this new element with the state. This was done by organizing a new military system, which made property instead of birth the principle of division. From this time the plebeians could no longer be kept separate as a distinct and inferior class, but under the new constitution they won after long and weary contests a position in the state. The last king, seeking to convert his government into an arbitrary despotism, was expelled by both patricians and plebeians, whom the common danger had for the moment united, but who differed again as soon as the peril was over. This change in the government, originating in the desire to limit the power of the chief magistrate, at least in point of time, was the result of the natural development of the constitution. For not only at Rome, but in the other Latin states, and even in Greece, at about the same time, the rulers for life were superseded by annual magistrates.

CHAPTER IV.

The Religion of the Romans.

1. It is necessary before passing to the history of the Republic, to glance at the religion of Rome, because it exercised a decided influence on the government of the state. We have already learned that the groundwork of the religion of the Greeks and Romans was laid[1] before their separation. The Romans brought their own gods and own form of worship with them into the valley of the Tiber. The elements, then, of their religion, like their clan-constitution, were older than the state; the development was peculiar and characteristic of the Roman mind.

2. The Worship of Nature.—The Roman was eminently religious. He saw the agency of the gods in everything. To him all nature, the heavens, the earth, the mountains, the rivers, swarmed with divine beings. Wherever he turned, whatever he undertook, whether at home, on his farm, or in the forum, he sought with scrupulous care to learn the will of the gods by prayer and offerings. The Roman, on his entrance into Italy, had the home and the domestic hearth, and had learned how to till the soil. The gods, then, whose protection he especially sought, were those of nature—of the forest, the field, the grove, the mountain, and the home. Hence the honor early paid to Jupiter and Juno, the god and goddess of the clear sky; to Saturnus, the seed-sower; to Tellus, the nourishing earth; to Ceres, the goddess of germination and growth; to Consus and Ops, the god and goddess of the harvest; to Pales, the goddess of the flocks; and to Jupiter,[2] the god of the vine. These were all worshiped with festivals,[3] each in his own proper month.

[1] Page 11.

[2] Jupiter was worshiped under names according to the matter for which his aid was needed: as *Jupiter Terminus*, the god of boundaries; *Jupiter Elicius*, the god of lightning; and in the Capitol as *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*.

[3] The *Saturnalia* in December, the *Tellilia*, *Cerialia*, *Palilia*, and *Vinalia* in April.

3. The Lupercalian Feast.—The Romans heard, especially, the voices of their gods in the stillness of the forest. Pliny calls the groves the first temples of the gods. Here before the trees, as before the altars of their gods, the Romans offered their devotions. The oak was sacred to Jupiter; the olive to Minerva. The fig-tree was an object of especial worship, for it was near the fig-tree at the foot of the Palatine that the twins Romulus and Remus were found. Near by was the Lupercal, where the god Lupercus dwelt. His festival, called *Lupercalia*, was celebrated every year, on the 15th of February. After sacrificing to the god in his cave, the priests ran through the streets dressed in goats' skins, beating all whom they met with strips of goats' leather. The year closed with the festival to Terminus, called the Terminalia, the god of boundaries.

4. Other Forms of Worship.—The Roman gods loved to have their thrones erected on the lofty hills, as *Jupiter Latiaris* on the Alban Mount, from the sacred summit of which he could survey the whole plain of Latium, and as the old Italian deity *Apollo Soranus*, the god of the sun, on Mount Soracte. In addition to these there was the worship of Vulcan, the god of fire and the forge; of the Arval Brothers, who invoked in May the creative goddess Dea Dia to bless the growth of the seed; that of Neptune, the god of the sea, by the sailors, and of Volturnus, the god of the Tiber. In fact, every person, house, curia, and tribe, had its own god, to whom each offered sacrifices and prayers. Particularly dear to the Roman was the worship of the goddess Vesta, with her eternal fire burning on the household hearth, the living symbol of the goddess. Her worship was intimately connected with that of the Penates, the protectors of the house, and of the Lares, the departed spirits of ancestors who watched over the family.

5. Jupiter and Mars.—Besides these deities who watched over the fields, the flocks, and the house, the Romans also paid worship to Jupiter, the protector and preserver of the state, whom the Latins worshiped on the Alban mount as *Jupiter Latiaris*, and the Romans on the Capitoline as *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

The Ides* of each month were sacred to him, and a great festival, the *Feriæ Latinæ*, was celebrated once every year on the Alban Mount. By his side stood Mars, the protector of the citizens, the father of Romulus and the Roman people; to whom March, the first month of their year, was consecrated, and to whom a great war festival was celebrated at the beginning and end of every campaign.

6. The Worship of Quirinus.—After the union of the Palatine Romans with the Sabines on the Quirinal, the Roman religion, influenced by the addition of new and conservative elements,[1] entered upon a new period of development. Both tribes before their union had worshiped Jupiter and Mars as their supreme gods, and now in common they paid their devotions to *Quirinus*, the god of the united Ramnes and Tities. The point of union for the two tribes was found in the *curia*, which had a religious as well as a political significance. Each *curia* had its own place of worship, under the direction of the *curio* and his priest, the *flamen curialis*, and out of the thirty *curiæ* one was selected, called *curio maximus*, who presided over the whole.

7. The State Religion.—We have learned that the Roman government was modeled on that of the family. The state religion also found its counterpart in that of the household. As the family had its own domestic altar, so the state had a common altar[2] in the temple of Vesta, the goddess of the house. Just as the family offered sacrifices on the domestic hearth, so the state offered sacrifices to the gods either in this temple or its rotunda, the so-called *domus regia*. In the regia were worshipped the two gods of the Ramnes and Tities, Jupiter and Mars, and that of the united people, Quirinus, and the old Latin deity Janus, god of the beginning and end of everything, and the one whom the Romans invoked before any other god. To Janus all gates and doors were sacred, and he therefore carried a key in his hand to open and lock them. He is always represented with two faces, one before and one behind, and

* See p. 259, n. 3. [1] Page 15. [2] *Focus publicus.*

hence called *Bifrons*, or *Biceps*. As the god of beginning he opened in the morning the gates of Olympus and closed them at evening. To him the month of January[1] was sacred, and the first day of that month, when the labors of the husbandman began anew, sacrifices of wine, incense and fruit were offered to him. He was invoked particularly at the beginning and end of every war. When the two cities on the Palatine and Quirinal were united, a gate called the Janus was erected in the comitium, through which their armies passed going to or returning from war. This was always open in time of war and closed in time of peace, to signify that in peace the two communities were separate, but in war united for mutual protection.

8. The Worship of Vesta.—In the temple of Vesta were worshiped Vesta and the Penates and Lares. The house near by was called the *regia*, because the worship due to the gods honored there belonged to the king as high-priest of the nation. In order that it might never be neglected, on account of the other duties of the king, three priests, called *flamines*, were nominated for life to assist the king, viz.: the *flamen Dialis*, the priest of Jupiter, the god of the Ramnes, and his wife *flaminica*, corresponding to the *pater familias* and *mater familias* of the family; *flamen Martialis*, the priest of Mars, the god of the Tities, and *flamen Quirinalis*, the priest of *Quirinus*, god of the united community. In the temple of Vesta were six virgins, *virgines Vestales*, daughters of the household of the Roman state, to correspond with the *filiæ familias*, the daughters of the family. They kept the fire always blazing on the common household hearth. This was considered the most sacred worship in Rome. The king also had charge of the worship of the *curies* (and hence *flamines curiales*), and also general oversight over the college of Salii and Fratres Arvales. To the custody of the Salii was entrusted the care of the sacred shields, *ancilia*, which were kept in the temple of Mars on the Palatine, and every year, on the first of March, they made a solemn procession through the city, chanting hymns and dancing. There were

[1] When January became the first month, the opening of the year was also ascribed to him.

two sets of Salii, the Salii of Palatine and Quirinal, which commemorated the union of the Romans on the Palatine and the Sabines on the Quirinal. The Salii were twelve in number, and were always selected from the patricians.

The unity of the Roman state after the banishment of the king was preserved by conferring those priestly duties which the king alone performed, upon a *rex sacrorum* or *rex sacrificulus* and his wife *regina sacrorum*, both of whom performed their sacrifices in the *regia*, he to Jupiter, she to Juno. He was nominated by the *pontifex maximus*, and inaugurated in the *comitia curiata calata*,[1] just as the king was. He ranked higher than all other priests, but in influence and power was inferior to the *pontifex maximus*. He held his office for life like the king, but was not allowed to hold any political or military office, and was exempt from all civil and political duties. He lived on the *via sacra* in a *domus publica*.

9. Jupiter Capitolinus.—Soon Rome extended her power over Latium, and, as a common centre of worship for the enlarged state, dedicated the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Here the unity of the new nation was symbolized by the common worship paid to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. In the building of the temple tradition relates that it was necessary to remove ancient shrines and altars erected there by the Sabines. The gods to whom these had been raised were consulted by auguries if they would give place to the new deities. All consented except Terminus and Youth, who refused to retire from the sacred spot. This gave Rome the assurance that her boundaries should never go back, and that her youth should ever be renewed. Here in his temple the statue of Jupiter himself was erected, with his face turned towards the forum, that he might look down upon his people. Until then the Romans had made no ideal pictures or statues of their god. They had only symbols, as a stone for Jupiter, the holy lance for Mars, the fire for Vesta, the altars and the consecrated space,[2] but now they learned from the Greeks how to represent their gods as men.

[1] *Calata* from the manner in which it was called.

[2] *Templum*.

10. Grecian Influence.—Another evidence of Grecian influence was the introduction of the Sibylline books, as tradition relates, from Cumæ. The story runs that a strange woman came to Tarquin and offered nine books for sale. The king refused to buy the books. The Sibyl departed and burnt three; then returned offering the remaining six at the same price. The king again refused. The Sibyl then burnt three more, and demanded the same price for the remaining three. The curiosity of the king was aroused; he bought the books, and the woman vanished. The books were kept in a stone chest under the capitol in charge of two men, called *duoviri sacrorum*. They were consulted by the order of the senate in time of great emergency or of public calamity. Through their influence the worship of many Grecian deities was introduced, as that of Apollo, Latona, Mater Idæa and others.

11. Divination.—The Romans sought in many ways to know the wills of the gods. Besides consulting the Sibylline books, they had omens, prodigies, and divinations. That form of divination which was peculiarly national and characteristic of the Roman, was the observation of the auspices. No transaction, public or private, took place without first consulting the auspices. The auspices were the signs from Jupiter to his people telling them what to do or not to do. For private acts the auspices could be taken by any one who belonged to the people; but for the state they could only be taken by some one who represented the state and who had been empowered to act as mediator between the state and the gods. This was at first the king, and in case of his death the patricians[1] and the interrex, and after the establishment of the republic the higher magistrates. The gods of the Roman state then were the gods of the patricians, and they alone could mediate between them and the state.

12. The Auspices.—In the regal period the *auspicia*[2] belonged to the king alone, and in the times of the republic to

[1] When the king died the auspices returned to the *patres* (*i. e.*, *patres familias gentium patriciarum*), and they in *concilium curiatum* nominated the interrex.

[2] *I. e.*, *ex cœlo* and *ex avibus*, the other forms (*ex tripudiis*, *de cœlo servare*, *ex quadrupedibus* and *ex diris*) being later.

the magistrates, by virtue of election. The augur was only the assistant of the magistrate; the lightning and the birds were not sent to him but to the magistrate; he only interpreted them. In taking the auspices considerable technical knowledge was necessary, as the consecrated space[1] had to be marked off with the sacred wand,[2] the tent to be pitched,[3] and certain prayers and formulæ repeated. Then the person taking the auspices waited for the favorable signs. If an interruption of any kind occurred, if the sacred chair rocked, if the wand fell, the auspices were rendered invalid. Great importance was attached to the phraseology of the prayer, for a mistake here, even in a single word, might call down the vengeance of Jupiter upon the state. Hence it was necessary that men particularly skilled in sacred lore should be appointed to assist the magistrate and dictate the proper form of prayer. This led to the formation of three colleges of sacred lore, that of the *augures*, *pontifices* and *fetiales*.

The College of Augures[4] was nominated from the patricians by the king; and the number, consisting at first of four, was increased to six, then to nine, and then to sixteen. As no public act of any kind could be performed, no election held, no law passed, no war waged, without first taking the auspices, the augurs, as interpreters of the will of the gods, in whose hands the exclusive right was to declare[5] whether the omens were favorable or unfavorable, acquired great influence and soon exercised virtual control over every act of the state. This power they naturally used in the interest of their own order. In the great contest of the plebeians for equal rights in the state, the augurs not unfrequently used their power unfairly to render void the elections of consuls, the acts of the *comitia*, or any measure not in the interest of their own order, on the ground that the auspices had been irregular.[6] As there was no appeal from their decision, their veto was absolute.

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[1] *Templum.* [2] *Lituus.* [3] *Tabernaculum capere.*

[4] Or *auspices* (from *avis* and *spec-ere*), in so far as they made the observation; or *augures* (from *avis*, and a root which means to announce), in so far as they announced the result.

[5] *Nuntiatio.* [6] *Vitium.*

13. The Influence on the Government.—One of the arguments most strenuously urged against the admission of the plebeians to the consulship, was that the privilege of taking the auspices belonged to the patricians alone. On the same grounds the intermarriage of plebeians with the patrician order was opposed because the auspices must ever remain in the patrician families. The patricians alone knew the days[1] when civil suits could be heard, or when it was lawful to transact business with the people,[2] that is, when the *comitia* could meet.[3] On the morning of the day when the *comitia centuriata* was to assemble, the magistrate who was to preside consulted the auspices. For this purpose an augur[4] must be present, and if he announced by the words *die alio* that they were unfavorable,[5] the *comitia* must be postponed. If, however, the auspices were declared favorable[6] by the words *silentium esse videtur*, the people were, after certain preliminary forms,[7] called together. If, however, it lightened, or a storm arose, or night came on, or the standard hoisted on the Janiculus was lowered, the assembly must disperse. If, in the time of the republic, a magistrate observed the heavens[8] for any purpose, and falsely declared that it thundered or lightened, the *comitia* must break up. In later times it was unlawful to hold the assembly if one of the higher magistrates announced that he was engaged in observing the heavens, or was going to observe the heavens on the day fixed for the *comitia*. This put it in the power of every magistrate to adjourn the *comitia* and thus impede hasty legislation.

14. The College of Pontifices[9] was the most illustrious of all the religious institutions in the state. The pontiffs exercised, under the kings, a general supervision over the whole worship of the state, regulated the calendar on which the time

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[1] *Dies fasti.* [2] *Cum populo.* [3] *Dies comitiales.*
[4] *Publicus.* [5] *Obnuntiatio.* [6] *Nuntiatio.*
[7] These were three, viz.: (1) *vocare ad inlicium*, when the herald (*accensus*) invited them to the assembly; (2) *vocare conventionem*, a meeting preparatory to the assembly; (3) *mittere in suffragium*, the assembly in regular form for voting.
[8] *Servare de cœlo.*
[9] The word *pontifices* is probably from *pons*, not in the sense of *bridge*, but of *way, road*; they were called pontifices because they must keep in order the roads, especially the *pons sublicius* for the priestly processions.

of the festivals depended, and with them rested the exclusive knowledge of the forms of procedure in the civil and religious courts. They not only determined what gods should be worshiped, and in what manner, but they exercised a general supervision over priests, magistrates, and even private individuals. From their power to regulate the calendar, they added to or shortened the year, so as to lengthen the term of a favorite consul or to shorten that of one who displeased them. At their head stood the *pontifex maximus*, who was at first elected by the college itself, and in the time of the republic by the people. It was his duty to record the most important events of the year, to appoint the *flamines*, *vestales*, and *rex sacrificulus*, and exercise a general supervision[1] over the worship of the state. His official residence was in the *domus regia* on the *via sacra*.

15. The College of Fetiales[2] was the guardian of the public faith in all matters pertaining to foreign nations. It was their duty in case of dispute with a foreign state, to demand[3] satisfaction. This was done by electing one from their number called *pater patratus*, whose duty it was, first, at the confines of the enemy's territory; secondly, of the first native of the country whom he might chance to meet; thirdly, at the gate of the city, and finally in the market before the magistrate, to demand satisfaction. If this was not granted, then the king, first consulting the senate and then the people, again sent the *pater patratus* to the hostile country, who pronounced a declaration of war and hurled a spear tipped with blood across the boundary.

The *Fetiales* were the first of the three great colleges to decline in influence, because the foreign relations of Rome soon extended beyond the confines of Italy. In the war with Pyrrhus, as the spear could not be hurled into the enemy's territory, to preserve the form a subject of Pyrrhus, a prisoner of war at Rome, was compelled to purchase a piece of land in the *circus Flaminius*. This was declared to be hostile terri-

[1] *Judex et arbiter rerum divinarum et humanarum.*—Fest. s. v. ordo, p. 185.
[2] From the old substantive *fētis*; cf. *fari*, *fas*.
[3] *Res repetere.*

tory, and the *pater patratus* hurled here the hostile spear. Later the preliminary arrangements were made by ambassadors[1] sent by the senate, while the hostile spear was hurled over the pillar in front of the temple of Bellona, for the area upon which this temple stood was regarded as a symbolical representation of the enemy's country.

16. The Art of the Haruspices was another peculiar form of Roman worship. It was of Etruscan origin, and on important occasions haruspices were often summoned from Etruria. It consisted in interpreting the will of the gods from inspection of the entrails of victims offered in sacrifice. It was customary here to continue the sacrifice until the desired result was obtained, and in a measure, as with the auspices, to compel the gods to give favorable signs. The same was the case with the so-called prodigies[2] by which the gods unsought indicated the approach of evil by some strange incident, as when it rained stones or blood, when the lightning struck, when the holy lance of Mars trembled. In these cases it was believed that the wrath of heaven might be appeased by certain forms and ceremonies, which would be announced, either on the burial of the stones, the erection of an altar[3] where the lightning struck, or on consulting the Sibylline books or even the Delphic oracle. In all these cases they made no effort to comply with the will of the gods, they changed none of their plans or views, but simply sought by external ceremonies[4] to avert the anger of the gods.

17. Peculiar Ceremonies.—The state religion of the Romans was connected with a dreary round of ceremonies which none but the priests knew. As to the priests, they formed no exclusive class, no qualifications of age or experience being required. They were generally elected for life, and often at the same time held sacred and civil offices. In rank the *rex sacrificulus* took the precedence, then came the three *flamines*. The *pontifex maximus* occupied the fifth place, but in power and authority stood over all the others.

[1] *Legati.* [2] *Prodigium.* [3] *Putealia.* [4] *Procurare prodigium.*

The priests were subject to some curious regulations which existed down to later times, and which, in the case of the *flamen Dialis*, have been accidentally preserved.[1] It was unlawful for him to ride upon a horse, to look upon an army equipped for battle, to take an oath, or to wear a ring unless it was hollow and perforated with holes. A prisoner who entered his house was free, and his chains must be hurled from the house over the roof. He could have no knot in his whole attire; he was forbidden to touch or name raw flesh, a she-goat, ivy, or beans; he could not take off his head-dress in the open air, nor sleep three nights in succession out of his own bed, nor could he be out of the city a single night. If his wife, the *flaminica*, died, he was obliged to resign.

18. The General Character of the Roman Religion.— A religion like that of the Romans, so severe, so anxious in the fulfilment of dreary ceremonies, so narrow in its purposes and aims, so intimately connected with the machinery of the state, must necessarily have exercised a decided influence on the earnest, practical minds of the Romans. At the same time it is clear that it was exposed to misuse for political purposes, and when this once happened, when its narrow limits were once broken through, its decline was sure and rapid. In the regal period, however, the priests were regarded as the mere servants of the king. His control was supreme, not only over the worship of the state, but over that of the *curia*, of the *gens*, and even of the family. The signs came to him as the high-priest of the nation and not to his servants. He alone could perform certain sacrifices for the state,[2] for which, after the banishment of the kings, the *rex sacrificulus* was appointed. The priests acknowledged that they were instituted by him, and that from him they learned their sacred rites. Still the other duties of the king, as commander of the army and administrator of justice, compelled him to transfer many of his religious functions to others. He, too, was liable to change, while they were permanent and handed down to their successors the various rules of their

[1] Aulus Gellius, x. 15. [2] *Sacra publica.*

science. They, too, as sole interpreters of the auspices, possessed a virtual veto on every public act. The result was that their dignity in the state was constantly on the increase. By this transference of religious duties to the priests, it was not intended to separate permanently the civil and religious functions of the king; but this transference contained the germ of such a separation. Its development is really the internal history of Rome in the time of the republic. The state incorporated new elements, and entered upon a career of progress, while the religion, incapable of growth, remained stationary. For the present, however, the priests acknowledged their dependence upon the magistrates, and religion remained serviceable to the state, and not the state to religion.

TEMPLE OF VESTA —(In its present condition.)

This temple stood in the *forum Boarium*. It is sometimes called a temple of Hercules, because Livy (x. 23) speaks of such a temple being in this vicinity. One of the original twenty Corinthian columns is gone. The roof is modern, the ancient entablature and roof having disappeared.

CHAPTER V.

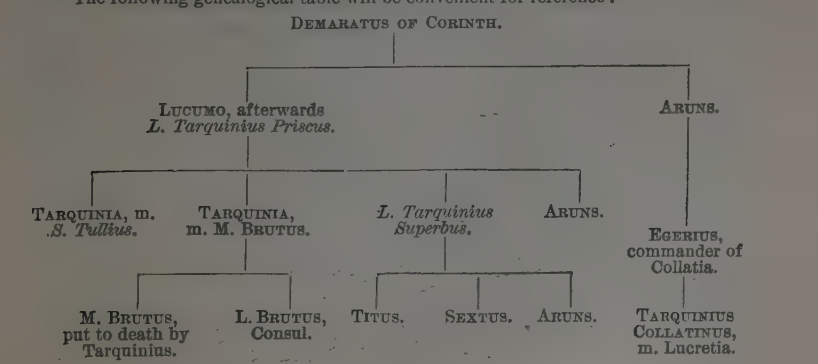
The Attempts of Tarquinius to Regain the Royal Power.

1. The Legendary Narrative —Tradition relates that when Tarquinius[1] and all his house had been banished from

[1] The legendary history of the last king is so interwoven with the literature of Rome, that every one ought to be familiar with it. A brief sketch condensed from Livy, is therefore annexed:

Lucius Tarquinius, called Superbus on account of his pride, was a genuine tyrant. It is related that Servius Tullius had two daughters; the one quiet and gentle, the other haughty and imperious. In like manner the two sons, Aruns and Lucius, of Tarquinius Priscus,* the predecessor of Servius, were of different disposition. These sons Servius Tullius married to his own daughters; but they were ill-mated, for the cruel Tullia was married to the gentle Aruns, while the wicked Lucius was the husband of the gentle Tullia. The wicked ones longed for the society of each other, and it soon came to pass that the wicked Lucius murdered his wife and brother, and united himself with the one who had a disposition like his own. This wicked pair desired to possess the royal power and encroached on the authority of their father-in-law. Lucius entered the market-place clothed in the royal robes, attended with armed men, and summoned the senate. When Servius heard the reports, and hurried to the senate-house, a quarrel arose and his son-in-law hurled him down the steps of the senate-house, and dispatched men who overtook him on his way home and slew him in the street. The ambitious Tullia hastened to salute her husband as king. As she was driving her carriage home through the street where her father's body lay bleeding, she gave orders not to turn the carriage out, but to drive over the body of her father. From this action the street was called ever after the street of crime (*Vicus Sceleratus*). After Tarquin gained the throne he ruled with insolence. His will was the sole law. He surrounded himself with a body-guard, refused to consult the senate, and banished or punished with heavy fines all who were against him or whose wealth provoked his avarice. The poor he compelled to work at his buildings beyond what was lawful. He married his daughter to Mamilius of Tusculum, and, strengthened by this alliance, he made the forty-seven Latin towns subject to himself (see p. 95, note 5). The people of Gabii resisted bravely and he could not prevail against them. Then Tarquin pretended to banish his son Sextus; he fled to Gabii as if from his father's wrath, and begged the people with tears to give him refuge

* The following genealogical table will be convenient for reference:



Rome he did not give up all hope of recovering the throne. He had still a strong party of patricians in the city. He therefore sent messengers to Rome on the pretence of asking for the restoration of his private property, but really to consult with his friends in the city how the king might be restored.

and receive him into their town. The Gabians were deceived, and befriended him and made him a commander. The Romans fled when Sextus appeared, because it had been so agreed upon between Sextus and his father. At length Sextus had so gained the confidence of the people of Gabii that the whole power in the city was entrusted to him. Then he sent secretly a messenger to his father to ask what he should do. The king happened to be walking in his garden when the envoy came, and instead of giving an answer in words he cut off with his stick the heads of all the tallest poppies. When the messenger returned and reported what he had seen, Sextus understood his father's meaning, and on one pretext or another he found means to put to death the leading men of Gabii. Then he delivered the town to his father.

In all his schemes Tarquin was successful; but one day a prodigy happened that frightened the tyrant. A serpent crawled out from beneath the altar and devoured the entrails of the victim. This alarmed the king and he determined to send his two sons and his nephew, Junius Brutus, who had for some time pretended to be half-witted, to Delphi to inquire the cause of so fearful a portent. The king's sons brought costly presents, but Brutus gave only a simple staff. The others ridiculed him, but they did not know that the staff was hollowed out and filled with gold. After they had made their inquiries they asked who would reign in Rome after their father. "He," replied the god, "who shall first kiss his mother." The princes agreed to draw lots which of them should first kiss his mother on their return. Brutus, however, better understood the meaning of the oracle, and when he had left the temple, fell, as if by chance, and kissed the ground; for the earth he thought was the common mother of all.

About this time it happened that Tarquin was besieging Ardea, a town of the Rutuli, in Latium. The city could not be taken by storm, and the Roman army encamped under the walls. One evening, when the sons of Tarquin were supping with their cousin, Tarquinius Collatinus of Collatia, a dispute arose as to which of their wives was the most virtuous. They agreed to settle it by going and seeing which of the ladies deserved the highest praise. They mounted their horses and first rode to Rome, and then to Collatia. They found the princesses at a splendid feast, but Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, busy among the maidens spinning, though it was late at night. The prize was conceded to Lucretia.

The beauty and virtue of Lucretia excited the evil passions of Sextus, and he returned a few days after to Collatia, where he was kindly received. In the middle of the night he rose and entered Lucretia's chamber and surprised her alone. When she refused to yield herself to him he threatened to murder her and to put a murdered slave beside her in the bed, and then declare to her husband that he had found them so together. Then Lucretia resisted no longer. As soon as Sextus had returned to the camp before Ardea, she sent to Rome and to Ardea for her father and husband. These hastened to Collatia, accompanied by Junius Brutus and Publius Valerius, and they found Lucretia clad in deep mourning. When she had told her story she drew a dagger and plunged it into her heart. Brutus snatched the dagger from the wound and swore to avenge her death. They bore the corpse to the market-place of Collatia and told the people what had happened; messengers were also sent to the army at Ardea. Brutus hastened to Rome, and a decree was passed to expel King Tarquinius and all his house* from Rome, and never again to suffer a king. When Tarquinius came to Rome he found the gates closed and he was compelled to take refuge in Cære, in Etruria. In the place of the king, two men called consuls were chosen yearly to exercise the royal power. Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus were the first consuls (B. C. 509). For the performance of the sacrifices which the king alone could offer, a priest called the King of Sacrifices (*rex sacrificulus*) was chosen. Nothing else in the laws or ordinances was altered, but everything remained as it had been under the king. Rome endured the kingly rule for two hundred and forty-five years (B.C. 753–509). In memory of the king's banishment an annual festival was celebrated on the 24th of February, called the *Regifugium*.

* *gens*; it is not quite correct to render *gens* by *house*, for this implies relationship, which was not essential in the *gens*, neither is the term clan nor family synonymous.

The plot was discovered, and the property of the king was divided among the people. Among the conspirators were the two sons of Brutus, the consul. He would not ask the people for mercy for his own sons, but ordered the lictor[1] to bind them to the stake before his own eyes and to put them to death like the other traitors.

2. Tarquinius now endeavored to regain the throne by arms. He prevailed upon the people of Tarquinii and Veji to espouse his cause. The Romans marched out to meet their foes. The battle was fought near the wood Arsia, and was fierce and bloody. Both parties claimed the victory, but in the night the voice of the god Silvanus was heard from the woods, saying that the Romans had conquered, because among the Etruscans one man more had been slain than among the Romans. In the battle Brutus had been killed by Aruns, the king's son. The Roman women mourned for him a whole year, because he had avenged the death of Lucretia.

3. The War with Porsenna.—Tarquinius now applied to Lars Porsenna, of Clusium, who ruled over the whole of Etruria. Porsenna collected a powerful army, marched to Rome, took possession of the hill Janiculus, and would have entered the city over the wooden bridge[2] if it had not been for one man. This was Horatius Cocles, who with two comrades kept the whole Etruscan army at bay, while the Romans broke down the bridge. Horatius then sprang into the Tiber, armed as he was, and swam safely to the opposite shore. The Etruscans now laid siege to the city. The people were hard pressed with famine. Then Mucius, a noble Roman, went to the Etruscan camp to kill the king. By a mistake he slew the treasurer of the king, who was distributing pay to the soldiers. He was seized and led to Porsenna, who threatened him with death. Mucius, to show that he feared neither pain nor death, thrust his right hand into the flames that were burning on the

[1] The lictors were servants of the magistrates. Each consul had twelve. They carried the *fasces*, or rods, bound in a bundle, from the middle of which an axe (*securis*) protruded.

[2] *Pons sublicius.*

altar until it was burnt to ashes. Astonished at the courage of the youth, the king forgave him, and allowed him to depart in peace. And Mucius, in gratitude, revealed to him that three hundred Roman youths had sworn to take his life, and that they would not rest until they had accomplished the deed. Porsenna, alarmed for his life, made peace with the Romans. He took no land from them except the seven Vejentine villages, which the Romans in former times had conquered. After taking hostages, he withdrew his forces from the Janiculus.

Among the hostages was a noble maiden named Clœlia. She escaped from the Etruscan camp, reached the Tiber, and swam across the river to Rome. The Romans, although they honored her courage, sent her back to Porsenna, who so admired the faith of the Romans that he not only released Clœlia but as many of the other hostages as she selected.

4. When Porsenna made peace with the Romans, he returned to Clusium. He sent his son, however, with an army against the Latin town Aricia. The Greeks of Cumæ helped the Latins, and the Etruscans were defeated in a great battle, so that few escaped. These fled to Rome, where they were hospitably received. The fathers gave them a dwelling in a part of the city that was called, from them, the Etruscan quarter (*vicus Tuscus*). At this time Attus Clausus[1] migrated to Rome with his three thousand clients, and founded the great patrician house of the Claudii.

5. The Battle of Lake Regillus.—The king made one more attempt to regain his throne. This time he applied to his son-in-law, Octavius Mamilius, of Tusculum. The Latins espoused his cause. A great battle was fought near Lake Regillus. The Romans were commanded by a dictator, Aulus Postumius, who was appointed for six months to rule over Rome like the king, and to be the sole leader of the army, for it was feared that the two consuls might not agree. Titus, the son of the king, perished on the battle-field. The king himself fled to Cumæ, where he soon after died. The tradition relates that the battle was long and bloody. The Roman army began to give way. The dictator vowed a temple to Cas-

[1] See p. 55.

tor and Pollux,[1] if they would assist the Roman army. Then two youths rode on white chargers at the dictator's right hand. The Romans pressed again on the Latins and overthrew them. The same evening the two youths appeared at Rome to announce the victory. After they had washed their horses at the spring Juturna, in the forum, they disappeared and were never seen again. Then the Romans knew that they had seen Castor and Pollux, and they built them a temple where they had washed their horses. With the battle of Lake Regillus closed the period of mythical Roman history. Although the vein of poetical fable often reappears, even to the time of Camillus,* still in the main the narrative is reliable and trustworthy.

6. The Credibility of this Narrative.—It is difficult to determine from these legends what the actual course of events was. There is little doubt that Rome was conquered by the Etruscans and lost all her territory on the right bank of the Tiber. This war, however, can not be regarded as an intervention of Etruria in favor of the Tarquins; for the reason that notwithstanding the complete success of the Etruscans, they made no effort to restore the Roman monarchy. Neither was the war with the Latins an effort to restore Tarquin, for he had been their oppressor, and his banishment must have been welcome to them; but in this war probably was disguised the fact that the neighboring tribes seized this opportunity to throw off the hated yoke of Roman supremacy which Tarquin had laid upon them. Another evidence that Rome was hard pressed, is that in order to strengthen the unity and power of the government, the kingly office was temporarily restored. The consuls were superseded, and a dictator with supreme power[2] was nominated. The first dictator is said to have been Titus Larcius (B. C. 501), and his master of horse,[3] Sp. Cassius.

[1] This temple vowed by the dictator is said to have been erected by his son. It was in the forum east of the basilica Julia, and separated from it only by the *vicus Tuscus*. It was rebuilt by Tiberius, and the three columns still standing are of his time. Part of the foundation is tufa and is of the time of the kings. A little farther on, nearer the *rostra* of Julius Cæsar, are the remains of a fountain, which by some has been identified as the fountain *Juturna*.

[2] *Imperium plenum.* [3] *Magister equitum.* See p. 54. * See p. 76.

7. The result may be summed up by saying that Rome was reduced almost to her original limits. She became again a Latin town. For nearly the next two hundred years she was engaged in conquering what had been lost by the revolution.

CHAPTER VI.

The Establishment of the Republic. (509 B.C.)

1. After the banishment of the king, the power[1] that had been delegated to him returned to the fathers.[2] The forms of the constitution were strictly observed. Under the direction of Brutus, or of the *pontifex maximus*, an *interregnum** was declared and Spurius Lucretius was nominated *interrex*. The constitution was so amended[3] that instead of a king two magistrates, called consuls, were placed at the head of the state. They were not elected as the king had been, in the *comitia curiata*, an exclusive patrician assembly, but on account of the rising influence of the plebeians, in the *comitia centuriata*, where they too had a vote.[4] The consuls, like the king, were to rule the state,[5] administer justice,[6] and lead the army. Certain priestly functions which the king alone could perform were transferred to an officer called the king of sacrifices,[7] who was appointed for life.[8] It was not lawful for him to hold any political office nor to address the people. He must always perform his sacrifices in the *comitium* in the first half of the day, during which all public business was suspended. The power of the consuls was equal,[9] and neither

[1] *Imperium.* [2] *I.e., Patres familias gentium patriciarum.*

[3] By the so-called *lex curiata a L. Bruto repetita*; a proposal to change the constitution must be sanctioned in a *concilium populi*, *i.e.*, in a meeting composed of the heads of patrician families only; then it must be incorporated in the *lex curiata de imperio*, which was laid before the *comitia curiata* for ratification. In the time of the republic all the heads of patrician families, *i.e.*, *patres familias gentium patriciarum*, were in the senate; hence the *concil. populi* became confused with the patrician part of the senate.

* The consuls, just as the king had done, laid the *lex curiata de imperio* before the assembly of curies to ratify their election.

[5] Hence called *prætores.* [6] Hence called *judices.* [7] *Rex sacrificulus.*

[8] See p. 36. [9] *Par potestas.*

* See p. 20, n. 1.

could take any step without the consent of the other.[1] The result was that either consul could veto the acts of the other.

2. The first consuls were Lucius Junius Brutus and Tarquinius Collatinus. The name of Tarquinius was, however, so hateful to the people that he was obliged to resign his office, and was banished, with the whole Tarquinian *gens*, from Rome. Publius Valerius[2] was elected in his place.

3. The Dictatorship of Valerius.—Tradition relates that Valerius remained alone in office[3] for some time after the death of his colleague. This excited the suspicion of the people that he was aiming at the royal power. This fear, however, was groundless; for he only remained in office in order to carry a number of laws limiting the power[4] of the consuls. These laws Valerius laid before the people assembled in the *comitia centuriata*. This assembly,[5] it will be remembered, was founded on the classification of Servius Tullius, which was planned purely for military purposes. Under the kings it had had the right of deciding on the declaration of war. Now its jurisdiction was so enlarged that it exercised nearly the same functions which had formerly belonged to the *comitia curiata*. In it was vested the right not only of electing all the higher magistrates, but that of legislation, in so far that it could adopt or reject all proposals laid before it by the presiding magistrate. These measures, however, before they became valid, as well as the election of the higher magistrates, required the sanction of the curies. For the *comitia curiata*[6] alone could confer the

[1] From their equal authority they were called consuls.
[2] Plut. Poplicola. [3] *Consul sine collega.* [4] *Imperium consulare.*
[5] In order to understand the history of this assembly in the time of the republic, it is necessary to keep in mind that it was frequently reorganized on the basis of the census; that the number of men in a *centuria* was not always a hundred, but often thirty, sixty, or even one hundred and twenty; that the number of men between forty-six and sixty was equal in influence to those between seventeen and forty-six, though less numerous; that it was so arranged that in the lower classes the number of men in a century was far greater than in the first. The result was that the first class, including the knights, had a majority of the centuries, although by no means a majority of voters.
[6] It must be remembered that before any measure pertaining to the *imperium* could be laid before the *comitia curiata*, it must first receive the *patrum auctoritas*, *i. e.*, the sanction of the *patres familias gentium patriciarum*, and that all *similar measures adopted* by the *comitia centuriata*, before they became valid, required this sanction. In regard to the *comitia centuriata* it is important to recollect that only those measures which limited the consular *imperium* required the sanction of the *comitia curiata*. According to some authorities, particularly Mommsen, the plebeians voted in this assembly. There is evidence to show that they were admitted to the curies for purposes of worship. The weight of evidence is, however, decidedly against the supposi-

imperium, which empowered the magistrates to command the army and to exercise judicial functions.[1] The patricians then, beside their great influence in the *comitia centuriata*, still retained in the *comitia curiata*, in which they alone were entitled to vote, a check on all legislation and the election of all the higher magistrates.

4. The Valerian Laws.—Valerius first renewed the census, and rearranged the classification in the interest of the rich, in the manner already described. In order to conciliate the poor he remitted the poll-tax[2] imposed by Tarquinius Superbus, and restored the *tributum*[3] of Servius Tullius. At the same time he lowered the port dues,[4] made the salt-works at the mouth of the Tiber a state monopoly, and bought up corn for the state, that this necessity might be supplied to the poor at a reasonable price. Valerius carried another measure also highly acceptable to the plebeians. It will be remembered that Tarquinius had failed to keep the senate up to its full number. To these vacancies a number of noble plebeians of equestrian rank* was admitted, and to distinguish them from the patrician senators, they were called *conscripti*.[5] They ranked only as *equites*, and had no right to the insignia of senatorial dignity—the purple-bordered robe, the red shoe, and the golden ring.

1. *The first law*[6] carried by Valerius prescribed that every Roman citizen against whom sentence of capital or corporal punishment had been pronounced should have the right of appealing[7] to the people in the *comitia centuriata*. This

tion that they were entitled to vote when the *lex curiata* was to be ratified. (*Cf. Cic. ad Att.*, i., 18, 4.) If the plebeians could vote in the *comitia curiata*, there would be no propriety in Cicero's writing that the adoption of Clodius was to be voted on in the *campus Martius*, where the whole people (*universus populus*) could vote.

[1] Beside conferring the *imperium*, the *comitia curiata* (*calata*) exercised jurisdiction over the internal affairs of the curies, inaugurated certain priests, and before it wills were made and the ceremony of *arrogatio*, by which a man adopted any person as his son who was *sui juris*, that is, who had been freed from the (*patria*) *potestas* of his father.

[2] *Aes capitarium*.

[3] This was at first a land-tax. It was raised in the tribes by officers called *curatores tribuum*, later *tribuni ærarii*.

[4] *Portoria*.

[5] The senate was henceforth addressed as *patres* (*et*) *conscripti*. There are said to have been as many as 164 added, a clear majority of the whole number. These were by no means all plebeians.

[6] *Ne quis magistratus civem Romanum adversus provocationem necaret neve verberaret*.

[7] *Jus provocationis*.

* See p. 210, n. 6.

was a direct limitation of the power of the consul; it was the *Habeas Corpus Act* of the Romans. As an outward sign of the limitation of the official power of the magistrate, Valerius caused the *fasces* to be borne in the city without the axes, and to be lowered before the people. Outside of the city the consular authority was still supreme, and the axes were bound up with the *fasces*.[1]

2. *The second law*[2] placed a limit to the fines[3] which the magistrate could impose.

3. *The third law* was also a limitation of the power of the consul, in that it prescribed that two *quæstors*[4] should be appointed annually to manage the finances of the state. The management of the finances was a question of less importance at this time in Rome, where no public officer received a salary, and where military service was exacted from every citizen. The consuls, as has already been said, were elected for one year, yet they did not abdicate until their successors were appointed, for they must nominate and preside at the election of the latter.

4. *The fourth law*[5] of Valerius compelled the presiding magistrates to nominate and receive votes for all suitable candidates proposed by the people.[6]

5. *The fifth law*[7] threatened any one with outlawry who should attempt to assume the highest magistracy without the consent of the people.

5. These are the laws attributed to Valerius, henceforth called Poplicola, "the people's friend." It is evident that they helped to settle the new order of things, and by limiting the power of the magistrate made the aristocratic rule of the patricians less intolerable to the plebeians. They offered to the plebeians, both in the senate and *comitia centuriata*, a

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[1] This led to the distinction between *imperium domi* and *imperium militiæ*.
[2] At least it is generally ascribed to Valerius.
[3] *Multæ dictio;* the limit was five cattle and two sheep.
[4] The *quæstores parricidii* were magistrates under the king. By the law of Valerius they became *quæstores parricidii* and *ærarii*.
[5] *Lex Valeria de candidatis.*
[6] The patricians could render the election invalid by refusing to empower (*patrum auctoritas*) the candidate to lay the *lex curiata de imperio* before the *comitia curiata*.
[7] *Lex de sacrando cum bonis capite ejus, qui regni occupandi consilia inisset.*

share in the government, and thereby helped to strengthen the unity of the state.

6. The Dictatorship.—The repeated re-election of Valerius, and the popular tendency of his laws, created a reaction and led to the establishment of the dictatorship. This was a temporary restoration of the full power which the kings had possessed. By a decree[1] of the senate one of the consuls was empowered to nominate a dictator for a period not exceeding six months. All the other magistrates remained in office, and continued to discharge their duties, but they were all subject to the dictator. The guarantees by which Valerius had sought to protect the liberties of the people were all in abeyance. The dictator appointed as second in command a *magister equitum*, or master of the horse. The first dictator was T. Larcius.[2]

7. Valerius, after he had secured the adoption of these laws, convened the *comitia* for the election of a consul.[3] The people chose Spurius Lucretius, but on his death, a few days after, Marcus Horatius was elected in his place.

CHAPTER VII.

The Rich and Poor.—The Tribunes of the People.

1. Thus far both parties had co-operated in the restoration of order. The chief motive, however, that had influenced the patricians to consent to the amendments of the constitution and to other popular measures, was the fear that the plebeians might unite with the party of the king and thus bring about a restoration of the monarchy. It was at this time that the conservative aristocratic party in Rome was strengthened by the

[1] *Lex de dictatore creando.*

[2] Or M'. Valerius. It is doubtful whether the dictatorship originated as described in the text, or in the dissensions of the two orders—*i. e.*, that the patricians might thwart the measures of the people or of a popular consul—or arose from a necessity of unity of command in military affairs; see also p. 48.

[3] *Consul suffectus.*

Claudian *gens*, which migrated to Rome with three thousand clients. About this time the population had so increased that the Roman territory was divided at the next census (B. C. 498) into twenty tribes,[1] of which four were the ancient wards formed by the Servian constitution. With the death of Tarquinius[2] vanished all fear of the restoration of the monarchy, and at the same time all regard for the welfare of the plebeians.

2. The Condition of the Plebeians.—In order to understand the condition of the plebeians, it is necessary to remember that the management of the government was almost exclusively in the hands of the patricians. They alone could be dictators, consuls, quæstors, or priests. The plebeians, it is true, had a vote in the *comitia centuriata*, where they even formed a majority. This assembly, however, had been remodelled in the interest of the rich, so that here also the influence of the patricians was predominant. Further, no measure could be laid before this assembly until it had first received their sanction. The *comitia* then could only decide with *yes* or *no* on the question laid before them. All emendation, discussion, and debate were excluded. The measures, after their adoption by the people, must come once more before the patricians for confirmation in the *comitia curiata*. In the popular assembly, then, the plebeians could make no successful resistance to the well-organized rule of the patricians. Marriage between the two orders was unlawful. Neither wealth nor service to the state opened to the plebeian the prospect of rising above his order and sharing in the government.

3. The Law of Debtor and Creditor.—Another circumstance aggravated his hardships. The wars that had followed the banishment of the king had pressed hard upon the plebeians. They had to render military service without pay, and to provide their own arms. Rome had to surrender her territory beyond the Tiber[3] to Porsenna. The ravages of war ruined the crops. The enemy destroyed the farm buildings and drove away the cattle. When the poor plebeian returned,

[1] The twenty-first tribe was added at the next census, five years after (B. C. 493).
[2] p. 48. [3] *Septem pagi.*

either his farm had been left untilled or his crops were destroyed, and he was without means of subsistence or of purchasing seed for the next year. He was then obliged to incur debts. If he failed in paying the large interest—ten or twelve per cent—he was seized by the creditor and imprisoned, or sold as a slave and his family left to starve.[1]

These wars, while they were the ruin of the plebeians, benefited the patricians; for they alone could[2] occupy the land acquired by conquest. Under the kings the plebeians had been admitted to a share in its use; but now the patricians divided the land among themselves and the wealthy plebeian families represented in the senate, and paid to the state only a nominal rent for its use; and as it was exempted from taxation an unfair portion of the taxes[3] fell upon the poor, while their means for bearing the burden were narrowed. This led to a distinction between rich and poor, by no means identical with that between patricians and plebeians.

4. The Right of Appeal.—The Valerian law had guaranteed to the plebeians the right of appeal to the popular assembly against the hard sentence of the patrician consul. This right, however, the senate could at any moment render void by authorizing one of the consuls to nominate a dictator,

[1] When a plebeian at Rome found himself involved in a debt which he could not pay, his best resource was to sell himself to his creditor, on the condition that unless the debt were previously discharged, the creditor, at the expiration of a stated term, should enter into possession of his purchase. This was called, in the language of the Roman law, the entering into a *nexum*, and the person who had thus conditionally sold himself was said to be *nexus*. When the day came, the creditor claimed possession, and the magistrate awarded it; and the debtor thus given over to his purchaser, *addictus*, passed, with all that belonged to him, into his power; and as the sons were considered their father's property, they also, unless previously emancipated, were included in the sale, and went into slavery with their father. Or if a man, resolved not by his own act to sacrifice his own and his children's liberty, refused thus to sell himself, or, in the Roman language, to enter into a *nexum*, and determined to abide in his own person the consequences of his own debt, then he risked a fate still more fearful. If, within thirty days after the justice of the claim had been allowed, he was unable to discharge it, his creditor might arrest him and bring him before the court; and if no one then offered to be his security, he was given over to his creditor, and kept by him in private custody, bound with a chain of fifteen pounds weight, and fed with a pound of corn daily. If he still could not, or would not, come to any terms with his creditor, he was thus confined during sixty days, and during this period was brought before the court in the *comitium* on three successive market-days, and the amount of his debt declared, in order to see if any person would yet come forward in his behalf. On the third market-day, if no friend appeared, he was either to be put to death or sold as a slave into a foreign land beyond the Tiber.—*Arnold's Hist. Rome*, p. 52; see also *Livy* ii. 23.

[2] *Ager publicus.*

[3] *Tributum.* This was a tax assessed by tribes only on landed property. The wealth of the patricians consisted mostly in their occupation of the public land, which was exempt from this tax. The burden then fell more heavily upon the plebeian.

whose power was not limited by the Valerian laws, but was supreme both in and out of the city. The only way for the plebeians to gain a share in the management of the government was to organize themselves as a separate political body.

5. The First Secession.—The first crisis, however, came not from those who resented their political disabilities, but from the poor. They saw in the frequent wars the real cause of their poverty. When the levy of the state was called out for a dangerous war against the Volscians, the plebeians refused to serve. Then the consul Servilius, who was friendly to the people, suspended the severe law of debtor and creditor, and liberated the imprisoned debtors on condition that they should take their place in the ranks and help to secure the victory. The enemy was driven back, and the army returned victorious to Rome. But the distress began again, for the law was enforced by his colleague, Appius Claudius, in its former rigor (B.C. 495). The next year the enemy appeared again, and it was not until the senate appointed M'. Valerius dictator that the farmers yielded and took their place again in the ranks. On his return as victor, the dictator tried to carry his measures for reform. When these were rejected, the army, which stood in array before the gates of the city, abandoned its general, and headed by the military tribunes, who were at least in part plebeians, marched away to the district between the Tiber and Anio, and there determined to build a new city[1] (B.C. 494).

The patricians were compelled to yield. They saw plainly that they and their clients could not carry on the government alone. They sent Valerius to make terms with the leaders. He was accompanied by ten senators, at whose head was Agrippa Menenius, who is said to have overcome their obstinacy by relating the fable of the belly and members. Henceforth Valerius was called *Maximus*, and the mount beyond the Anio the Sacred Mount,[2] and the law the *lex sacrata*.[3]

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[1] This was called the *secessio plebis in sacrum montem*, or *secessio Crustumerina*. The statement on the authority of Piso (*Liv.* ii. 32), that the Aventine was occupied, relates to a later secession.

[2] It was 3 Roman miles, or 2¾ English miles, distant from Rome.

[3] That is the covenant or terms upon which peace was made.

6. The Tribunes of the People.—The conditions of their return were, (1) the cancelling of old debts, and (2) the election of two plebeian tribunes. The tribunes of the people took their names and were elected, not from the military tribunes, but from the tribunes[1] who managed the local affairs of the tribes. Their office was purely civil, and was designed to protect the plebeians from the severity of the consular power. They had no military force at their disposal, but their authority was strengthened by placing the tribunes themselves under the special protection of the gods. They were declared to be *sacrosancti*, that is, consecrated and inviolable, and whoever injured one, or hindered him in the exercise of his authority, was threatened with the curse of the gods,[2] and might be killed by any one without fear of punishment. The recognition of these laws, wrung from the patricians, was the first *plebiscitum*.[3] This was the beginning of a new form of legislation, which led in the course of years to absolute democracy.

7. The Original Power of the Tribunes.—The prerogatives of the tribunes were at first simply to protect any plebeian who appealed to them for protection against the consular authority.[4] In order that every injured person might place himself under the protection of the tribunes, it was enacted that they should not go more than a mile from the city,[5] and

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[1] *Curatores tribuum*, or *tribuni ærarii*, as they were called. Each tribe had five, making in all one hundred and five. Plebeians were eligible to this office, and it was from the plebeian members that the tribunes were elected. Their number was at first two, but was immediately increased, by *cooptatio* (*i. e.* the two who had already been chosen selected their colleagues), to five, to correspond to the five classes. According to Mommsen their number was increased to five by the Publilian law of Volero (471 B. C.); see page 63.

[2] *Consecratio capitis et bonorum.*

[3] A *plebiscitum* was any measure adopted by the plebeians. In this case the tribunes were elected and the *lex sacrata* carried in a meeting of plebeians held by tribes (*tributim*), *i. e.*, in a *concilium tributum*. Henceforth the tribunes were elected in the *comitia curiata*. According to Mommsen they were elected in a *concilium curiatum;* but this is connected with another view of Mommsen, viz.: that the plebeians were admitted to the curies. It is in any case mere supposition; the ancients give no satisfactory information on the subject; see note 3, page 64.

[4] *Jus intercedendi*, or as it was at first called, *jus auxilii*. In order to understand the position of the tribunes, it is necessary to remember that their legal power consisted simply in suspending an act, not in annulling it, and that the coercion exercised over the consul was simply a usurped power. Eigenbrodt has proved that their power (*tribunicia potestas*) was not, as Mommsen supposes, superior to that of the consul (*major potestas*), nor their veto like that of the dictator (*ri majoris potestatis*), but sprang simply from their inviolability, *i. e.*, from their *sacrosancta potestas.*

[5] That is, that they should not go outside of the *pomerium*, for so far the right of appeal and the power of the tribune extended.

that the doors of their houses should be open night and day, that any one might find refuge with them. From the right of intercession was developed the power by which the tribune could place his veto upon the execution of any law or measure of the consul injurious to the interests of the people, and for a time, at least, prevent its execution. This was a direct limitation of the consular power.[1]

8. The Icilian Law.—The tribunes also had the right of summoning[2] the plebeians[3] from time to time to consult them on their affairs. In these meetings the tribunes addressed the people and carried resolutions. These, however, when they pertained to the affairs of the state, were mere petitions, or had but little more effect than the resolutions of our modern public meetings. Their validity, however, was asserted by the plebeians from the first, and in this way the Icilian resolution,[4] which punished with death any one interrupting a tribune while addressing the people, was adopted and became a law (493 B. C.).

Two plebeian ædiles were elected at the same time with the tribunes,[5] whom they were to attend and to assist.[6]

CHAPTER VIII.

Development of the Power of the Tribunes. Agrarian Agitations.

1. The powers of the tribunes developed rapidly. They soon usurped the right to summon any patrician before their assembly, and to punish him with fines or even with death. The first instance of the kind is said to have been in the case of Coriolanus[7] (B. C. 491).

[1] *I. e., imperium domi.*
[2] *Concilia plebis.*
[3] *Jus cum plebe agendi*
[4] *Plebiscitum Icilium.*
[5] At the same time probably ten men for lawsuits (*judices decemviri*) were elected, whose duty was to investigate cases which came under the jurisdiction of the tribunes.
[6] The tribunes entered each year upon their office the 10th of December.
[7] Plut. Cor.

2. The Story of Coriolanus.—The legend runs that there was a famine at Rome. The distress was great among the poor. Corn was bought in Etruria and distributed among them. This was not sufficient, and the suffering continued, till Gelon, king of Syracuse, sent ships of corn as presents to the Roman people. Then Gajus Marcius Coriolanus, a brave patrician who had fought at Lake Regillus and won the civic crown, proposed that none be yielded to the plebeians until they consented to give up their tribunes. Thereupon the tribunes impeached him before the assembly of tribes[1] of having broken the peace between the two orders, and of having violated the sacred laws. The patricians could not protect him, and he was compelled to flee from Rome.[2] He betook himself to Antium, the capital of the Volscians, and persuaded them to make war on Rome. Commanded by their king and Coriolanus, they penetrated within five miles of the city and laid waste the land of the plebeians for miles around. The Romans sued for peace. Coriolanus demanded the restoration of all the towns that had been taken from the Volscians. These terms seemed hard, and the ambassadors came again to ask for more favorable conditions. Coriolanus would not even see them. But when a procession of Roman matrons came, and Coriolanus recognized his mother Veturia, his wife Volumnia, and his little children, he was induced to yield. He withdrew his army, and gave back the conquered towns. Some say that he was put to death by the Volscians, others that he spent his life in exile.

3. The Position of the Tribunes.—The prerogatives of the tribunes were now secure. The discord between the two parties, rich and poor, or what at this time was nearly the same, between the patricians and plebeians, was legally organized. The struggle of the plebeians henceforth was for a further limitation of the consular power, and for a legal position in the state.

4. The Management of the Public Land.—The measures thus far adopted afforded only temporary relief for the

[1] That is, the assembly of plebeians by tribes, *concilium tributum plebis*.
[2] The judicial power of the tribunes in capital offences was regulated and defined by the *lex Aterna Tarpeja* (B. C. 454).

poor. Their condition could never be permanently bettered until the injustice which lay at the root of the civil dissensions was removed. This was the management of the public land.[1] This land had been acquired by conquest, and so long as the patricians alone formed the people,[2] they jealously excluded the plebeians from all share in it. But when the plebeians were admitted to military service, and when new lands were acquired, in part at least, by their blood and toil, they too claimed a share in its use. This the patricians denied, and claimed and exercised, for the most part, the exclusive right of inclosing and occupying it. For its use they were to pay[3] to the state either a small tax,[4] or a tenth of the income[5] of the soil. After the banishment of the king, in order to conciliate the favor of the plebeians, the patricians allowed them also, on giving a tenth of the income,[6] to drive their cattle upon the common pasture.[7] When in course of time larger tracts were conquered, portions were also parceled out to the plebeians, in a manner, however, by no means satisfactory to them. Small farms[8] were given to them in the newly acquired territory, on condition that they should settle there and defend it.

5. Its Occupation.—But as population increased and agriculture was developed, the occupation of the land fell more and more into the hands of the rich. For when the senate authorized the consul to offer new tracts of land for occupation[9] and possession,[10] only the rich who had herds of cattle and households of slaves, could make its cultivation profitable. Hence the public pastures were brought more and more into cultivation, and the grazing land for the use of the poor became smaller. The poor plebeian could not even obtain work on this land as a day-laborer, for the patricians preferred slaves, because they were cheaper, and the slaves were not liable, like the plebeians, to military service. By admitting the rich plebeians to a share in the public lands, the senate

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[1] *Ager publicus.* [2] *Populus.* [3] This was not strictly enforced.
[4] *Scriptura.* [5] *Vectigal.* [6] *Vectigal.*
[7] *Pastua.* [8] *Bina jugera.* [9] *Occupatio.* [10] *Possessio.*

identified their interest with its own, and deprived the poor plebeians of the aid of those who ought to have been their protectors. The patricians then claimed the exclusive right of occupying the public lands. This claim the plebeians resisted.

6. The Agrarian Law of Cassius (B. C. 486).—To rectify this injustice Spurius Cassius,[1] a noble patrician, proposed to the *comitia centuriata* the first *Agrarian Law.* He was the most renowned of his order, and had formed a treaty with the Latins in his second consulship (B. C. 493), and in his third with the Hernicans. He now came forward as the protector of the plebeians, and proposed that the newly-acquired public land should not be offered for occupation, but be divided among the plebeians and Latins,[2] and if this was not sufficient a part of the public land already occupied should be taken. Against this proposal the patricians rose as one man, and the rich plebeians took part with them; first, because the consul had laid a matter relating to the civil administration, which properly belonged to the senate, before the people; and secondly, because the bill threatened to deprive those already in possession of the public land of their rights. The plebeians themselves were dissatisfied, because the Latins were to have a share in the land. The patricians allowed the law to pass, but prevented its execution. Sp. Cassius was accused the next year, at their instigation, of aiming at kingly power, and condemned to death.

7. The Three Parties.—Thus far the struggle had been chiefly between the rich and poor. Still all the rich plebeians had not taken sides with the patricians, and there were many rich patricians who favored the poor. It was these rich patricians and plebeians who formed the third party, a party which had the welfare of the state in view and counseled conciliation and unity.

[1] By a strange compensation of fortune, the first Roman whose greatness is really historical, is the man whose deeds no poet sang, and whose memory the early annalists, repeating the language of the party who destroyed him, have branded with the charge of treason and attempted tyranny. Amid the silence and the calumnies of his enemies, he is known as the author of three works to which Rome owed all her future greatness: he concluded the league with the Latins in his second consulship; in his third he concluded the league with the Hernicans, and procured, although with the price of his own life, the enactment of the first agrarian law.—*Arnold's History*, p. 57.

[2] According to the treaty.

8. The Fabii and Vejentines (B. C. 485–477).—The death of Cassius, however, so strengthened the patricians that the Fabian *gens*, contrary to the law of Valerius, usurped the consulship for nearly ten years. Oppression fell heavier than ever on the poor plebeian. When he refused to serve in the army the consul made the levy outside of the *pomerium*, where the intercession of the tribune was of no avail. The patricians had also learned to make use of the veto of some tribune to neutralize the acts of his colleagues. It seemed as if the Fabian *gens*, as the senate recommended from year to year one of their number for the consulship, would gain supreme control of the state. In order to win the favor of the plebeians, Kæso Fabius, the same who had impeached Cassius, even proposed to carry into execution the agrarian law. The government took the alarm, and the Fabian house, of three hundred and six males of full age and four thousand clients, were compelled to leave Rome. They marched to the river Cremera near Veji, and established a fortified camp. For two years they sustained the whole of the Vejentine war, but at length were enticed into an ambuscade. All were slain. One boy only, who had remained at Rome, preserved the name and race of the Fabii (B. C. 477).

9. The Publilian Law of Volero (B. C. 471).—After the banishment of the Fabii, the contest for the execution of the agrarian law was waged more fiercely. The tribune Genucius accused the consuls for the year B. C. 473 before the assembly of tribes of not having made the promised assignments of land. On the night before the trial, the tribune was murdered in his own house. This so terrified his colleagues that they did not even dare to make use of their power of intercession. Then the plebeians became convinced that they must have men for tribunes who were politically independent,[1] and ready, under any circumstance, to lend their aid to the poor.

Their tribune Volero Publilius proposed to transfer the

[1] The patricians exerted indirectly an influence on the election of the tribunes by seeing that suitable men were elected for *curatores tribuum*, from which the tribunes of the people were selected. The *curatores tribuum* were elected by members of the tribes; patricians, plebeians, and clients voting on a footing of equality.

election of tribunes to the plebeians themselves. The patricians, under the lead of Appius Claudius, resisted; they pressed into the assembly of the plebeians,[1] and delayed the adoption of the measure. Volero rallied the people; he was re-elected. Notwithstanding the disturbance of the patricians, he carried the measure, and it became a law.[2] Henceforth the tribunes were elected in the special plebeian assembly.[3]

10. This was a great gain for the plebeians. To their rights of meeting together and discussing their own affairs and passing resolutions free from interruption, secured by the Icilian *plebiscitum*, was now added that of electing their own officers free and independent of patrician influence.

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[1] The patricians, like the plebeians, were included in the local tribes, and both voted together in electing the officers of the tribe and managing its local affairs. When an assembly from all the tribes was summoned by the tribune, it was natural that the patricians should lay claim to admittance also. They may have pressed into the assembly to enforce this right. A few years afterwards (B. C. 447) the *comitia tributa* was organized, in which both patrician and plebeian voted on a footing of equality.

[2] This law was a *plebiscitum*, but the patricians were compelled to recognize its validity. Rome had now the following public assemblies: the *comitia centuriata*, presided over by the consul, in which both patricians and plebeians voted according to a classification that gave the greatest influence to wealth and age; the special assembly of plebeians by tribes (*concilium tributum plebis*), presided over by a tribune, where all voted on a footing of equality; the *comitia curiata*, composed only of patricians, in which the people voted in *curiæ*—each *curia* had one vote, determined by the majority of votes in that *curia*; when the *lex curiata de imperio* came before the assembly, a consul, prætor, or dictator presided; when cases of adoption or religious matters, the *pontifex maximus* presided; the *concilium curiatum*, composed of the *patres familias gentium patriciarum*, formerly conferred the *patrum auctoritas*, but since all the patrician *gentes* were represented in the senate, this was said to have been conferred by the patrician part of the senate; the *comitia tributa*, generally presided over by the *prætor*, in which the whole body of citizens, patricians, plebeians and clients, voted on a footing of equality, was not organized till a later period (B. C. 447). It was employed to enact some laws, elect the inferior magistrates, and decide the less important judicial processes. The word *lex*, by no means synonymous with our word "law," was applicable to whatever the people commanded (*quod populus jubet atque constituit*), which did not consist in an election or judicial decision. The word was particularly applicable to a *rogatio* (a bill) proposed (*lata est*) in a *comitia*, an assembly of the whole people. A *scitum* was a resolution carried in a *concilium plebis*, and only became a law after it had been recognized by the people.

[3] (*Concilium tributum plebis*; this law Mommsen (vol. i., p. 307) calls one of the most momentous in its consequences with which Roman history has to deal; for two of the most important arrangements—the introduction of the plebeian assembly of tribes (p. 58, note 3) and the placing of the *plebiscitum* on a level, although conditionally, with the formal law sanctioned by the whole community—are to be referred, the former certainly, the latter probably, to the proposal of Volero Publilius, the tribune of the people, in B. C. 471. The plebs had hitherto adopted their resolutions by curies; here the voting had been by mere numbers, without distinction of estate or freehold property, and the clients of the great patrician families had voted together in the assembly. This had given the nobility an opportunity of exercising influence on that assembly, and especially of managing the election of tribunes according to their views. According to Mommsen, to the twenty districts into which the Roman territory had already been divided, namely the four Servian wards and the sixteen new wards added in B. C. 495 (see p. 55 and note 1), was now added in consequence of the Publilian law and with a view to bring about the inequality which was desirable for voting purposes in the total divisions, the twenty-first tribe, the Crustuminian, which derived its name from the place where the plebs had constituted itself as such and had established the tribunate (see p. 57 and n. 1).

CHAPTER IX.

The Decemvirs and the Laws of the Twelve Tables.

1. Efforts to obtain Equal Laws. — The contest now assumed a new form. The aim of the plebeians was unmistakable. They were struggling to limit the power of the consul, and to secure for themselves a separate, clearly defined, and legal position in the state. The first step was taken by the tribune G. Terentilius Arsa, who, in the year B. C. 462, laid a proposal[1] before the assembly of tribes that five men be appointed to draw up a code of laws by which the consuls should be bound in the exercise of their judicial functions. It will be remembered[2] that the patricians had exclusive knowledge of the law and the forms of procedure in the civil courts. This they guarded as a sacred mystery from the plebeians. By carefully preventing the laws from being written down and published, they kept the plebeians in a state of dependence from which even the tribunes could not deliver them. With the advance in civilization, cases arose to which the common law did not apply.[3] The decision of these cases depended wholly on the will of the magistrate. Under these circumstances the only course for the plebeians was to have the laws revised, written down and published. The proposal of Terentilius was adopted at once by the plebeians, but the patricians were determined not to yield and consequently refused to ratify it.[4]

2. Concessions.—The contest over the rogation* lasted for ten years. The old party violence broke out anew.[5] Foreign

[1] *Ut quinqueviri creentur legibus de imperio consulari scribendis.*
[2] See page 40.
[3] *Jus incertum.*
[4] As this proposal limited the consular *imperium*, it required the sanction of the patricians before it could become a law.
* See page 64, n. 2.
[5] The younger patricians organized clubs for the perpetration of every kind of violence. Among these Kæso Quinctius, the son of the celebrated Cincinnatus, brought upon himself an impeachment by the tribune Aulus Virginius (B. C. 461). Kæso fled to Etruria before the day of his trial. A conspiracy was formed for effecting his return. In the following year a band of exiles, led by the Sabine Appius Herdonius, surprised the capital by night, and attempted to assassinate the tribunes and restore the constitu-

enemies seized this opportunity to press hard on Rome. The Volscians penetrated into the heart of Latium, and the Æquians even defeated a Roman army on Mount Algidus. The patricians would not yield. In B. C. 457 they conceded, however, that the number of tribunes should be increased from five to ten, two from each of the five classes. The result of this was that a greater number of plebeians came within reach of the tribune's protection.[1] In B. C. 454 the tribune Icilius carried a law[2] that the public land on the Aventine should be

tion as it was before the secession to the Sacred Mount. The cry resounded through the city, "To arms! the enemy are in the city." Arms were given out; the young men were enrolled. Assistance came from Tusculum. The consul led the allied forces up the Capitoline hill. The citadel was recovered, but the consul was slain. The patricians elected in his place Quinctius Cincinnatus, the father of Kæso. The plebeians were dismayed. Cincinnatus, however, was not more severe in restraining the plebeians than in reproving the senate. A truce was concluded with the Æquians. The next year (B. C. 458) the Æquians broke the truce, invaded the country of Tusculum, and pitched their camp on Mount Algidus, the eastern spur of the Alban hills. The Roman consul was defeated, and his camp besieged in one of the defiles of the mountain. Five knights escaped and brought the news to Rome. Terror prevailed in the city, for the other consul with his army was fighting with the Sabines. The senate decided to appoint Cincinnatus dictator. He was living on his little farm on the right bank of the Tiber, and, like the noble Romans of the good old time, was cultivating it with his own hands. When the ambassadors came, Cincinnatus quitted his plough, and put on his toga that he might receive the message of the senate in a becoming manner. When he heard the errand he accepted the office, and appointed Tarquinius Flaccus, a noble patrician, but frugal like himself, as his master of horse. He ordered all courts of justice to be closed, all business suspended, and summoned every man of military age to meet him on the Campus Martius before sunset, each bringing twelve stakes and rations for five days. Before midnight the dictator had reached Mount Algidus and reconnoitred the enemy's position. He ordered his soldiers to throw down their baggage and surround the camp of the Æquians with a ditch and drive in the stakes. With a shout the Romans began their work and announced their presence to the Æquians and their countrymen at the same time. The consul and his army recognized the war-cry, seized their arms, and renewed the battle. The Æquians, hemmed in between two armies, surrendered and prayed for mercy. Cincinnatus spared their lives, but made them all pass under the yoke. (The yoke was formed with two spears placed upright on the ground, and a third placed across the upper ends of them.) Cincinnatus divided the spoils with his army and returned in triumph to Rome. On the sixteenth day he laid down his office and retired to his farm.—*Livy*, iii. 15 ff. In such a warfare as that of the Romans with the Æquians and Volscians, there were always sufficient alternations of success to furnish the annalists on either side with matter of triumph; and by exaggerating every victory, and omitting or slightly noticing every defeat, they formed a picture such as national vanity most delights in. But we neither care, nor need we desire, to correct and supply the omissions of the details of the Roman historians: it is enough to say that at the close of the third century of Rome, the warfare which the Romans had to maintain against the Opican nations was generally defensive; and that the Æquians and Volscians had advanced from the line of the Apennines, and established themselves on the Alban hills in the heart of Latium; that of the thirty Latin states which had formed the league with Rome (B. C. 493), thirteen were either now destroyed or were in possession of the Opicans; that on the Alban hills themselves Tusculum alone remained independent; and that there was no other friendly city to obstruct the irruptions of the enemy into the territory of Rome. Accordingly that territory was plundered year after year, and whatever defeats the plunderers may at times have sustained, yet they were never deterred from renewing a contest which they found in the main profitable and glorious. So greatly had the power and dominion of Rome fallen since the overthrow of the monarchy.—*Arnold*, vol. i. p. 78 f.

[1] This was the third *plebiscitum* recognized by the patricians.

[2] *Lex Icilia de Aventino publicando*; this *plebiscitum* did not require to be ratified by the *comitia curiata*, but by the senate, because it relates to matters of civil administration.

given up to the plebeians. The third concession was more important. One of the consuls proposed a law which limited the amount of fines which any magistrate, consul as well as tribune, could impose, to two sheep and thirty oxen.[1]

These concessions, however, did not satisfy the plebeians. After a conflict of nearly ten years (B. C. 462–454)[2] a compromise was effected. The patricians gave way and allowed the commission to be appointed, but only from their own order.[3] First an embassy of three men[4] (*triumviri*) was sent to Athens to examine the laws of Solon and to southern Italy to study the manners and customs of the Greeks there. On its return ten men[5] were elected in the *comitia centuriata* for the year B. C. 451, with full powers not only to draw up a code of laws, but to act as supreme magistrates until the new code should come into force. They performed their task with diligence and administered justice with impartiality.

3. **The Code of Roman Law.**—The result of their labor was that they published on ten tables of brass the first code of Roman law. This was sanctioned in the *comitia centuriata* and then declared binding on all the people.[6] These laws gave so much satisfaction to the people that new decemvirs—this time plebeians as well as patricians—were elected for another year to complete the work. Appius Claudius was the only member re-elected. Two more tables were added, thus completing the celebrated *Twelve Tables of Laws*, the foundation of Roman jurisprudence. These were affixed to the *rostra* in front of the *Curia Hostilia*, that all the people might read them. In the time of Cicero they were committed to memory by the boys

[1] The *lex Aternia Tarpeja*, carried in B. C. 454; twenty-four years after these fines were expressed in money, the sheep at ten *asses* (*æris gravis*), the oxen at one hundred. Hitherto the consuls alone could impose fines; this right became now a prerogative of the *potestas* of the magistrate and not of the *imperium*.

[2] In B.C. 454 the tribune proposed that this commission should be composed partly of plebeians and patricians.

[3] The patricians, from religious as well as political reasons, could never admit the plebeians to the commission, because it must be invested with the *imperium*.

[4] The embassy was accompanied by Hermodoros, from Ephesus, as interpreter.

[5] *Decemviri consulari imperio legibus scribundis*. All the other magistrates were suspended and the plebeians gave up their tribunes. That this was only a temporary arrangement is evident from the fact that when the plebeians gave their consent to it in the *concilium plebis*, they reserved the *leges sacratæ* and *lex Icilia*.

[6] The laws, since they changed the *lex curiata de imperio*, *i. e.* limited the consular *imperium*, must, after being carried in the *comitia centuriata*, first receive the sanction of the *patrum auctoritas* and then come before the *comitia curiata* for ratification.

in the schools. These laws made no comprehensive change in the existing laws. The law of debt—aside from fixing the rate of interest at ten per cent—remained the same. The distinction between the *assidui* and *proletarii*[1] and the invalidity of marriage between patrician and plebeian were confirmed anew. The significance of the measure consisted in the fact, that justice must now be administered according to the known and prescribed form of law. The right of appeal, the laws relative to fines, imprisonment, and capital offences, remained the same.[2]

4. The Decemvirs Re-elected.—The work of the decemvirs gave great satisfaction. They ruled the first year with great mildness and impartiality. They had not quite finished their task. It was therefore necessary to choose decemvirs for the next year to complete the laws. The nearer the time of election approached (May 15), the more Appius Claudius sought to win the favor of the people. The patricians saw through his designs, and to prevent his re-election made him presiding officer in the *comitia*, thinking that, according to custom, he would not receive votes for himself. This plan did not succeed; Appius not only allowed himself to be re-elected, but succeeded in securing the election of such men on the commission as pleased himself.

5. The Tyranny of the Decemvirs.—The decemvirs had scarcely entered upon their second year of office when they threw off the disguise, and the reign of terror began. They appeared in the forum, each with twelve lictors, and these carried the axes in the *fasces*, a sign that every citizen must fear for his life. Oppression fell the hardest on the moderate section of both parties, patrician as well as plebeian, who would not join the decemvirs. They neglected all the forms of the constitution: they consulted neither the senate nor the people. When their term of office expired they refused to resign. Relying on the extreme sections of both parties they continued their rule of undisguised tyranny until two acts of infamy united

[1] See pages 22 and 23.

[2] The assembly of plebeians lost their jurisdiction in criminal cases. All cases involving the life of a Roman citizen (*de capite civis Romani*) must be decided in the *comitia centuriata*.

[3] The election was regarded as illegal, for the fathers would never grant the *patrum auctoritas*, which empowered the decemvirs to lay the *lex curiata* before the *comitia curiata*.

patricians and plebeians to take up arms against them as they had once done against Tarquinius Superbus.

6. The Murder of Siccius Dentatus.—The news came that the Sabines were plundering the Roman territory and the Æquians had encamped on Mount Algidus. The danger was great. The decemvirs now, for the first time, called the senate together. The moderate section of the aristocracy, headed by Valerius Potitus and Horatius Barbatus, sought to carry energetic measures against them, but in vain. The patricians wished to overthrow Appius Claudius and his colleagues, but were opposed to the restoration of the tribunes, which was unavoidable, if the decemvirs were compelled to resign. The senate declared war and the levy was called out. The plebeians could not resist, because there was no right of appeal nor were there tribunes to protect them. While Appius and one of his colleagues remained in the city to repress all signs of discontent, the others led the armies against the enemy; but the soldiers allowed themselves to be defeated; Rome itself was in danger. In the army that fought against the Sabines was a brave soldier, named L. Siccius Dentatus, a former tribune of the people, whom the decemvirs caused to be murdered because he had spoken loudly against the usurpation of the tyrants.

7. The Death of Virginia.—Meanwhile discontent had already broken out on account of the outrages of Appius Claudius. He had conceived a passion for Virginia, a beautiful maiden, the daughter of Virginius, a plebeian hero. In order to get possession of her he suborned one of his clients to declare that she was the daughter of one of his slaves. As she came one day into the forum to school the tyrant had her seized and brought before his tribunal. Appius heard the claim of his client and pronounced the decision that put Virginia in his own power. Virginius, seeing that there was now no way of shielding his daughter from dishonor, hastened to the spot, plunged a knife into her breast before the eyes of the people, and, with the bloody weapon in his hand, escaping from the lictors, he rushed to the gates of the city and fled to the army. The storm now broke forth. The army espoused his cause, and

marched to the city and encamped on the Aventine, where it was joined by the other army. Both armies withdrew to the Sacred Mount. The decemvirs were compelled to resign. An embassy, headed by Valerius and Horatius, who had ever counseled measures of moderation, was sent to treat with the army. It was agreed that amnesty should be declared, and the tribunes of the people and the right of appeal should be restored. The first step of the tribunes was to take measures against the decemvirs. Appius Claudius and Oppius were impeached and thrown into prison, where they put an end to their own lives. The other eight went into exile.

8. Valerian and Horatian Laws[1] (B. C. 449).—Valerius and Horatius were elected consuls,[2] and their first act was to carry a number of laws, called the Valerio-Horatian Laws,[3] which more clearly defined and further limited the consular *imperium*.[4] These laws were:

1. The restoration of the *lex sacrata*, which guaranteed the inviolability of the plebeian tribunes and a formal recognition of the *lex Icilia*.[5]

2. That every Roman citizen should have the right of appeal against the sentence of any magistrate.[6] And

3. That the *plebiscita*, or resolutions passed by the plebeians in the *concilium tributum plebis*, should be binding on the whole people.[7]

9. The Tribunes Co-operate in Legislation.—The last law was a great gain to the plebeians, for it gave them, although with limited power, an opportunity to co-operate in

[1] After the abdication of the decemvirs, there was an interregnum. An *interrex* summoned the *comitia centuriata* for the election of consuls. In due form they laid the *lex curiata de imperio*, (now modified by the laws of the Twelve Tables), after the *patrum auctoritas* had been granted, for ratification before the *comitia centuriata*.

[2] Hitherto the chief magistrates had been styled *Prætors*.

[3] *Leges Valeriæ Horatiæ*.

[4] These laws, it must be remembered, after being adopted in the *comitia centuriata*, and sanctioned by the *patrum auctoritas*, must come before the *comitia curiata* for confirmation, before they were binding on the people.

[5] Liv. iii. 53; see also p. 59.

[6] *Ne quis ullum magistratum sine provocatione crearet, qui creasset, eum jus fasque esset occidi, neve ea cædes capitalis noxæ haberetur*. This right, in case of the ordinary magistrates, was, it will be remembered, established by the Valerian law in the first year of the republic; it was now extended to the dictator.

[7] *Ut quod tributum plebs jussisset, populum teneret* (Liv. iii. 55). These resolutions must, like the laws passed in the *comitia centuriata*, if they pertained to the *imperium*, be first sanctioned by the *patrum auctoritas*, and then ratified by the *comitia curiata*.

legislation. Of this privilege they eagerly availed themselves. They soon claimed jurisdiction over matters of civil and internal administration, matters that legally belonged to the senate, and must come before it for confirmation. Hence the practice arose for the tribunes first to submit their proposition to the senate, and then bring it before the people. In this way they gained admission to the discussions of the senate, at first only as listeners, sitting on benches before the doors of the senate-house. They were soon, however, admitted to the hall, and could not be prevented from placing their veto on any measure that displeased them. The validity of the veto was naturally denied by the patricians.

10. The result was that when the senate apprehended the opposition of the tribune to any measure, it was met in advance and a compromise effected, or the measure was given up. The power of the tribunes, now considerably enlarged, was completely restored, and instead of being an instrument for the protection of the plebeians, it aimed to secure equality of civil and political rights between them and the patricians.

11. Quæstors Elected by the People.—In the following year (B. C. 447), the election of quæstors,[1] whom the consuls had hitherto nominated, was committed to the *comitia tributa*, an assembly in which all the people in the tribes voted[2] on a footing of equality.

CHAPTER X.

The Development of Plebeian Rights—Wars with Neighboring Nations—Military Tribunes with Consular Power. (B. C. 445.)

1. The results gained by the decemvirate had fully organized the plebeian opposition. For once the claim of the

[1] The quæstors now became magistrates in the proper sense of the word, because they received their *potestas* from the people. They were elected from the patrician order only.

[2] Each tribe had one vote, the vote of the tribe being decided by the majority of voters in the tribe, and the majority of the tribes decided the question at issue.

plebeians had been admitted, and they had sat in the curule chairs by the side of the proud patricians, and worn the insignia of the highest office. The agitation which sprang from the social condition of the poor plebeians, the political tendency which the agitation had assumed since the time of Volero Publilius, were only aimed to secure protection against the severity of the consular power. The plebeian nobility, who were as indifferent to the social condition of the poor plebeians as the patricians were, had hitherto stood firmly by the side of the patrician order. They now saw in the restoration of the tribunate with increased powers, and in the decrease of the patrician families, whose rule approached more and more that of an oligarchy, the means of obtaining complete political equality. The united strength of the plebeian order was directed against two exclusive privileges of the patricians.

2. Military Tribunes with Consular Power (B.C. 445).—The tribune Canulejus proposed two bills at the same time, one legalizing intermarriage[1] between the two orders, and providing that the children should follow the rank of the father, the other opening the consulship to the plebeians. The first became a law, but a compromise was effected in respect to the consulship. It was provided that in the future the people should be free to elect either consuls[2] or military tribunes "with consular power," to be selected promiscuously from the patricians and plebeians.[3] In the first year (B.C. 444), the election of the three military tribunes[4] was annulled on account of a defect in the auspices, and their place was supplied by consuls. It was not till B.C. 438 that three military tribunes[5] were elected, and such

[1] It will be remembered (p. 38) that the patricians claimed the exclusive possession of the auspices, by means of which the divine protection was secured for the state. They had resisted intermarriage with the plebeians, not only because they and their descendants alone could take the auspices (*auspicia publica*) for the state, but also on the ground that the auspices (*auspicia privata*) employed at the marriage would be irregular. The first bill became a law at once, without being ratified by the *comitia curiata*, because it did not pertain to the *imperium*.

[2] That is, patricians; for they alone were eligible to the *consulship*.

[3] *Promiscue ex patribus et plebe.*—*Liv.* iv. 6. The senate was to decide whether consuls or military tribunes were to be elected.

[4] It was probably designed that they should be six in number, to correspond to the six military tribunes in each legion.

[5] It is uncertain whether one was a plebeian or not; according to Schwegler two were plebeians.

were the influence of the patricians in the *comitia centuriata*, and the indifference of the poor plebeians, who felt little interest in promoting the ambitious schemes of the rich plebeians, that it was not till B.C. 400 that five plebeians were elected military tribunes.[1]

3. The Censorship.—The plebeians then gained little from this reform. The patricians even devised a scheme to deprive the consular tribunes of an important part of the functions which had belonged to the consulship. Hitherto the census on which the rank of every citizen in the state depended had been taken by the consuls. This duty was now (B.C. 445) committed to two new magistrates, styled censors.[2] They were chosen from the patricians by the *comitia centuriata*, and held their office until their duties were completed.[3] The censors ranked in dignity next to the consuls. The importance of their office consisted in the fact that the censors revised from time to time the register of the tribes, which regulated not only the military service of every citizen, but determined his position in the *comitia centuriata*.[4] It was their duty to fill up vacancies in the senate and *equites*, and, on the revision of the register of the tribes, to remove individuals from the list of senators, *equites*, and citizens. They subsequently exercised a general control over the finances of the state—the management of the public land and public works, the farming of the indirect taxes, and a general supervision over the public and the private life

[1] It is difficult to discover in what the consular tribunes differed from the consuls. That they had the right to summon the senate and command the army is certain. They therefore possessed the *consularis potestas* and the *imperium militiæ*. It seems probable that the patricians possessed the full *imperium domi* and *militiæ*; the plebeians the full *imperium militiæ* but the *imperium domi*, so far limited that they could not exercise judicial functions. They could not triumph, for this presupposed the full *imperium domi*; as their *imperium* was different, so were the *insignia* and *auspicia*. They had the lictors and the *sella curulis*, for these were the insignia of the magistrate's *potestas*; but not the *jus imaginum*. In regard to the *auspicia*, it had already come to pass that the *auspicia* outside of the *pomerium* were different from those inside. The plebeians possessed those outside the *pomerium*, the *auspicia ex tripudiis* in full, but inside the *pomerium* (the *auspicia urbana*) not in the same manner as the patricians. For Mommsen's view, see his history, vol. i., p. 318.

[2] This is the view of Schwegler: according to Mommsen, the censorship was established in B.C. 433; according to Livy (iv. 8), in B.C. 443. Schwegler has satisfactorily proved that it was a part of the reform of B.C. 445.

[3] From the fact that when they had completed the census they held a solemn purification of the city and people, called *lustrum*, their term of office was styled a *lustrum*, which in later times was five years. Their term of office was limited to eighteen months by the *lex Æmilia*, B.C. 433.

[4] See page 51, note 5.

of every citizen. The plebeians were admitted to the censorship[1] B. C. 351.

4. Increase in the Number of Quæstors.—In the year B. C. 421 another concession was made to the plebeians. The number of quæstors was increased from two to four. Two were to remain in the city,[2] and the other two, who could be elected either from patricians or plebeians, accompanied the army as paymasters.[3]

5. Spurius Mælius.—During these struggles the patricians did not scruple to resort to violence. In the year B.C. 440 there was a great famine in Rome.[4] Spurius Mælius, one of the wealthiest of the plebeian knights, in order to relieve the distress, bought up corn in Etruria through his friends and clients, which he sold at a low price or distributed gratuitously among the poor. In this way he acquired great popularity among the people. The patricians were alarmed, and he was accused of aiming at royal power. The danger was said to be great, for in the house of Mælius arms had been collected, and the tribunes had been bribed to betray the liberty of the republic. In this emergency the senate authorized one of the consuls to nominate a dictator. The aged Cincinnatus, who had saved the Roman army on Mount Algidus, was appointed. On the following morning he mounted his tribunal in the forum, and summoned Mælius to appear before him. Mælius knew the fate in store for him, and implored the protection of the people. Then G. Servilius Ahala, the master of the horse, drew his dagger, and killed Mælius on the spot. The dictator commanded his property to be confiscated, and his house levelled to the ground. The patricians, as we know from Cicero and others, always spoke of this deed in the highest terms, but the people regarded it as an act of murder, and threatened ven-

[1] The censors did not possess the *imperium*, and therefore had no lictors, and could not command an army nor summon the *comitia centuriata* (except for matters relating to the census), therefore their election was not confirmed by the *lex curiata de imperio* but by the *lex centuriata de censoria potestate*.

[2] *Quaestores urbani*.

[3] It was not until 409 that plebeians were actually elected.

[4] Livy, iv. 12.

geance, because Mælius had been put to death without a trial. Their anger was turned against Servilius, who was compelled to go into exile, and his property was confiscated.

CHAPTER XI.

Wars with Neighboring Nations—Sack of Rome by the Gauls.

1. Wars with the Volscians and Æquians.—While these struggles were going on in the city, the Roman armies fought with less vigor in the field, and even allowed themselves to be defeated, in order that the consul might lose his triumph. The Æquians and Volscians pressed hard on the Roman allies[1] and even entered the dominion of Rome. The Æquians[2] encamped again on Mount Algidus and laid waste the plains of Latium. The Latin towns could look only to Rome for assistance. The concessions granted by the decemvirate and by the Canuleian law seem to have pacified the people, so that they once more made head against their old enemies. These were successfully driven back, and colonies were planted in the conquered districts. These colonies were mainly military settlements, which enabled Rome to secure her conquests, and from which, as from a series of military posts, she could extend her dominion in Italy.

2. The Conquest of Veji (B. C. 396).—The Romans now turned their arms against the Etruscans on the north. The long feuds with Fidenæ were ended by the conquest and destruction of that city. Its territory[3] was added to that of the Roman people. Next, Veji,[4] the most important town in

[1] The Hernicans and Latins. [2] Livy, ii and iii. [3] *Ager publicus.*

[4] About all that is known of Veji is that it was one of the most powerful of the Etruscan cities; that after a contest protracted for centuries, which at first centered round Fidenæ, the city was at length taken by Camillus (Plut. Cam.). According to the annalistic accounts, the siege of Veji, like that of Troy, lasted ten years. In the eighth

southern Etruria was attacked, and after a siege of ten years, taken. In order to conduct a siege of a well-fortified town like Veji, it was necessary for the Roman army to remain in the field summer and winter, year after year, until its object was attained. To secure this it was necessary that the soldiers should receive regular pay, a regulation that exerted a beneficial influence on the organization of the army, but gave a new turn to the struggle between the patricians and plebeians.[1] The conquest of Veji added so considerably to the Roman territory, that four new tribes* were formed, and the wealth acquired from the captured city must have given a new impulse to industry and trade, and Rome seemed to have entered upon a career of prosperity. This, however, was checked by the invasion of the Gauls, who dealt Rome a blow that almost put an end to her existence.

3. Rome taken by the Gauls (B. C. 390).—The Celtic or Gallic nation had in early times spread over the western part of Europe. Some had settled in France and Britain, while others crossing the Alps, had penetrated to the valley of the Po, and given their name to the country.[2] On their plundering excursions, the Gauls laid waste with fire and sword the provinces of Central Italy.

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year of the war, the waters of the Alban lake rose suddenly to such a height as to overflow the surrounding country. The Romans sent an embassy to consult the Delphian oracle. In the meanwhile a voice was heard from the walls of Veji, saying that the city could only be taken when the waters of the Alban lake found an outlet. When this reached the ears of the Romans, they cut a tunnel through the side of the mountain which bounded the lake, and thus let the water flow into the plain. This suggested to the Romans the means of taking the city. Meanwhile M. Furius Camillus had been appointed dictator. He had a tunnel cut from the Roman camp under the walls to the citadel of Veji. When the mine was finished, Camillus diverted the attention of the Vejentines by a feigned attack on the walls, and entered the tunnel at the head of a picked body of men. When he arrived at the end of the tunnel under the temple of Juno, he heard the priest saying to the king that whoever should complete the sacrifices he was offering would be victor. At that moment the Romans burst through and seized the victim, which Camillus offered on the altar. The troops dispersed through the city and opened the gates, and Veji fell into the hands of the Romans. The booty was immense. Camillus, on his return, celebrated the most magnificent triumph Rome had ever seen. In his chariot drawn by four white horses, he advanced along the sacred street, followed by his army flushed with joy and singing songs of victory, to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

In the hour of victory Camillus had vowed a tenth of the spoils to the Delphian Apollo. He now demanded from each soldier a tenth part of all the booty he had taken. This seemed unjust to the people. The tribune impeached him because he had not fairly divided the spoils. Seeing that he was sure to be condemned by the people, he left Rome, and retired to Ardea.

[1] For the pay was to come from the city treasury (the *Ærarium*), *i.e.*, from the taxes on the public lands.

[2] Gallia Cisalpina. * Added in B.C. 387, making 25.

The Roman army was defeated by them, and Rome itself laid in ashes. As the Gauls were merely on a plundering expedition and were not prepared to make permanent conquests, after collecting their booty they retired, according to Polybius, unmolested.[1]

THE CELTIC ARMS.

4. The Distress of the Poor. — After the enemy had departed the Romans returned to their homes. Their houses and temples had been burned, their farms laid waste, their cattle driven off, and their farm-buildings destroyed. It is no wonder that the poor

[1] Polybius ii. 22, § 5; according to Livy (v. 33 ff.), the Gauls were induced to cross the Alps by a citizen of Clusium, who wished to avenge himself on his enemy. The Gauls, under their leader, Brennus, laid siege to the city. The Clusians applied to Rome for assistance. The senate sent three envoys, the sons of M. Fabius Ambustus, to warn the Gauls not to attack the friends and allies of the Roman people, from whom they had received no harm. The Gauls in reply promised peace if the Clusians would grant them land to settle upon. All efforts to effect a reconciliation were in vain, a battle was fought, in which the three Romans, contrary to the laws of nations, took part, and riding beyond the line, even slew a Gallic chief and took his armor. The Gauls then gave up the attack against the Clusians and sent ambassadors to Rome to complain of their injuries, and demand the surrender of the three Fabii. The senate wavered, but the people not only refused satisfaction, but elected the three envoys as consular tribunes for the next year. This so incensed the Gauls that they left Clusium and marched with all their force to Rome. On the river Allia, only eleven miles from Rome, the two armies met. The Romans were put to flight and fled in all directions. This was the most disastrous day for Rome, and the anniversary (July 18) of the battle was ever regarded as an unlucky day. The city was even deserted. The fugitives fled in crowds across the Tiber. The sacred utensils were buried, and the sacred fire carried to Cære. Everything else, the images of the gods, the bronze tablets of the laws, the old annals, all written documents, were abandoned to the enemy. They only had time to defend the capitol, the temple of Jupiter, the guardian of the city. The aged senators, and priests of the gods, seeing that their services were no longer useful to the state, disdained to preserve their lives by flight. They were slaughtered by the Gauls, each as he sat in the gateway of his house, on his curule chair. For seven months the Gauls laid siege to the capitol, but the garrison, under the command of Manlius, made a gallant resistance. At length the remnant of the Roman army recovered from its terror, and wished to deliver the city from the barbarians. This they felt could only be done under their old leader, Camillus. He was still in banishment at Ardea. He could not be recalled without a decree of the senate. Therefore a bold youth, named Pontius Cominius, undertook to go from Veji and communicate with the senate in the capitol. He swam down the Tiber, climbed up the side of the Capitoline hill, and, after receiving the decree of the

shrank from the toil of rebuilding, and the annalists in after times related that they wished to emigrate to Veji. The old Roman courage and Roman perseverance, however, triumphed. The senate was firm, the spirit of the people[1] was unbroken. Only one thought animated them, to rebuild their city and recover their position in Latium. The hard times pressed heavily on the poor plebeians. They were compelled to borrow from the patricians. The rates of interest were high, military service and taxes oppressive; all their old distress returned. As in former times it had sometimes happened, a noble patrician espoused their cause—Manlius, the defender of the capitol, the hero of many battles. One day when he saw a debtor, a centurion of the army, carried away to prison, he paid his debts and set him free. He sold his estate near Veji and advanced money, free of interest, to more than four hundred poor plebeians.

5. Manlius Condemned.—This aroused the patricians. The senate nominated a dictator who summoned Manlius before his tribunal. The excitement in the city was great. The senate was compelled to yield, and Manlius was liberated. At length, like Sp. Cassius, he was accused of aiming at royal power, and was brought to trial before the *comitia centuriata*. In sight of the capitol which his valor had saved, the people could not condemn him. Shortly afterwards he was again brought to trial in the grove of Pœtelius, where the capitol was not visible. He was condemned and hurled from the Tarpeian rock[2] (B. C. 384).

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senate recalling Camillus and appointing him dictator, returned the same way. The next morning the Gauls saw the marks of the ascent and determined to surprise the citadel in the same way. A Gaul had almost reached the summit when the geese sacred to Juno roused the garrison, and Manlius hurled his shield against the foremost Gaul, who, in his fall, overthrew the others behind him. The Gauls began to weary of the long siege and wished to withdraw. Negotiations were opened and it was agreed that Rome should pay one thousand pounds of gold as a ransom. When the gold was being weighed out, in the forum, Brennus, the leader of the Gauls, is said to have increased the amount by throwing his sword into the scale. At this moment Camillus appeared in the forum with a large army, and ordered the gold to be taken away, saying that Rome must be ransomed by steel and not by gold. The battle was fought near Gabii and not a Gaul escaped; even Brennus himself was taken prisoner. The Gauls returned again, in B. C. 361, when Titus Manlius killed a gigantic Gaul in single combat, and obtained the surname of Torquatus, from the golden necklace (*torques*) which he stripped from the neck of the barbarian; and again in B. C. 349, when Marcus Valerius accepted a challenge to single combat with a gigantic Gaul, and a raven perched on the helmet of the Roman and flew in the face of the Gaul. Valerius slew the Gaul and received the name of Corvus. The story about Camillus was invented at a later time to celebrate the Furian house.

[1] See p. 81.

[2] It is generally agreed among modern historians that Manlius was condemned by the

CHAPTER XII.

The Equalization of the Orders.

1. The Political Condition of the Plebeians.—During these struggles no action had been taken in regard to the public lands, and no reform was made in the system of credit. The acquisition of new territory after the conquest of Veji had renewed the agrarian agitation. The social condition of the plebeians, on account of their long service in the army, had been by no means improved. The colonies planted in the conquered territory had given only temporary relief. After the burning of Rome by the Gauls, the plebeians sank deeper than ever into distress and poverty. Individual tribunes attempted from time to time to revive the law of Cassius, and some of the patricians, like Manlius, attempted to remedy the social distress, but without avail. But few plebeians had been elected to any of the higher magistracies open to them. If, under circumstances of great excitement, a plebeian was elected, the colleges of sacred lore might be called in to see if there were not some informality in the auspices which would annul the election. Besides, the poor plebeians felt little interest in advancing the plebeian nobility so long as their own distress was unrelieved.

2. The Licinian Laws (B. C. 366).—Under these circumstances the plebeian nobles were convinced that the only way to wring from the patricians the recognition of their claim to an equal share in the government, was to secure the co-operation of the poor plebeians by first introducing measures to relieve the social distress. For this purpose G. Licinius Stolo[1]

comitia centuriata or *comitia curiata*; Livy, however, calls the assembly a *concilium populi* (Liv. vi. 20, 11); was not this probably the assembly of the *patres gentium patriciarum*? See p. 50, n. 3.

[1] Livy (vi. 34), after relating the apathy into which the plebeians had sunk, introduces the following incident as the cause of the reform. The two daughters of M. Fabius Ambustus had been married, the elder to the patrician, Servius Sulpicius, the younger to the plebeian, G. Licinius Stolo. It happened that the two sisters, the Fabiæ, were one day sitting in conversation in the house of Sulpicius, who at that time was consular tribune, and a lictor of Sulpicius, when he returned from the forum, rapped as usual

and Lucius Sextius, tribunes of the people, brought before the plebeian assembly of tribes two measures for relieving the distress of the poor and one to advance the claims of the plebeian nobility. These were the celebrated Licinio-Sextian rogations. They enacted :

1. That the interest already paid on borrowed money should be deducted from the principal, and the balance paid in three yearly instalments.[1]

2. That no person should possess more than five hundred *jugera* of the public land.[2]

3. That in future, consuls and not military tribunes should be elected, and one of the two consuls *must* be a plebeian.[3]

3. The Office of Prætor Created.—The struggle for these reforms lasted ten years.[4] The senate impeded the measures by making use of the veto of some one of the tribunes. Then Licinius and Sextius prevented the election of all patrician magistrates. In order to overcome the people the aged Camillus was appointed dictator. All, however, was in vain. The plebeians even increased their demands by asking admission into the priestly colleges, the sacred citadel of patrician exclusiveness.[5]

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with his *fasces* loudly on the door, to announce the arrival of his master. Frightened at the noise, which she was unaccustomed to, the younger sister started, and excited the mirth and derision of the elder, who informed her of the cause of the noise. Wounded in her pride and humbled that she, the wife of a plebeian, was to forego the pomp and honor of official rank, she rested not till she had instigated her father, as well as her husband, to change the order of things in Rome, and to bring about a reform by which she would be able to show herself equal to the noblest matrons.—This story does not stand examination. How could the daughter of M. Fabius Ambustus, who himself had been consular tribune four years before, have been frightened at the knocking of the lictor at the house-door, or have felt herself degraded by marrying a man whose family had already held the chief magistracy in the state, and who could expect the same distinction for himself? The story is one of that class by which the vulgar attempt to discover the cause of great events in trivial or accidental circumstances. It is characteristic of the ancient historians that this absurd story is repeated by Livy and his successors without the least hesitation, as if it were perfectly authenticated.—*Ihne's Hist.*, vol. i., p. 318.

[1] *Ut deducto eo de capito, quod usuris pernumeratum esset, id, quod superesset, triennio æquis portionibus persolveretur:* it was probably intended that only the amount of interest in excess of the legal interest should be deducted from the principal.

[2] *Ne quis plus quingenta jugera agri possideret.* This article also contained provision in regard to the number of cattle which each could feed upon the public pastures (100 head of large and 500 of small), and also that the number of free men which each employed upon his farm should be proportioned to the number of slaves.

[3] *Ne tribunorum militum comitia fierent, consulumque utique alter ex plebe crearetur.*

[4] Only the first article fell within the jurisdiction of the plebeian assembly of tribes; the other, which pertained to the *imperium*, belonged to the *comitia centuriata*, and before it could become a law required the sanction of the *patrum auctoritas* and then the ratification of the *comitia curiata*.

[5] That the care of Sibylline books should be taken from the two patricians and entrusted to ten men composed equally of patricians and plebeians.

The bill was at last carried, and Lucius Sextius was elected the first plebeian consul. The patricians attempted even then to nullify the election. The plebeians threatened another secession. Then the aged Camillus saw it was too late, and came forward as a mediator and peace-maker. A compromise was effected. The consular *imperium* was limited, under the pretext that the nobility alone could declare the law and preside at the tribunal, by conferring its judicial duties on a new patrician magistrate called prætor.[1] Then the election was ratified and the plebeians were admitted to the highest honors of the state. Henceforth the word *populus* had a new import; it embraced the citizens of both orders. The long struggle between the orders would have ended here, had there not been some among the patricians who could not regard their defeat as decisive, and hence sought to regain their privileges. For the present, however, there was peace, and Camillus commemorated the close of the long era of civil strife by dedicating a temple to Concord and by adding a fourth day to the great Roman games.

4. Further Progress of the Plebeians.—The patricians still retained certain exclusive privileges, but the plebeians were finally admitted to these—to the dictatorship in B. C. 356, to the censorship in B. C. 351, to the prætorship in B. C. 337. By the Ogulnian law in B. C. 300 the number of pontiffs was increased from five to eight, and that of the augurs from six to nine, and it was enacted that four pontiffs and five augurs should be taken from the plebeians.[2] The admission of the plebeians to the sacred colleges was necessary in order that they might be free from patrician influence in taking the auspices and performing the sacrifices for the state.[3]

[1] The prætor was attended by six lictors; the number of prætors was soon increased to two, viz.: the *prætor urbanus*, who administered the law between citizens, and the *prætor peregrinus*, who took charge of all cases in which foreigners were concerned. Another concession to the patricians was that two new magistrates called *curule ædiles* to distinguish them from the plebeian ædiles were appointed to superintend the public games; but the office was soon open to plebeians.

[2] The religious privileges of the patricians that had no political importance were not interfered with, such as exclusive eligibility to the office of the three supreme *flamines*, that of *rex sacrorum*, and the guilds of Salii; see pp. 36, 37.

[3] Henceforth it was to no purpose that a patrician augur detected secret flaws in the auspices, and that the patrician censor did not permit his colleague to present the solemn sacrifice with which the census closed. It became the custom also for the patrician presidents of the senate (*princeps senatus*), not the patrician members, but those who had attained to the consulship, prætorship, and curule ædileship to give their opinion in order and without distinction of class, while the senators who had held none of these offices still even now took part merely in the division (see also p. 88, n. 2).

CHAPTER XIII.

CONTINUED AGITATION—THE MUTINY OF B. C. 342—THE PUBLILIAN AND HORTENSIAN LAWS.

1. The Licinian laws had brought about political equality. A certain reaction set in. The patricians once more thwarted the claims of the plebeians, and elected both consuls from their own order.[1] This produced violent discontent. The patricians sought to pacify it by concessions. The rate of interest established by the Twelve Tables was not only renewed, but in B. C. 347 was reduced to five per cent. The dictatorship and censorship were opened to the plebeians.

2. The Mutiny of B. C. 342.—Still the state of affairs was unsettled and discontent widespread. In the year B.C. 342, when the army was wintering in Campania, it broke forth. The consuls perceived the danger and tried to avert it by granting furloughs. The army mutinied and marched to Rome. The government had to yield. The Licinian laws were re-established.

It was further agreed—

1. That both consuls might be plebeians.[2]

2. That no Roman soldier when in actual service should be discharged from the army without his consent.[3]

3. That no one should be re-elected to the same magistracy within ten years.[4]

4. All interest on loans was abolished.[5]

3. The Publilian Laws (B. C. 339).—Still there was a strong party among the nobility, which was constantly at-

[1] The consular *Fasti* for fourteen years (352–339), show the names of twenty-one patricians and only seven plebeians.

[2] *Utique liceret consules ambos plebejos creari.*—Liv. vii. 42.

[3] *Ne cujus militis scripti nomen nisi ipso volente deleretur.*—Liv. vii. 41.

[4] *Ne quis eundem magistratum intra decem annos caperet neu duos magistratus anno gereret.*—Liv. vii. 42.

[5] This is the so-called *plebiscitum Genucium*, and was carried during this year.—Liv. vii. 42. It is hardly to be supposed that the intention of this law was to abolish interest altogether. The intention probably was to forbid an illegal rate of interest; this view is supported by the proceedings when the prætor Asellio revived the law (p. 240); see *Lange*, l. c. vol. ii. p. 38: for Ihne's view, see his history, vol. i. p. 348.

tempting to regain its former power. The senate managed the new acquisitions of land not according to the Licinian laws, but according to its own interests. The patricians still possessed the right to nullify the action of the people by refusing their sanction to the resolutions carried in the *comitia*. Under these circumstances the dictator, Q. Publilius Philo, in the year B. C. 339, proposed three laws which stand in close connection with the revolt of B. C. 342, and which were intended to abridge still further the privileges of the patricians.[1] It was enacted:

1. That the resolutions carried in the plebeian assembly of tribes should be binding on all the people.[2]

2. That all laws passed in the *comitia centuriata* should receive previously the sanction of the *patrum auctoritas*.[3]

3. That one of the two censors must be a plebeian.[4]

4. Changes in the Constitution.—*The first law* is but a re-enactment of the Valerio-Horatian laws of B. C. 449. The patricians had from time to time prevented the law from being carried into effect, and succeeding in this, had finally questioned the validity of the law itself. Hence its re-enactment. *The second law*, by requiring the previous sanction of *patrum auctoritas* to the action of the assembly of centuries, effectually abolished the veto power of the patricians over legislation.[5] *The third law* secured to the plebeians a share in one of the most important offices of the state.[6] This was an important gain for the plebeians, for it gave them a voice in determining

[1] Livy (viii. 12) characterizes them as *secundissimas plebi, adversas nobilitati.*

[2] *Ut plebiscita omnes Quirites tenerent.*—Liv. viii. 12. Mommsen (Röm. Forch, p. 200) thinks that this clause, as well as that in the Valerio-Horatian laws, applied to measures carried in the *comitia tributa;* and the Hortensian law, to those carried in the *concilium plebis*. This supposition involves a very material emendation of the text of Livy, without which it is unsupported.

[3] *Ut legum quæ comitiis centuriatis ferrentur ante initum suffragium patres auctores fierent.*—Liv. viii. 12.

[4] *Ut alter utique ex plebe cum eo (ventum sit), ut utrumque plebejum (consulem) fieri liceret, censor crearetur.*—Livy, viii. 12.

[5] The result of this law was to transfer the control over legislation from the patricians to the nobility, i.e., from the *concilium patrum familias gentium patriciarum*, which bestowed the *patrum auctoritas* upon the senate (to the *senatus consultum* which preceded the rogations), which henceforth exercised the *patrum auctoritas*. As this was an important change of the constitution, it needed the sanction of the *patrum auctoritas*, which it could never have secured had it not been felt that the new nobility in the initiative of the senate and the magistrate (the sanction of the *patrum auctoritas* for the election of magistrates was not repealed) still held control over legislation.

[6] As this law only related to the *censoria potestas* and not to the *imperium*, it did not require the confirmation of the *patrum auctoritas* or any change in the *lex curiata de imperio*.

who should be senators and *equites*, and prevented the patricians from managing the proletarians and freedmen in the interests of their own order.

5. The Hortensian Laws.—After the successful conclusion of the third Samnite war, the nobility attempted to draw the reins of government a little firmer, as they felt secure in their power. In consequence of the tribute of B.C. 293 and the pestilence which continued for several years, the plebeians[1] fell into debt again, and the conflict between the nobility and plebeians, between the rich and poor, was renewed with its old fierceness. The tribune proposed a law[2] for the relief of the poor debtor, which led to a violent contest between the senate, as the organ of the nobility, and the people. This caused the people to secede once more—this time to the Janiculus—and they were not induced to return until the proposals of the dictator, Q. Hortensius, were adopted (about B. C. 286). Besides amnesty and relief from their present indebtedness, the dictator carried the following laws:

1. That the resolutions of the plebeians should be binding on all the Quirites.

2. That all laws passed in the *concilia plebis* should receive previously the sanction of the *patrum auctoritas*.[3]

3. That the *concilia plebis*, like the *comitia centuriata*, could not meet on market days.[4]

6. Further Changes in the Constitution.—The *first* law seems to be only a re-enactment of a measure already twice guaranteed. We must consider, however, that the senate was in no way bound to execute the measures carried in the plebeian assembly, and that it had just failed to execute a law for the relief of the debtor class.[5] The *second* provision defined

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[1] *Infima plebs.* [2] *De ære alieno.*

[3] This law placed the resolutions of the people on the same level as those carried in the *comitia centuriata*; from this time the legislative powers of the *concilium plebis* were recognized; see note 2, page 83.

[4] *Ut nundinæ fastæ essent.* With the Romans the days on which the *prætor* could administer justice or the public assemblies meet, were called *dies fasti*. The *comitia* could be held, however, only on a certain number of these days, called *dies comitiales*; these were 184 in number. *Dies nefasti* were days when neither the courts of justice nor the *comitia* were allowed to be held. By the *lex Hortensia* the *nundinæ* became *fasti non comitiales*.

[5] *De ære alieno.*

more clearly the measures to which the veto of the senate was applicable.[1] The *third* clause gave the nobility an indirect control over legislation in the plebeian assembly by making it illegal to transact business on the *nundinæ* or market-days. On these days the plebeians came in large numbers to the city, and the assembly was likely to be fully attended. Since the nobility had control of the calendar, they could postpone action on any measure proposed in this assembly injurious to their interests by declaring the day on which the *concilium* met to be a holiday (*feriæ*), and therefore illegal for transacting business.[2]

CHAPTER XIV.

The People and the Government.—The Rise of the New Nobility.

1. The passage of these laws ended the long struggle between the two orders.[3] The extension of Roman sovereignty over Italy and the colonies which she planted to secure that power, improved the condition of the middle class. The increase of the indirect revenue rendered it seldom necessary to impose direct taxes. The wealth which began to centre in Rome, through war and commerce, reduced the rate of interest. The old disputes and political agitations gradually died out. A new era

[1] That it did not entirely abolish the veto power of the senate is known from the fact that several decrees of the people, highly disagreeable to the senate, were annulled, where no failure in the auspices had occurred. The law relates especially to measures that required for their execution the co-operation of the senate, although carried in direct opposition to it. It can be said, then, that the *lex Publilia* gave the people a veto power over the decrees of the senate—a negative power over its action. The *lex Hortensia* declared that resolutions of the people in relation to administrative measures, carried in direct opposition to the senate, had the force of law and must be executed. That no law passed in opposition to the senate was carried into execution until the agrarian law of Flaminius, B. C. 232, is owing to the fact that the tribunes, without directly neglecting the interests of the people, were under the control of the nobility.

[2] The nobility could also annul a measure by declaring that it was adopted on a day when it was illegal for the *concilium* to meet. Ihne (l. c. vol. i. p. 448), Niebuhr (*Rom. Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 420), and Arnold (l. c. vol. iii. p. 377), assume that the movement which led to the *lex Hortensia* was connected with the agrarian law of Manius Curius, the conqueror of the Samnites.

[3] About this time the *plebiscitum Mœnium* was carried, which compelled the patricians to give their sanction to the election of magistrates beforehand, as they already had to do to legislation, *i. e.* the *concilium patrum familias gentium patric.* must, before the election, grant the *patrum auctoritas* which empowered the candidate, in case of election by the people, to lay the *lex curiata de imperio* before the *comitia curiata* for their approval.

began. The equality it is true was only formal. A new nobility arose. The rich plebeians, after the Canuleian law legalized intermarriage, raised themselves above their fellow-plebeians. It was no longer the plebeians, but the common people, that were treated as an inferior class. The old nobility melted away. A new nobility, founded on office and wealth, sprang from it. The germs of a new aristocracy and a new democracy were formed; but for the present all contest was suspended. The glorious victories and their grand results silenced faction.

2. The Popular Assemblies.—The result of the long struggle had changed considerably the relation of the assemblies to each other and to the senate. The *comitia centuriata*, with their system of auspices and complicated classification, still retained the right to vote on a declaration[1] of war and to elect the higher magistrates, but were superseded for legislative purposes by the *comitia tributa*. To the latter was assigned the election of all the newly established magistrates except the censor and prætor, and it even assumed functions legally belonging to the *comitia centuriata*, and in course of time questions involving peace and war came before it. The decisions in this assembly fell more and more to the four city tribes because the vast extension of Roman territory had so increased the number of tribes that it was impossible for them to act in concert, especially since the rights of initiation and of discussion were not allowed.[2] The *concilium tributum plebis* had been placed, in regard to legislation, by the Hortensian law, on a footing of equality with the *comitia centuriata*. As only plebeians could vote in this assembly, the patricians were excluded from taking a part in the enactment of some of the most important laws.

3. The Composition of the Body of Citizens.—Appius Claudius attempted to introduce a radical reform not only in

[1] It must be remembered that this vote of the people did not actually declare war but simply empowered the senate to declare and wage war. The actual declaration of war must be made by the *fetialis* sanctioned by the *patrum auctoritas*.

[2] The *comitia centuriata* was organized originally for military purposes (see p. 23). The annalists represent the Roman army as composed mostly of plebeians. In the assembly of centuries, for political purposes, the patricians (or later the nobility) on the contrary had a decided majority; for they were sufficiently strong to carry the elections. This shows that the *comitia centuriata* had become a mere political organization and that the army was formed on a different basis. When this change took place none of the original authorities tell us; see pp. 23 and 51, note 5.

the plebeian assembly of tribes, but in the other assemblies as well. Hitherto only freeholders[1] could be members of the country tribes,[2] while in the city tribes[3] not only tradesmen and artisans, but the clients and freedmen had been enrolled. Formerly the freedmen had constituted an unimportant part of the population, but after the conquest of Veji the number of slaves had largely increased, and, as manumission was frequent, the number of freedmen became very numerous. When Rome became the capital of Latium it was a centre to which more and more tradesmen, artisans, and adventurers flocked. Although enrolled in the tribes, they were excluded from the classes and from military service. They enjoyed all the private rights but none of the political privileges of Roman citizens.

4. The Innovation of Appius Claudius.—This class began to show symptoms of discontent, and Appius Claudius, regarding them as a real danger to the state, or to increase his own influence, as censor enrolled them in any tribe they wished. The result was that not only the *concilium tributum plebis* but the *comitia tributa* and the *comitia centuriata,* since the freedmen who possessed landed property were admitted to the classes, were rendered more democratic than ever. This arrangement, however, was reversed by the censors, Fabius and Decius (B. C. 304), who confined this class to the four city tribes. Still great powers had been committed to the assembly of tribes. How easy was it for the demagogues to avail themselves of this favorable state of things to carry laws for grants of land, for distribution of money or reduction of debt. No effort, however, was made in this direction for the present. The danger was afar off. The republican spirit and love of country were too strong. For the present all parties united in bringing to a successful issue that career of conquest on which Rome had now embarked. During this period the public assemblies were only the means which the nobility used to govern the commonwealth.

5. The Weakening of the Consular Powers. — At the beginning of the struggle the consul was the chief magis-

[1] *Assidui.* [2] *Tribus rusticæ.* [3] *Tribus urbanæ.*

trate in the state. At the end of the contest his powers had been so weakened that the most important functions—the administration of justice, the election of senators and *equites*, the classification of citizens, the taking of the census, and the management of the finances—were transferred to others. Formerly the consuls, although everywhere co-ordinate, divided between themselves their different spheres of duty.[1] Now it was usual for the senate to define annually the provinces, and, in case of extremity, it could suspend the consuls by appointing a dictator.

7. The Senate; its Composition.—The senate practically governed the Roman republic. It still consisted of three hundred members who held office for life unless deprived of it by the censors. At first all vacancies were filled by the consul; but by the Ovinian law (about B. C. 351) the power was transferred to the censors. This law enacted that every one who had been consul, prætor, or curule-ædile,[2] was entitled to a seat in the senate. These were not enough to keep the senate up to its full number, and hence the censor could elect those who had not held office. The senate, as the centre of the noble houses, controlled the elections, and really took the reins of

[1] *Provinciæ.*

[2] By the *plebiscitum Atinum*, B. C. 204, those who had been tribunes were entitled to a seat in the senate (quæstors were not included until the time of Sulla). It must be remembered that although these ex-magistrates were admitted to the senate on the expiration of their term of office, they were not actual senators, only having the *jus sententiæ dicendæ*, until the next *lectio senatus* took place. The insignia of the senators who had held a curule office (*senatores magistratibus curulibus functi*) were the *tunica laticlavia* and *mulleus*. The senators who had not held a curule office were styled *senatores pedarii* because they assented to the opinions of the *consulares*, *prætorii*, etc., and when the division was taken voted with their feet (*pedibus in sententiam ire*). The order in which the senators ranked was, *consulares*, *prætorii*, *ædilicii*, *tribunicii*, *quæstorii* and *adlecti* (those who had never held any office which entitled them to admission to the senate). From the oldest *consulares* the *princeps senatus* was selected by the censor. The senators had seats reserved for them in that part of the theatre called the *orchestra*, also at the celebrations of the public games. The senate could only meet in a place consecrated by the augurs (or *templum*). The ordinary place of meeting for many centuries was the *curia Hostilia* (until B. C. 215), erected on the north side of the *comitium* on a part of the Vulconal. Later the senate had many other places of meeting, as the temple of Apollo, Jupiter Capitolinus, Bellona, in the magnificent *Curia Julia* and others. The magistrates who had a right to summon the senate were the *consul*, *interrex* (*præfectus urbis*), dictator, *magister equitum*, *decemviri*, consular tribunes, *prætor urbanus* (after B. C. 366), and the tribunes of the plebs (about B. C. 216). In the earliest times the senators assembled on the *area Vulcani* and were summoned by a *præco*, or *herald*; in later times public notice was posted up a few days beforehand. It depended wholly upon the presiding magistrate what business he would lay before the senate (*referre*). The senators, in speaking, could express their opinion on other subjects; Cato always added, at the conclusion of his opinion, *ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam*; when the final vote was taken the senators separated and stood on different sides of the house (*discessio*).

public affairs into its own hands. Even the tribunes of the people bowed to its authority. The noble houses in the senate could control legislation, since no measure adopted by the people could become a law unless they sanctioned it. In fact, in regard to war and peace, the management of the finances and the control of the public land, all depended upon the senate. The senate issued instructions to the consuls, assigned the provinces,* fixed the number of troops, provided supplies, and voted or withheld the triumph.

8. The Senate a Consultative Body.—Still it must be remembered that the original and legal powers of the senate[1] were to advise and not to command; that it could exercise the functions of government only so far as the magistrate voluntarily submitted to its authority. It had no means of enforcing submission except by appointing a dictator, and this was only possible when one of the consuls lent his aid. Still so long as it governed with wisdom and moderation it kept its place at the head of the state.

9. The Aristocratic Character of the Government.—Rome was a complete aristocracy and wielded that concentrated force which springs from an aristocracy. The upper classes were reinforced and reinvigorated by the infusion of new blood from rich plebeian families. The exclusive aristocracy of birth had been broken down; the aristocracy of wealth took its place and wielded an overwhelming influence. A stable centre for that influence was provided in the senate,[2] whose great powers gave it a preponderating weight during the long career of military conflicts on which Rome had now embarked. The time came at last, however, when the senate had to abdicate. The empire became too large even for that, and the nobility, thoroughly corrupt and selfish, used its great powers for their own advantage; then the monarchy stepped in and transformed the freedom of the few, which had become a sham and nuisance, into an equal slavery for all.[3]

[1] See page 19.

[2] The prominence of the senate at Rome is indicated by the official designation of the Roman government, *S. P. Q. R., i. e. Senatus populusque Quirites Romanus, the senate and Roman people.*

[3] *Ihne*, l. c. vol. i., p. 451.

* See p. 128, n. 3.

SUMMARY.

The Settlement of the Latins.

Races in Italy.

The Latins.

Their Civilization.

Latin Cantons.

League of the Thirty Latin Cities.

Foundation of Rome, B.C. 753.

The Government.

King.

Senate.

Comitia Curiata.

Army.

Origin of the Plebeians.

In Italy proper (see p. 108, n. 1) there were three races, viz., Etruscan, Iapygian, and Italian, all of which were probably (certainly the last two) of the Indo-European stock. Of the different branches of the Italian race, the Latins were historically the most important. They settled in the plain between the Alban hills and the sea; they had before their entrance into Italy attained to a considerable degree of civilization—had laid the foundation of their social and civil constitution. The households (*vici* or *pagi*) were united by ties of blood or by nearness of locality into clans, and the householders' dwellings formed the clan-villages, which were united, and all formed a canton. Each canton had a common centre, where justice was administered and the markets were held. Around this central town, which was always situated on an elevated and easily defensible position, suburbs grew up, which formed the nucleus of the early Latin towns. The different Latin cantons united into a league, with Alba Longa at their head, known as the league of the thirty Latin cities.

One of these cantons, the Roman, with its capital, Rome, situated on one of the hills on the Tiber about 18 miles from its mouth, was destined to be the most eminent. The Ramnians, or Romans, as they were afterwards called, were not the only dwellers on these hills, but two other cantons were here, that of the Tities and that of the Luceres; these three united for mutual protection and formed the Roman commonwealth. The government of these three cantons after the union was like that of all the other Latin cantons. All the heads of families were citizens, and were politically on a footing of equality. They chose the king, or leader in war, who held his office for life, and he nominated a council of elders, called the senate, and all the citizens met at his bidding in a public assembly called *comitia curiata* to enact laws or give their assent to war or peace. The citizens or householders were divided into 3 tribes, each tribe into 10 curiæ, each curia into 10 *gentes*, and each *gens* in theory into 10 households; therefore 300 *gentes*, or 30 curiæ, or 3000 households formed the *populus, civitas*, or community. Every household had to furnish one foot-soldier, and each *gens* a horseman and senator. The army thus consisted of 3000 foot-soldiers and 300 cavalry; the senate of 300 members.

The union of these three cantons gave the people a great superiority over the isolated cities of Latium, and one after another was subdued, and in some cases de-

stroyed, and the people moved to Rome. These people (plebeians, as they were called) were entirely without political rights. Their efforts to obtain a share in the government led first to the reform of Tarquinius Priscus and then to that of S. Tullius, by which wealth and not birth was made the basis for the taxes and military service. This was a very important change. Hitherto the king, as high priest, had been all-powerful; now the military and civil power, which gave Rome a superiority over the Latin cities, became predominant. The territory was divided into four tribes or wards, and the population that possessed land into five classes, and these classes into 193 centuries, which formed the *comitia centuriata*, as the people were called when summoned in military order on the *Campus Martius* by the king.

Reform in the Constitution.

Expulsion of the King.

The power of the king was carefully limited, and when, therefore, one of the kings, called Tarquinius Superbus, oppressed the members of the great houses and demanded more than was right from them, they rose in rebellion and expelled him from the throne. Henceforth, instead of entrusting the supreme power to one of their number for life, they determined to exercise it themselves in turn. According to tradition there were eight kings, but their history is almost fabulous. Regal period ended B. C. 509.

End of the Regal Period, B.C. 509.

Supposed Chronology of the Kings.

No. of Kings.

Romulus and Titus Tatius, B. C. 753–716; one year interregnum; Numa Pompilius, 715–676; two years interregnum; Tullius Hostilius, 674–642; Ancus Martius, 642–618; L. Tarquinius Priscus, 618–578; Servius Tullius, 578–534; Tarquinius Superbus, 534–509.

Religion.

Character of the Roman Religion.

The groundwork of the religions of the Romans and the Greeks was substantially the same. Both nations worshipped the powers of nature—the sun and moon, the earth and sky, water and air, light, darkness, health and sickness, were all objects of special worship. Most other nations invested their gods with human passions, and worked out a system of genealogy, but the Romans regarded their gods as spiritual beings. They told no myths or stories about their gods before their contact with the Greeks. In fact, the Romans were little inclined to enter into speculations concerning their gods, but they were very solicitous to perform the practical part—the prayers, vows, offerings, and ceremonies—this was their religion.[1] It had little to do with a spir-

Not Mythological.

[1] The word religion comes from the same root as *obligation*; obligation denotes the service due from one person to another; religion the service that man owes the gods for the protection they give.

The External History.

Regal Period, B.C. 753–509.

The Romans carried on an incessant warfare with the neighboring tribes—the Sabines, Æquians, Volscians, Rutulians. Before the close of the regal period Rome had acquired the leadership in Latium, but after the expulsion of the king, one tribe after another broke away from their alliance with or subjection to Rome (as the neighboring tribes had made their treaties with the king, they regarded themselves as released when the king was expelled), and she lost most of her territory and was reduced to her original limits. The annalists, however, made these wars originate in the efforts of Tarquin to recover the throne—first the Etruscans of Veji and Tarquinii aided him, then Lars Porsenna of Clusium, and finally, the thirty Latin cities under the lead of Octavius Mamilius of Tusculum. For the next two hundred years Rome was engaged in recovering what she had lost: in most of these wars she managed to obtain the assistance of some other tribes—as the Latins and Hernicans, with whom Spurius Cassius formed a league in B. C. 493.

Wars of the Early Republic.

League with the Latins and Hernicans, B. C. 493.

Fabian House.

Coriolanus and the Æquians, B.C. 488.

Cincinnatus and the Æquians, B.C. 458.

Rome Captured by the Gauls, B.C. 390.

Southern Etruria Subject to Rome, B.C. 387.

Colonies Founded.

The District as far as the Liris Subject to Rome.

The most important of these wars was (1) that with the Vejentines (in which the Fabian house was destroyed) until the capture of Veji by Camillus in B. C. 396; (2) the Volscian war in which Coriolanus was the most distinguished figure; (3) and the frequent wars with the Æquians, celebrated for the legend of Cincinnatus. Rome was interrupted in this career of conquest by the invasion of the Gauls; they entered Italy on a plundering expedition, defeated the Roman army on the river Allia, captured and plundered Rome.

After the Gauls retired, Rome soon recovered her position in Latium. The Tuscans who had assailed Veji were punished, and all Southern Etruria became subject to Rome; four new tribes were formed from the territory, and the fortresses of Sutrium (B. C. 383) and Nepete (B. C. 380) were established. The land of the Volscians and the Æquians was subjugated, the inhabitants were overawed, and Roman law and influence extended by a series of fortresses.[1] The most important of these were Satricum (B. C. 385) and Setia (B. C. 382). The whole Volscian district (the Pomptine Marshes) was distributed in small farms (2 jugera) to the plebeian soldiers, and organized in a few years into tribes. Rome had now advanced as far as the Liris. Here she came in contact with the Samnites, the only nation in Italy powerful enough to contest with her for the mastery of Italy.

[1] There were three classes of colonies: I, those Latin colonies founded by the Romano-Latin League before B.C. 493; II, those (also called Latin colonies) founded by the League of the Romans, the Latins, and the Hernicans before B. C. 380; III, those founded by Rome after the closing of the League in B. C. 380, which were either (1) Roman colonies with full rights, or (2) colonies with Latin rights (whether native Romans or not). The Latin colonies together with the original Latins formed the *nomen Latinum* and stood to Rome as *civitates fœderatæ*. See p. 110 and n. 9, also p. 116 and n. 7.

THE CONQUEST OF ITALY.

CHAPTER XV.

The First Samnite War (B. C. 343–341).—The Revolt of the Latin League (B. C. 340–338).

1. After the Gauls* had departed, Rome soon recovered her former position in Latium. The Latin towns[1] which had acquired a partial independence were subdued and compelled to submit. The Æquians and Volscians were driven back, and the Romans soon extended their dominion to the Liris. Here they first came in contact with the Samnites, who were then at the height of their power.

2. The Samnites, the principal branch of the Sabellian race, inhabited the lofty ridges of the Apennines. Thence in successive migrations they overran the plains at their feet. The chief towns of Campania,[2] even including Capua and Cumæ, fell into their hands. As no political tie bound them to their own country, they soon broke off all intercourse with the rude mountaineers of the Apennines. In the beautiful plains of Campania, surrounded by the comforts and luxuries of a refined life, they lost their old simplicity and bravery,[3] and finally so far forgot that they were descended from the Samnites of the mountains that the two races were sometimes engaged in hostilities with each other. It was a contest of this kind that gave the Romans the pretext for crossing the Liris, and led to the war with the Samnites of the Apennines.

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[1] Such as Præneste and Tibur.

[2] See colored map, No. 1.

[3] Their migrations were connected with the legendary custom of the *ver sacrum* or *sacred spring*. In bad years the Sabellians vowed to Mars (*Maners*) the tenth of all that was born in the course of one spring. This custom is also found among the Romans.—*Livy*, xxii. 10. The migrations to Campania took place in the regal period; those to the plains of Latium earlier. See p. 12.

* See p. 77.

Fisk & Sec: N.Y.

This list of the Latin cities is taken from Dionysius (v. 61). Schwegler (Röm. Gesh. ii. 322) thinks with Niebuhr that he obtained the list from the treaty of B. C. 493 (see p. 62); others as Mommsen (l. c. p. 382); and Ihne (Rom. Forsch. p. 53) think that it was made up from a list of those places that were afterwards regarded as members of the Latin confederacy; or by some annalist, from various sources. That the revolt had nothing to do with the restoration of Tarquinius is tolerably certain; see p. 49.

3. The Cause of the War.—It happened that another Samnite migration issued from the mountains to the plains of Campania and threatened Teanum, a city of the Sidicini. Being unable to withstand the attack of the Samnites, the Sidicini applied to the Campanians for assistance. This was readily granted, but even then the Samnites were victorious, and having occupied Mt. Tifata, from which they issued as their stronghold, they defeated the Campanians as often as they appeared in the field.[1] The latter, in their distress, turned to the Romans for assistance. The Romans had a few years before formed a treaty with the Samnites (B. C. 354), and therefore had no excuse for meddling in their affairs. This, however, was of little consequence to Rome when she had an opportunity to extend her territory. War was declared and the Romans seemed in a fair way to gain possession of Campania, when an insurrection[2] in their own army and the threatening attitude of the Latins compelled them to pause[3] and form a hasty treaty with the Samnites.

4. The Great Latin War[4] (B. C. 340–338).—During the regal period Rome attained her position as head of the Latin league. Thus far the Latins had fought on the side of Rome, and helped secure the victory. The conquered territory, however, was not incorporated with the Latin league but with the Roman state.[5] The manner in which Rome had subdued the

[1] It is not probable that the Capuans, as Livy relates, offered to place Capua in the hands of the Romans, because it remained after the war an independent town.

[2] See page 82.

[3] Little is known of the details of this war, and still less of the terms of peace. The account of the war by Livy (vii. 29 ff.) is filled with descriptions of bloody battles and hand-to-hand conflicts, and all kinds of improbabilities.

[4] Livy (viii. 3 ff.) relates as a cause of the war that the Latins sent two prætors, who were their chief magistrates, to Rome to demand a share in the government—that one of the consuls and half of the senate should be Latins. The request excited great indignation at Rome. The senate met in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. In the discussion which followed, the Latin prætor scorned the power of Jupiter Capitolinus; then an awful peal of thunder shook the temple, and as the prætor was leaving the temple he fell down the steps and died.

[5] The threatened revolt of the league in B.C. 384 caused the Romans to prevent any more cities from joining the league. Hitherto every city founded by Rome and Latium had enjoyed this right, but according to Latin usage the number of cities having the right to vote could never exceed thirty; the others were without this right. In this way it happened that thirty cities had the right to vote, but seventeen others had the privilege of participating in the Latin festival without the right of voting. The communities founded later, as Sutrium, Cales, &c., were not allowed to vote. This fixed the limits of Latium. So long as the Latin confederacy had continued open, the bounds of Latium advanced with the founding of new cities. The later colonies not being entitled to vote in the league were not regarded as belonging to Latium. See map No. 1.

Latin towns after the Gallic invasion had filled the Latins with discontent. The frequent acts of injustice on the part of Rome increased, from year to year, this discontent. The revolt of the league might be expected at no distant day. The war with the Samnites was in progress. Rome seemed in a favorable way to acquire new territory. This she had no intention of sharing with her allies. Then the ferment broke out into open insurrection.[1]

The peoples, too, south of the Liris, had discovered the intention of Rome, and were prepared to fight for their independence.

5. The Battle of Mt. Vesuvius.—The danger was great. The Latins alone were equal to the Romans in courage and military experience. Against such a combination the Romans looked about for aid, and even formed an alliance with their old enemies, the Samnites. The Roman army, joined by the Samnites, entered Campania by a circuitous march through Samnium. The battle was fought near the foot of Mt. Vesuvius.[2] The Romans and Samnites were victorious. The Latins could no longer keep the field, but, shut up in their fortified towns, they protracted the contest for nearly two years. Town after town, however, fell into the hands of the Romans, and finally, on the capture of Antium (B. C. 338), the Latins laid down their arms. The Latin confederacy was dissolved, and all

[1] Every Latin town except Laurentum joined the insurrection.

[2] It was in this war that the annalists told the story that the consul, T. Manlius Torquatus, ordered his own son to be beheaded for engaging in single combat with Mettius, the leader of the Tusculan cavalry, contrary to the orders of his father. It is also related that the battle was fierce and long undecided. The two consuls, who had been warned by a dream that victory should be with the army whose general would devote himself to death, had agreed that he whose legions first wavered in the battle should sacrifice his life for his country. At length on the wing where the plebeian consul Decius Mus commanded, the Roman line fell into disorder. The moment had come, and the consul, calling the pontiff, veiled his head with his gown, and repeated after the priest the sacred prayer: "O Janus, Jupiter, father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, ye Lares, ye gods Novensiles, ye gods Indigetes, ye divinities under whose power we and our enemies are, and ye spirits of the departed dead, to ye I pray, ye I worship. I ask your favor, that ye will grant strength and victory to the Roman people, the Quirites; and that ye may strike the enemies of the Roman people with terror, dismay, and death. As I have pronounced in words, so do I now, in behalf of the commonwealth of the Roman people, the Quirites, of the army, of the legions, of the allies of the Roman people, so do I devote, with myself, the legions and allies of the enemy to the spirits of the departed, and to the earth." When he had uttered this prayer and ordered the lictors to announce to his colleagues that he had devoted himself for the army, he girded himself with his toga, and, fully armed, plunged into the thickest of the battle, to seek death for himself and victory for the army.

general assemblies were forbidden. Rome henceforth was the common centre. Here the Latins could settle, buy and sell, and marry; but all intercourse and intermarriage between the different Latin cities were prohibited. Large tracts of their land were incorporated with the Roman state, and two new tribes * were formed.[1]

CHAPTER XVI.

The Second Samnite War (B. C. 326–304).

1. The Policy of Rome.—Rome busied herself in securing the territory she had conquered by planting colonies along the frontier. Cales was conquered and a Roman colony established there (B. C. 334). A colony was planted at Fregellæ (B. C. 328), the most important locality on the Liris. With undeviating energy Rome pursued her policy, until her territory reached even to the Samnite border. A contest between the two nations was inevitable.

2. The Cause of the War.—The city of Palaeopolis was the immediate cause of the war. The senate complained that the Palaeopolitans had committed outrages upon Roman citizens settled in the vicinity of Cumæ. In Palaeopolis, as everywhere in Italy, there was an aristocratic and a democratic party; one party was favorable to the Romans, the other sought aid from the Samnites, who at once dispatched a strong garrison to the city. When this force entered Palaeopolis the war was really begun, not between Palaeopolis and Rome, but between the two great rival nations. The Romans without hesitation resolved on war, and sent Q. Publilius Philo, the same who had carried the important laws

[1] Tibur and Præneste renewed their old alliance with Rome on a footing of equality. The citizens of the other towns did not have the franchise; they received the right of intermarriage with the Romans (*connubium*), and the right to buy and sell in Rome (*commercium*); the towns were called *municipia* (*bound to services*); they were subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman prætor, who appointed a prefect (*præfectus juri dicundo*) to exercise the jurisdiction.

* Making 29 in B.C. 332.

which bore his name, into Campania with an army. As he was not able to reduce the city before his year of office expired, the senate prolonged his command under the title of *proconsul.* In the following year the city submitted, although the garrison still held out, and the Romans succeeded in winning over the other Greek cities by granting them favorable terms of peace.

3. Declaration of War.—In the mean time the Samnites were called upon in regular form to withdraw their garrison from Palaeopolis. This they refused to do, and the Roman *fetialis* declared war in due form.[1] During the first five years

of the war the Roman arms were generally successful. Rome placed three armies in the field; one continued the siege of the garrison in Palaeopolis and the other two invaded Samnium, fighting and pillaging as far as Apulia. Once more discontent broke out among the Latins. A truce was concluded with the Samnites. Two Latin towns[2] revolted and the rebellion threatened to spread, but Rome, by wise concessions, appeased the discontent. The next year the Samnites sued for peace. The Romans would hear of nothing but submission; so the war was renewed.

4. The Caudine Pass.—In B. C. 321 the two consuls, Veturius and Postumius, advanced from Campania with the

[1] See page 41.

[2] Privernum and Velitræ.

purpose of relieving Luceria, which, it was reported, the enemy had besieged. Their route led[1] through the defiles of the mountains near Caudium into the enemy's territory. The army entered the pass, the celebrated *Caudine Forks*,[2] but found to its surprise that the Samnites awaited it here and not at Luceria. The Romans attempted to force their way, but in vain; meanwhile the enemy had taken possession of the pass by which the Romans entered, and nothing remained but to capitulate. A treaty was signed by which the Roman consuls and all the superior officers bound themselves by a solemn oath to give up all conquests and colonies in the territory of Samnium. Then the brave Samnite general, Gavius Pontius, set the Roman army free, after each soldier had given up his arms and passed under the yoke.[3] When the news reached Rome the senate very naturally * refused to ratify the treaty. Pontius demanded that either the terms of the treaty should be carried out or the Roman army should be returned to the Caudine Forks.[4]

5. War with the Etruscans.—The war was renewed and the experienced Papirius Cursor was placed at the head of the army. The army entered Samnium and appeared before the walls of Luceria. The town surrendered, and on account of the importance of its position was strongly garrisoned. The Samnites now looked about for allies. The Etruscans, whose forty years' truce with Rome had expired, came to their assistance, and, in order to create a diversion, attacked the fortress of Sutrium. Fabius Maximus Rullianus boldly entered the country through the Ciminian forest and defeated the Etruscans at the Vadimonian lake[5] (B. C. 310).

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[1] Between the present Arpaja and Montesarchio. [2] *Furculæ Caudinæ.*

[3] That is, *sub jugum;* hence the English word *subjugate;* see p. 66, note.

[4] Livy (ix. 8 ff.) relates that when the question of the ratification of this treaty came before the senate, Postumius declared at once that it ought not to be kept, but that he himself and his colleague, with the other officers, ought to be delivered to the enemy, because they had promised what they could not perform. This proposal the senate accepted, and all the officers who had bound themselves to the Samnites were delivered to them. No sooner was the surrender made than Postumius struck the Roman *fetialis* who had conducted him and cried out: "I am now a Samnite citizen, and as I have done violence to the sacred envoy of the Roman people ye will rightfully, Romans, wage war with us to avenge this outrage." Pontius refused to accept Postumius and his companions, and they returned unhurt to their own army; see *Ihne*, vol. i., p. 397 ff.; *Arnold*, p. 296 and note 52.

[5] See map No. 1. * See p. 88, § 7.

6. The Samnites Subdued.—In the south the Samnites were repeatedly defeated. Finally, after the capture of their capital, Bovianum, they were compelled to sue for peace. They were obliged to give up their conquests beyond Samnium. They formed, on an equal footing with Rome, an alliance which secured them their independence.[1]

7. The Results of the War were great. Four new tribes were formed,[2] eight colonies were planted, and the large number of citizens who settled in Campania spread Roman influence throughout Central and Southern Italy. The country to the north, between Samnium and Etruria, was secured by fortresses, while Samnium on the east and west was hemmed in by a whole line of fortifications. Rome was unmistakably the first power in Italy.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Third Samnite War (B. C. 298–290).—Success in Etruria and Southern Italy.

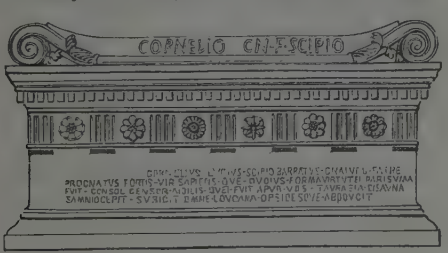
1. Cause of the War.—In the last war the Lucanians had sided with Rome. The garrisons which the Samnites had to keep in Lucania had been a serious drawback to their success. They therefore determined to seize the first opportunity to supplant the influence of Rome in that country. It happened that in internal dissensions among the Lucanians one party applied to Rome for assistance, the other to the Samnites. The Samnites immediately dispatched an army into Lucania in order to bring their party to the head of the government. Rome renewed her alliance with the Lucanians and ordered the Samnites to desist. This they refused to do. Rome imme-

[1] Livy, ix. 45. *Fœdus antiquum Samnitibus redditum.*
[2] Two formed in B. C. 318; two in B. C. 299 – making thirty-three in all.

diately declared war. Since the year B. C. 301 the Romans had been at war with the Etruscans, who just at this time entered into negotiations for peace. This enabled the Romans to send both armies into Samnium. The Samnites were defeated and Roman influence was re-established in Lucania.

2. War with the Etruscans.—In order to induce the Etruscans to continue the war, the Samnite general, Gellius Egnatius, promised to render them assistance in their own country. The Samnites placed three armies in the field, one to protect Samnium, one to invade Campania, and the other Egnatius himself led through the Marsian and Umbrian territories to help his allies in Etruria. The Romans saw their efforts to sever northern and southern Italy frustrated. Nearly all Etruria[1] was in arms, and an invasion of the Gauls, whom the Etruscans had taken into their pay, was threatened. The Romans made great efforts and placed larger armies in the field than ever before, with the two most eminent generals at their head, the aged Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus and Publius Decius Mus. They met the enemy at Sentinum, near

[1] The first year of the Samnite war is of great interest, because the epitaph of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, who was consul B. C. 298, has been preserved. It is probably the oldest document that has come down to us in the original. It was found at Rome in 1780 (see *Hist. of Literature*, p). According to Livy (x. 12) Scipio fought



SARCOPHAGUS OF SCIPIO

in Etruria; he makes no mention of the towns of Taurasia and Cisauna which Scipio is said to have taken, nor of a defeat of the Lucanians. Ritschl (Rhein. Museum, 1854, p. 1 ff.) thinks that the epitaph was not composed immediately after Scipio's death; is in fact not older than the first Punic war. Ihne (l. c. vol. i., p. 46) thinks that the whole Etruscan campaign was a fiction, that the Samnite army was sent to Etruria to join the Gauls in a war against Rome. Against this coalition A. Claudius was sent in B. C. 296, but the campaign was unsuccessful, and the danger became so serious that in B. C. 295 Rullianus and Decius were dispatched with two consular armies of four legions.

the pass where the *Via Flaminia* afterwards crossed the mountains. The battle was long undecided until the consul, Decius Mus, like his father in the battle near Mt. Vesuvius, devoted himself and the hostile army to the infernal gods. The victory was complete, the coalition was broken; the Gauls dispersed, and all Umbria submitted.

3. Exhaustion of the Samnites.—The Samnites retreated, to continue the war in their own country. There with the courage of despair they fought and even defeated the consul, Fabius Maximus Gurges, the son of Rullianus. The aged Rullianus consented once more to take the field, as legate, under his son. Then the Samnites were defeated, and their general, the brave Gavius Pontius, who had commanded at Caudium, fell into the hands of the Romans and was killed in prison.[1] Still the spirit of the Samnites was not broken. In their mountains they protracted the struggle until both parties were weary of war. They concluded an honorable peace which secured them independence and the entire possession of Samnium, though they were compelled to give up their foreign conquests.

4. Colonies Established.—Rome now bent all her energies to secure the territory she had gained. The Campanian coast was strengthened by two fortresses, Minturnæ and Sinuessa, and the colony of Venusia was planted on the borders of Samnium, Apulia and Lucania to command the south. About this time the Sabines were finally conquered and became subjects of Rome.[2] The fortress of Hatria was established on the Adriatic to secure the territory there.[3]

5. War with the Gauls and Etruscans.—After the conquest of the Samnites the only peoples left unsubdued were the Lucanians and Greeks of the south. Ten years elapsed

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[1] The following description of the consul's triumph is from Dr. Arnold's *History of Rome*, ii., p. 365.—While he was borne along in his chariot, according to custom, his old father rode on horseback behind him as one of his lieutenants, delighting himself with the honors of his son. But at the moment when the consul and his father, having arrived at the end of the Sacred Way, turned to the left to ascend the hill of the capitol, G. Pontius, the Samnite general, who, with the other prisoners of rank, had thus far followed the procession, was led aside to the right hand to the prison beneath the Capitoline hill, and was there thrust down into the underground dungeon of the prison and was beheaded.

[2] *Cives sine suffragio.*

[3] See colored map No. 1.

between the close of the third Samnite war and the commencement of the next great struggle in which Rome was engaged. In the meantime the Senonian and Bojan Gauls were defeated at the Vadimonian Lake (B. C. 283) and the fortress of Sena Gallica (*Senegaglia*) was established. In Etruria the fortune of war was tried again, Volsinii was taken and destroyed, Falerii subjugated and the Etruscan power completely crushed.

6. War with the Lucanians. — In the third Samnite war the Lucanians had rendered Rome important aid. They no doubt thought that Rome in return for this would look quietly on while they plundered the Greek cities. They had already laid siege to Thurii, which being hard pressed applied to Rome for assistance. The Romans did not hesitate to espouse the cause of the Thurinians and to declare war against the Lucanians. The latter, however, effected a union of the Samnites and Bruttians,[1] but Gajus Fabricius defeated their united armies, relieved Thurii, received the submission of most of the Greek towns[2] except Tarentum, and after having garrisoned them, returned to Rome laden with spoils (B. C. 282). Tarentum was now the sole obstacle to Rome's entire mastery of Italy.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Greek Settlements.—The War with Pyrrhus.

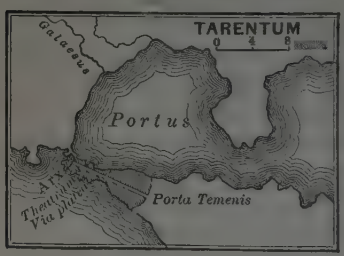
1. The Condition of the Italian Greeks. — In early times the Greeks had founded colonies on the coasts of Sicily, Spain and France, and particularly in southern Italy where the Greek cities were so numerous and powerful that the country was called *Græcia Magna*. Many of these cities, such as Agri-

[1] According to Mommsen the Lucanians effected a union of not only the Bruttians and Samnites but also of the Etruscans, Umbrians and Gauls, and this led to the battle of the Vadimonian Lake. Deprived of the narrative of Livy for this period (the narrative ends B. C. 292) the succession of events is exceedingly doubtful.

[2] Locri, Rhegium, and Croton were garrisoned.

gentum, Syracuse, Croton, Sybaris and Tarentum attained great prosperity, and extended their power from the coast inland and ruled over the native races. The Greek cities in Italy, however, owing to civil dissensions, jealousies, and hostilities with each other, had very much declined in power and prosperity. At the time when Rome came in contact with these cities Tarentum was by far the most powerful.

2. War with Tarentum (B. C. 280–272). — Favorably situated on a splendid harbor, Tarentum grew rich by commerce and industry. Unable to defend their independence against the Lucanians, the Tarentines had summoned Archidamus, the Spartan king, to help them. In the interval between the first and second Samnite wars Alexander of Epirus had been invited to assist them against the Lucanians and Samnites. The second Samnite war gave the Tarentines an opportunity to form a league to check the ambitious schemes of Rome. But with their usual indolence they left the Samnites to struggle alone, and assuming to act as umpires, they summoned both parties after the battle of Caudium to lay down their arms; the Romans replied by an immediate declaration of war. Even then the Tarentines took no decisive step. At the close of the war the Tarentines and Romans concluded a peace,[1] the terms of which were that the Romans should not sail beyond the Lacinian promontory.



This was the condition of affairs when Thurii fell into the hands of the Romans, and a fleet of ten vessels was sent to protect Thurii and at the same time to watch the Tarentines. When the fleet appeared off Tarentum in open violation of the treaty, the Tarentines quickly manned their ships, sailed out, attacked the Romans, and gained an easy victory.[2] After this,

[1] Probably about B. C. 304: according to Niebuhr, B. C. 301.
[2] Mommsen and Niebuhr condemn the attack of the Tarentines. Ihne thinks that a Roman party in Tarentum had agreed to deliver the city to the Romans.

Thurii was attacked, the Roman garrison expelled, and the town plundered.

3. The Arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy.—War was declared,[1] and the Tarentines, accustomed to lean on Greece for support, invited Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to conduct the war against their enemies. Pyrrhus eagerly seized the opportunity, and in the winter of B. C. 280 landed[2] at Tarentum, and took the reins of the government into his own hands. The Tarentines were effeminate, and cared little for war. They soon found, however, that they had a master. The clubs and theatres were closed, and the young men were pressed into military service.

4. The Battle near Heraclea (B. C. 280).—The Roman army under the command of Valerius Lævinus soon appeared and commenced hostilities. The two armies met at Heraclea.[3] Seven times the Romans attempted to break through the Grecian phalanx; then Pyrrhus brought forward his cavalry and his elephants against the exhausted Romans. This decided the contest; the Romans fled, and their camp fell into the hands of the enemy. Discontent was now silenced in Tarentum, and all southern Italy rose against Rome. The victory was great, but it had been dearly purchased. Nearly four thousand of Pyrrhus's best soldiers strewed the field of battle. This battle taught the king the difficulty of the task he had undertaken, for he knew well that the contest was only decided by the surprise produced by the attack of the elephants. Before the battle, when he saw the Romans forming in line as they crossed

[1] It is related that before declaring war, the senate sent an embassy to Tarentum to complain of the attack on the fleet and demand satisfaction. L. Postumius, who was at the head of the embassy, was beset by the rabble. His purple-bordered toga was jeered at, and when he began to address the people in Greek, his mistakes and accent were laughed at. He still continued stating his demands—release of the captives, the restoration of Thurii, and the surrender of the authors of the outrages—when a drunken buffoon bespattered his white toga with dirt. The whole assembly applauded, but Postumius, holding up his sullied toga, said: "Laugh while ye may, but this robe shall be washed in torrents of your blood." Valerius Maximus (ii. 2, 5) makes the insult to Postumius take place before the assembly is called; Dionysius (xviii. 7) after, Livy (epit. xii.) says the ambassadors were beaten by the Tarentines.

[2] With an army of 21,000 heavy-armed soldiers, 2,000 archers, 500 slingers, and 3,000 horsemen.

[3] For the first time on the field of Heraclea the Roman legion and Grecian phalanx were brought in collision. The order of the Roman army until the time of Camillus was similar to the phalanx. The legion was now drawn up in three lines, called the *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*: the last line was triple (*triarii* proper, *rorarii*, and *accensi*), so that there were really five lines, see p. 368.

the river, he said: "In war at least these are not barbarians." Afterwards, when he saw the Roman soldiers lying upon the field with the wounds all in front, he exclaimed: "If these were my soldiers, or if I were their general, we should conquer the world!" In view of the fact that his veteran soldiers were more difficult to be replaced than the Roman militia, and that the surprise produced by the attack of the elephants could not be often repeated, it may be that the king described his victory as a defeat, or as the Roman poets afterwards expressed it: "Another such victory and I must return to Epirus alone."

5. Embassy of Cineas to Rome.—Pyrrhus resolved, therefore, to avail himself of the impression produced by this victory to make overtures of peace to the Romans. He sent his minister Cineas to Rome, with the proposal that the Romans should recognize the independence of the Greek cities.[1] Cineas, whose eloquence is said to have won more cities for Pyrrhus than his arms, left no means untried to induce the Romans to accept the terms. When the question came up for debate, and the decision of the senate seemed doubtful, the aged Appius Claudius[2] appeared once more in the senate and denounced the idea of peace with a victorious foe with such effect, that the overtures of the king were rejected, and Cineas was warned to leave Rome. When Pyrrhus, who had been waiting in Campania, heard this, he immediately advanced toward Rome, hoping to secure the aid of the Etruscans, to shake the adhesion of the allies of Rome, and to threaten the city itself. He nowhere met with a friendly reception. The Romans placed new legions in the field, and Pyrrhus fell back to Tarentum loaded with spoils and captives.

6. The Battle of Asculum (B. C. 279).—Both sides made preparations for the next campaign. Pyrrhus had not yet given up all hope of concluding peace, and when Rome sent an embassy to treat for an exchange of prisoners he determined

[1] And according to Plutarch (Pyrrhus, 18) he would help them subdue Italy.

[2] Surnamed Cæcus; a descendant of Appius Claudius, the decemvir. The story of his blindness originated probably from his surname. See Mommsen Röm. Forsch, p. 301, or l. c. vol. 1, appendix.

to renew his proposals. His negotiations with G. Fabricius, the head of the embassy, furnished the annalists with material to eulogize their own countrymen. Fabricius was poor and was proud of his poverty. His integrity was incorruptible, and he rejected the large sums of money offered by the king. At last Pyrrhus attempted to work upon his fears by concealing an elephant behind a curtain, and then causing the curtain to be withdrawn so that Fabricius was directly under the monster's trunk. Fabricius remained unmoved, and only smiled when the elephant roared. The object of the embassy failed.[1] The king refused to exchange the prisoners. The next spring hostilities were renewed. In the battle at Asculum (*Ascoli di Puglia*) in Apulia, the Romans were again defeated.

7. The Alliance of Rome with Carthage.—An event now occurred which induced Pyrrhus to conclude a hasty peace with the Romans and retire from Italy. The Romans concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Carthage.[2] The object of this was to oppose the plans of Pyrrhus both in Italy and Sicily. Carthage had already subdued the western part of Sicily, and now an opportunity was offered for her to get possession of the whole island. After the death of Agathocles, the power of Syracuse rapidly declined. The Carthaginians made rapid progress in the island. Agrigentum was taken and Syracuse threatened. At this juncture the Syracusans applied to Pyrrhus for aid. Hence his desire to bring the war in Italy to a conclusion in order to help Syracuse before it was too late, and hence the interest of the Carthaginians to detain him in Italy that they might complete the conquest of Sicily. Leaving Milo with a garrison in Tarentum, Pyrrhus sailed for Sicily. Syracuse was relieved, the Greek cities united under his leadership, and the Carthaginians were almost entirely driven from the island. The arbitrary rule of Pyrrhus soon

[1] According to Appian (iii. 10, 5), the king allowed all the prisoners to go to Rome to celebrate the feast of the Saturnalia on condition that they should return if the senate would not accept the terms of peace already offered. The senate remained firm and threatened with death any who should break his oath; according to Justin (xviii. 1), he released only 200, while Livy makes him release all the prisoners without ransom.

[2] This was about B. C. 279. A commercial treaty had been concluded with Carthage, according to Polybius, in the first year of the republic (B. C. 509). According to Mommsen (Röm. Chronol., p. 272 ff.), Polybius dates this treaty 161 years too early. See p. 113.

caused discontent to break out among the Greeks, and the situation of affairs in Italy demanded his presence.

8. The Battle of Beneventum (B. C. 274).—In the autumn of B. C. 276 Pyrrhus set sail from the port of Syracuse, and appeared again in Tarentum. His troops were almost the same in number as when he first landed in Italy, but their quality was far different. His best officers had fallen in battle. The Romans prepared for the campaign. One consular army under Cornelius Lentulus entered Lucania, and the other under Manius Curius, Samnium. The king fell in with the army of Curius at Beneventum and determined to engage it before the other army could come up. He stormed the Roman position, but was completely repulsed. Curius now led his army into the plain, and gained a complete victory. The camp of Pyrrhus fell into his hands. The king was obliged to give up his idea of Italian conquest, and leaving Milo with a strong garrison in Tarentum, he sailed to Greece to engage in new adventures.

9. Union of Italy (B. C. 266).—The departure of Pyrrhus virtually ended the war. Tarentum fell into the hands of the Romans (B.C. 272). The guerrilla warfare of the Samnites soon ceased and every people south of the rivers[1] Arnus and Æsis submitted to the power of Rome.

CHAPTER XIX.

Roman Supremacy in Italy—Classes of Roman Citizens—The System of Colonization—Military Roads.

1. Roman Sovereignty.—Rome ruled leniently over the conquered states. They paid no tribute besides equipping and paying their army when Rome called for contingents. They still retained their own local laws and internal administration, when these did not conflict with those of Rome. The general management of the affairs of the allied states was centered in

[1] According to Mommsen (l. c. vol. iii., p. 387) it was Sulla who fixed the rivers Rubicon and Arnus as the northern boundary of Italy; see p. 257, n. 4.

Rome. Rome was the head and her magistrates collected the revenue, superintended the census, and apportioned the military service.

2. Summary of Rome's Policy.—A brief summary of Rome's policy in dealing with conquered states will help us to understand the manner in which she governed the different peoples in central and southern Italy. In the regal period, it will be remembered that the state was governed by the patricians; that when conquests were made the territory was annexed to the Roman state and the inhabitants were moved to Rome and the surrounding territory, and became subjects of the king, *i.e.*, plebeians; that after the destruction of Alba Longa, Rome became the leading power in the Latin league. In the course of time the plebeians were admitted to equal social and political privileges with the patricians, and ceased to form a separate class. Roman supremacy had meanwhile been extended not only over Latium, but over all central and southern Italy.

3. Classes of Roman Citizens.—The state, however, still consisted of three classes: *Roman citizens, subjects,* and *allies. The first class,* the members of thirty-three tribes, constituted the governing people. These were the citizens of Rome and of the country tribes into which the Roman territory[1] was now divided. *The second class,* or those[2] who possessed only the private rights[3] but not the public franchise,[4] consisted of

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[1] The territory extended on the north nearly to Cære, on the east to the Apennines, and on the south to Formiæ, though there were some towns even in Latium, as Tibur and Prænestе, which did not possess the full franchise.

[2] *Latini,* or *cives sine suffragio.*

[3] Every Roman citizen possessed public (*publica*) and private (*privata*) rights (*jura*). The public rights were: (1) the right of voting, *i. e* , of enacting and repealing laws (*leges scribere*), of declaring war (*bellum indicere*), and concluding peace (*pacem facere*), (*jus suffragii*); (2) the right of holding public offices (*jus honorum*); (3) the right of appeal (*jus provocationis*). The private rights were: (1) *jus connubii,* and (2) *jus commercii.*

[4] The first city on which private rights were conferred was Cære, in consequence of its having received the vestal virgins at the time when Rome was taken by the Gauls. Although this was a great privilege for the Cærites, it was, of course, a degradation for the citizens with full rights (*civis optimo jure*) to be placed on the same footing; this was one of the modes in which the censors expressed their displeasure towards a citizen; his name was omitted from the roll of the tribe and he was deprived of the *jus suffragii.* Hence the phrase, *in Cæritum tabulas referre aliquem,* to deprive one of his right of voting.

Any one in full enjoyment of all these rights was a *civis optimo jure.* These rights taken collectively were called *jus civitatis* or simply *civitas,* and might be acquired (1) by birth, (2) by gift. A child born of parents who could contract a regular marriage, *i. e.*, both of whom had the *jus connubii,* was by birth a Roman citizen. When a marriage took place between parties who did not mutually possess the *jus connubii,* the children belonged

the towns in a part of Latium,[1] and some of the communities among the Hernicans,[2] Æquians,[3] and Sabines.[4] These assumed the position in the state which the plebeians had formerly occupied. They were compelled to serve in the Roman armies, and were subject to all the burdens of Roman citizens, although not admitted to full political rights. These communities[5] were divided into two classes, one retaining more of local self-government than the other. Roman law was introduced and administered by a prefect[6] sent from Rome. *The third class*, or the allies,[7] consisted of some old Latin towns,[8] such as Prænestе and Tibur, of three towns among the Hernicans, of the Latin colonies, and of all the communities in central and southern Italy after their conquest. The Latin and Hernican towns retained their old privileges to a great extent, and their condition was so favorable that they were unwilling to change it for that of full Roman citizens. The condition of the allied communities in central and southern Italy was determined by special treaties. They enjoyed local self-government, but they were deprived of all political intercourse with other nations, and were bound to furnish ships of war and contingents for the army.

4. Colonization.—For the purpose of securing the new conquests, colonies[9] were founded far and wide in Italy. In this way Roman manners and customs were spread over Italy,

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to the rank (*status*) of the inferior party. Foreigners might receive the *civitas* as a gift (*dare civitatem*). In early times this gift was very freely bestowed, and foreigners were admitted into the rank of the patricians (*per co-optationem in patres*); six years after the expulsion of the kings the whole *gens Claudia* was admitted. Later it became more valuable, and was bestowed for faithful services, sometimes on individuals, sometimes on whole communities. Sometimes it was bestowed, as already mentioned, with a limitation, excluding the *jus suffragii* and *jus honorum*.

[1] After B. C. 338.

[2] After B. C. 306, of all but three cities, viz.: Alatrium, Ferentinum, and Verulæ, which had not taken a part in the war against Rome.

[3] After B. C. 304. [4] After B. C. 290. [5] *Municipia*—bound to services.

[6] Hence called prefectures (*præfecturæ*). [7] *Civitates fœderatæ*.

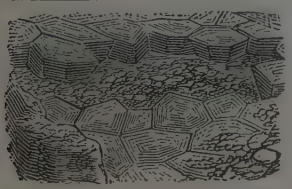
[8] That is, *Nomen Latinum*: the way to full citizenship was opened to the citizens of any of these towns, on emigrating to Rome, if they left children in their native city or had held office there; to the others the privilege of citizenship was not granted.

[9] In the north, Ariminum, Firmum, and Castrum Novum were founded: in Samnium, Beneventum and Æsernia; in Lucania, Pæstum (*Posidonia*) and Cosa. The colonies founded at Pyrgi, the seaport of Cære, Ostia, Antium (B. C. 338), Tarracina (B. C. 329), Minturnæ, and Sinuessa (B. C. 295), Sena Gallica, and Castrum Novum (B. C. 283), retained their full Roman citizenship, and had the right, probably, of managing their own local affairs. The others were Latin colonies, *i. e.*, Latins who settled on the lands taken from the conquered population. They could acquire full citizenship, by emigrating to Rome (see note 8), but after the founding of Ariminum (B. C. 268), this right was limited to those who had held office in their own city.

and the local dialects began to give way to the Latin language where all the subjects looked to Rome as the common centre. The contact with the Greek cities made the Romans acquainted with the Greek language and literature, the influence of which was soon visible in their religion, customs, and literature.

5. Military Roads.—Intimately connected with the colonial system was that of the military roads,[1] which in time were so extended that they intersected all parts of Italy and bound the outposts to Rome as the common centre. This great system was begun by Appius Claudius, who, after the conquest of Campania, constructed a paved road[2] to Capua, called from him the Appian Way (B. C. 312). This was soon extended to Brundisium by the way of Venusia and Tarentum. This project of Appius was carried out by others, each of whom gave his name to the work he had executed. The Flaminian Way (B. C. 220) was constructed to Ariminum by the way of Narnia and Fanum; the Æmilian Way (B. C. 187) continued the line to Placentia by the way of Bononia, Mutina, and Parma; while another of the same name (B. C. 171) extended the Cassian Way from Arretium to Bononia. The Valerian led through the country of the Sabines, Æquians and Marsians, and the Latin led through the valley of the Liris to Æsernia. All issuing from the capital they bound the different cities and colonies not only together but to Rome, and were the great highways by which intelligence was speedily carried and the Roman armies marched.

6. The Aqueducts.—At about the same time (B. C. 313) Appius commenced the system of aqueducts which was to supply the capital with pure water from the Sabine hills.[3] No



THE PAVEMENT OF THE VIA APPIA, IN ITS PRESENT CONDITION.

[1] *Viæ militares.*

[2] This road was excavated in 1850; so much of the work still remains that it even now deserves its ancient title of the "Queen of Roads" (*regina viarum*). The first ancient mile-stone (*columna milliaria*) before the Porta Capena, of the time of Vespasian, found in 1584, is in the Piazza del Campidoglio.

[3] Water had hitherto been obtained from the Tiber and from wells sunk in the city; but it now began (on account of the increase in population) to be insufficient, and was also unwholesome.

undertaking of the Romans presents more striking evidence of their energy, skill and untiring perseverance, than the military roads and aqueducts. The latter were constructed at an expense of a vast amount of toil and money, over hills, valleys and plains, sometimes in subterranean channels,[1] sometimes on long ranges of lofty arches,[2] the remains of which, stretching for miles over the barren and desolate Campagna, present one of the most imposing and picturesque spectacles around modern Rome. The Appian aqueduct[3] started about eleven miles[4] from Rome, and was constructed under-ground except about three hundred feet at its termination. M'. Curius Dentatus commenced the *Anio Vetus*[5] in B. C. 272, and the expenses were defrayed from the spoils taken in the war against Pyrrhus. The water was conveyed in a winding channel under-ground, from above Tibur, for a distance of forty-three miles, until where it entered the city it was raised on arches. Two others[6] were constructed during the time of the republic, but the number was increased under the empire to nineteen. They were the most wonderful structures of ancient Rome and well might excite the admiration expressed by Pliny:[7] "If any one will carefully calculate the quantity of the public supply of water, for baths, reservoirs, houses, trenches, gardens, and suburban villas; and, along the distance which it traverses, the arches built, the mountains perforated, the

[1] These were formed of stone or brick and were arched in order to keep the water free from impurities; apertures (*lumina*) (see p. 447) were made for ventilation. The channel descended with a gradual slope and the bottom of it was coated with cement. When the aqueduct was carried through solid rocks the rock itself served as a channel. That the water might deposit the impurities with which it was contaminated large receptacles, or ponds, were made at convenient places for the water to enter; in the city it was received into a reservoir and from thence conducted in lead or earthen pipes into smaller reservoirs in the different districts which it was to supply.

[2] It has sometimes been asserted that the Romans were unacquainted with the principle that water finds its own level, because they built aqueducts instead of laying pipes. This has arisen from the assumption that the large pipes are better adapted to carry water than the aqueduct. The Romans did make use of pipes, but they perceived the advantage of the aqueduct over pipes. Although at first more expensive, yet when once constructed they were permanent and durable. Four of the old Roman aqueducts are still in use. The large pipes are liable to get obstructed or to yield at the joints, and require constant attention and repairs, and are really in the long run more expensive. Engineers are now returning to the aqueduct. The New River in London and the Croton aqueduct in New York are constructed on the plan of the Roman aqueducts.

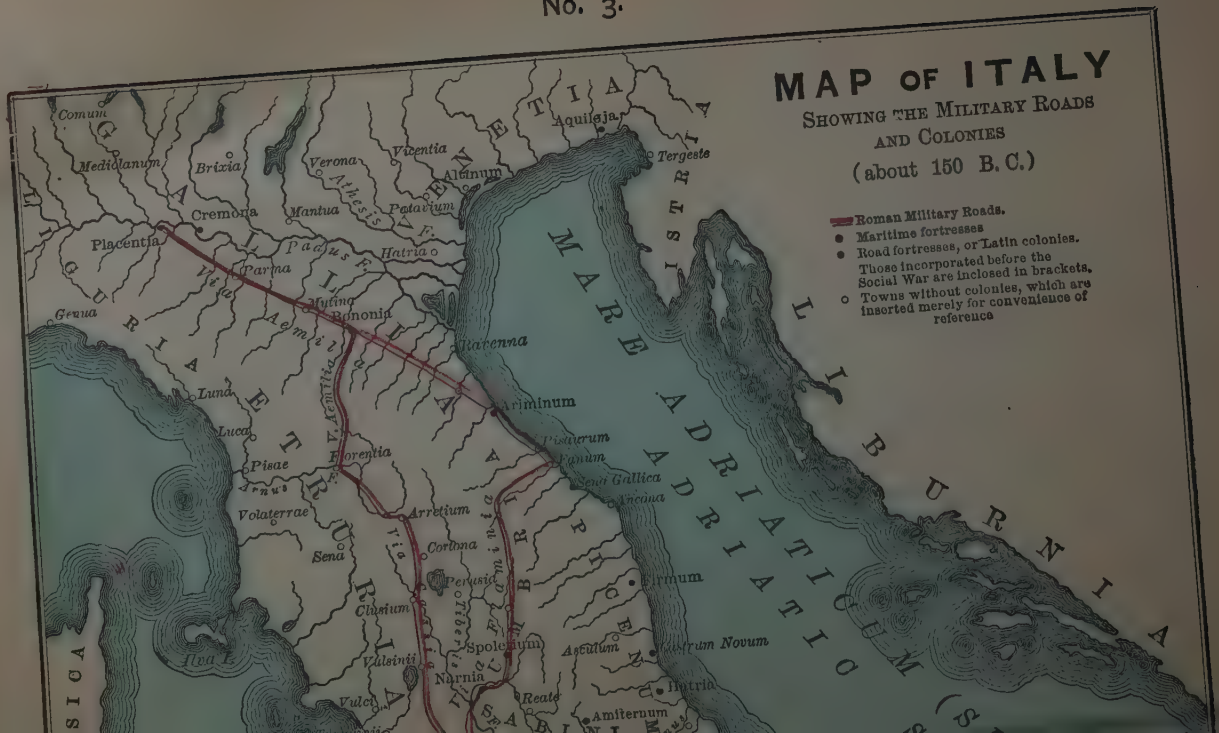
[3] *Aqua Appia.* [4] A Roman mile = 4850 ft.

[5] Remains of these are found at Tivoli and near the *Porta Maggiore.*

[6] The *aqua Marcia*, B. C. 144, and *aqua Tepula*, B. C. 125.

[7] *Nat. Hist.*, XXXVI., 15.

No. 3.


MAP OF ITALY
SHOWING THE MILITARY ROADS AND COLONIES
(about 150 B.C.)
Roman Military Roads.
Maritime fortresses
Road fortresses, or Latin colonies.
Those incorporated before the Social War are inclosed in brackets.
Towns without colonies, which are inserted merely for convenience of reference
MARE ADRIATICUM (SEA)
LIBURNIA
ISTRIA
VENETIA
GALLIA CISALPINA
LIGURIA
ETRURIA
UMBRIA
PICENUM
SAMNIUM
Comum
Mediolanum
Brixia
Verona
Vicentia
Aquileja
Tergeste
Cremona
Mantua
Atesis F.
Altinum
Patavium
Placentia
Parma
Padus F.
Hatria
Via Aemilia
Mutina
Bononia
Genua
Ravenna
Via Aurelia
Via Cassia
Luna
Luca
Pisae
Florentia
Arnus
Ariminum
Pisaurum
Fanum
Sena Gallica
Ancona
Volaterrae
Arretium
Via Flaminia
Cortona
Sena
Perusia
Via Amerina
Clusium
Firmum
Asculum
Castrum Novum
Spoletium
Volsinii
Via Salaria
Narnia
Reate
Interamna
Vulci
Amiternum
Via Valeria
Via Latina
Tiber R.
Ilva I.
SICA

SARDINIA
TYRRHENUM
(INFERUM)
TUSCAN SEA
(Suessa Pometia)
Pontine
Aesernia
Luceria
Beneventum
Saticula
Neapolis
Salernum
Silarus R.
Paestum
Buxentum
Canusium
Barium
Venusia
Brundisium
Tarentum
Hydruntum
Gulf of Tarentum
Copia
Croton
Valentia
Locri
Rhegium
Messana
Panormus
Lilybæum
SICILIA
Fisk & Son, N.Y.

valleys leveled, he will confess that there never was anything more wonderful in the whole world."

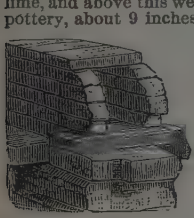
7. The Military System.—The new military system, introduced probably by Camillus, has already been mentioned.[1] This necessitated a far longer military training than that of the old phalanx, in which the solidity of the mass kept the inexperienced in the ranks. This end was now attained by abandoning the former mode of ranking the soldiers according to property, and arranging them according to length of service. The recruit entered first among the light-armed skirmishers (*rorarii*) and advanced step by step to the first, then to the second line, and finally to the third, where all soldiers of long service and experience were associated in the corps of the *triarii*,[2] which imparted tone and vigor to the whole army.

[1] See page 105, n. 3.

[2] See n. 369.

* This grotto is cut through a promontory between Naples and Bajæ; the distance is about 2210 ft.; at either end there are arches to increase the firmness of the structure.

In preparing to make a road, two trenches were first dug parallel to each other to mark the breadth of the road. The breadth in the great lines like the Via Appia was about 13 feet. The loose earth between these trenches was then removed and the excavation was continued until a solid foundation was reached; sometimes in swampy land a basis was formed artificially. Above the foundation small stones were first laid; then a mass of broken stones about 9 inches thick, cemented with lime, and above this were fragments of bricks and pottery, about 9 inches in depth, also cemented. Above this, large polygonal blocks of the hardest stone, fitted and joined with great nicety, were placed. The centre of the road was a little elevated to permit the water to run off. Foot-paths were constructed on either side.



CHANNEL OF AN AQUEDUCT. †

†The water channel was made of freestone or brick, and covered in the one case with slabs of stone, in the other with vault. The interior was lined with a water-tight coating of cement made of chalk and fragments of bricks. The water either ran directly through this channel, or it was carried through pipes laid along the channel. The pipes were of lead, or of terra-cotta, and sometimes of leather. The pipes were made in lengths not less than ten feet, and of various widths. They were cemented together at the joints, which in earthen pipes were made to overlap, and when the water was first let in, ashes were mixed with it, in order that they might settle in the joints and stop them more completely. By the use of pipes the water was sometimes carried round a hill, and in very wide valleys the costly structure of arches could be dispensed with, the pipe being brought down the one slope on a substructure, and up the opposite slope, to nearly the height of that of the opposite side.

THE VIA APPIA.*
(Passing through the grotto of Posilipo near Naples.)

See also pp. 112, notes 1 and 2, and 447, n. 2, and 489, n. 1.

SUMMARY.

Conquest of Italy—B. C. 384–266.

The Revolt of the Latin League, B.C. 384.

After the destruction of Rome by the Gauls in B. C. 390, the Latins and Hernicans, who had hitherto been united in a league with the Romans, took the opportunity to declare the league dissolved. Rome, however, recovered with remarkable rapidity and succeeded in maintaining her position in Latium. The malcontents were subdued and the league restored under the leadership of Rome. After the conquest of the Volscians in B. C. 383 no people of importance opposed the advance of the Romans to the river Liris.

Internal Condition.

As the internal condition of the state gradually improved[1] and political equality between the two orders was established,[2] Rome felt that she could safely contend with the peoples of Central Italy. Accordingly, when the Campanians offered to enter into an alliance with and to place their chief city in the hands of the Romans, if the Romans would protect them against the Samnites who were making forays into their territory, the offer was too tempting to be rejected. Those Samnites who had descended from the mountains and settled in the plains of Campania became in the course of time detached from the parent stock, the Samnites of the mountains, and the two nations were sometimes engaged in hostilities with each other. The Samnites of the mountains made forays into the rich and highly civilized lowlands of Campania. To save themselves from these forays the Campanians offered to place themselves under the protection of Rome. To accept the offer was to double the territory of Rome; to reject it was to strengthen the Samnites, who were already the chief nation in Southern Italy. The offer was accepted, the Campanians were received into alliance, and the First Samnite War followed. A Roman army was sent to Campania, gained some successes, and prepared to winter there. The mutiny of the soldiers[3] and the threatened revolt of the Latins compelled the Romans to make a hasty treaty.

Peace Policy of Rome Abandoned.

The Romans and Samnites.

The First Samnite War, B.C. 343–341.

The land[4] that had been acquired in Campania, Rome had no intention of sharing with the Latins, although it had been won by their help. The spirit of the Latins began to rise. They demanded a share in the spoils of war and in the government of Rome.

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[1] See p. 85. [2] See p. 81. [3] See p. 82.

[4] It is important to remember that Rome, when she conquered a state, succeeded to the rights of the previous government. As all of the Italian states possessed a public domain of some kind, Rome acquired, as her conquests advanced, large tracts of public land and various other kinds of property, such as mines, quarries, salt-works, etc. In addition to all this Rome required, at the close of the war, the surrender of a tract of arable or pasture land, which was added to the public domain (*ager Romanus*). In this way the territory of Rome was always increasing.

The Latin War, B.C. 340–338.

This was not an unjust demand. The two peoples had the same political, religious, and social institutions. Rome, however, rejected these demands, and war was declared. The Romans, aided by the Samnites, with whom they had just formed an alliance, defeated the Latins near Mt. Vesuvius. The Latin league was dissolved, and the leadership of Rome in Latium was converted into a supremacy. Henceforth the Latin cities[1] furnished soldiers and contributions, not according to a fixed rule, but according to the pleasure of Rome. From this duty of the subject towns arose the name "municipal," *i. e.*, bound to services.

Second Samnite War, B.C. 326–304.

The Romans now had time to secure their conquests in Campania. Colonies were established at Cales (B. C. 334), and at Fregellæ (B. C. 328) on land conquered by the Samnites—a direct challenge to the Samnites. This was followed by an attack on Palæopolis, an independent Greek city, which had long been under the protection of the Samnites. It was alleged that the Palæopolitans had maltreated Roman citizens settled near Cumæ. The aristocratic party in Palæopolis was favorable to Rome, but the popular party sought aid from the Samnites. The Samnites dispatched a strong garrison to the city, and Rome declared war. It was felt in Rome that the time had already come when the contest must be decided whether the Romans or Samnites were to rule in Southern Italy. During the first part of the war the Romans were successful; but in B. C. 321 the Roman army was defeated at the Caudine Forks by G. Pontius. The Romans, however, recovered, and Papirius Cursor was in a fair way to bring the war to a favorable conclusion when the Etruscans revolted. Fabius Maximus defeated the Etruscans at Lake Vadimo (B. C. 310), and in a few years after Bovianum, the capital of Samnium, was captured, and the Samnites were compelled to sue for peace (B. C. 304).

Battle at the Caudine Forks, B.C. 321.

The Third Samnite War, B.C. 298–290.

The Lucanians furnished the cause for the third war with the Samnites. During the last war Lucania had sided with Rome, but the popular party among the Lucanians was averse to this alliance, and sought support from the Samnites. As it was Rome's interest to keep the Lucanians as their allies in a sort of dependency, she ordered the Samnites not to interfere in Lucania. The Samnites refused to obey the command, and Rome declared war. Although the Samnites were assisted by the Etruscans and Umbrians, and almost all Italy was united in a league against Rome, still their united armies were defeated by Rullianus and Publius Decimus Mus at Sentinum (B. C. 295), and the Samnites were compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome.

Battle of Sentinum, B.C. 295.

[1] There were three classes: (1) the towns with which the old alliance was renewed; (2) those that became municipia; (3) and those that were absorbed into the Roman state, from whose territory two new tribes were formed.

War with Pyrrhus, B.C. 280–272.

The only obstacle to Rome's entire mastery of the peninsula was Tarentum. A rash attack of the Tarentines on the Roman fleet led to war. The Tarentines invited Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, to their assistance. He defeated the Roman army under Lævinus at Heraclea (B. C. 280), and the next year at Asculum (B. C. 279). Events now occurred that called Pyrrhus to Sicily, but on his return three years afterwards he was defeated by Manius Curius at Beneventum[1] (B. C. 274), and Pyrrhus was compelled to evacuate Italy, and soon after (B. C. 272) Tarentum surrendered, and all Italy south of the rivers Arnus and Æsis acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. Military colonies were established in Southern Italy at Pæstum, Cosa[2] (B. C. 273), and Beneventum, and the great Appian Way was soon extended to Brundisium; in the north, as an outpost against the Gauls, colonies were planted at Ariminum (B. C. 268), Firmum, and Castrum Novum.[3]

Rome's Relations to the Subject States.

All the different states[4] in Italy were now united under the general management of Rome. Self-government was granted to the different states. Rome reserved to herself the sole right (1) to make war or to conclude peace; (2) to coin money; (3) Rome also had the right to demand ships-of-war and troops in case of war, and these troops must be armed and equipped by the community which furnished them. The citizens within this great confederacy were divided into three classes: First, the body of Roman citizens[5] inhabiting Rome and the country tribes into which the Roman territory[6] was divided. Second, those who possessed the private rights of a Roman citizen, but not the public franchise (*cives sine suffragio*). Third, the allies, consisting of the Latins in a few old Latin towns, and of the so-called Latin colonies,[7] and of all the Sabellian and Greek towns in Italy.

Classes of Citizens.

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[1] The name of the place where the battle was fought was changed for a good omen from Maleventum to Beneventum, and a colony established there, B. C. 268.

[2] The situation of Cosa is doubtful. According to Livy, xxvii., 10, it seemed to be on the west coast.

[3] To some of these places 4000, and to one as many as 20,000, colonists were sent.

[4] Embracing the territory south of the rivers Arnus and Æsis.

[5] The territory inhabited by Roman citizens extended from Cære on the north to Formiæ on the south, and eastward as far as the Apennines. There were some cities within this limit that did not possess the full Roman franchise, and a few beyond its bounds that did possess it. The number of citizens (including citizens of the first and the second class) = about 280,000; of old men, women, children, slaves (about 50,000), and foreigners, total = about 2,300,000; the population of the city = 200,000 souls.

[6] Those citizens who had emigrated into Roman colonies (*coloniæ civium Romanorum*) retained all their civil rights, but could not exercise them on account of their absence from Rome.

[7] *Coloniæ Latinæ*, or Latin colonies, consisted of Roman citizens who, by becoming colonists, lost their right to vote in the *comitia* at Rome. The Latin colonies were planted in the conquered territory, and were compelled, as the rulers of the surrounding districts, to lean on Rome for support. To some of these places 4000 and to some as many as 20,000 colonists were sent. It was these Latin colonists, who belonged originally to the body of Roman citizens, and who felt themselves every way equal to Roman citizens, that felt so keenly, at a later time, their subordinate position.

THE COUNTRIES SUBJECT TO CARTHAGE.

The inhabitants of Carthage were of pure Phœnician descent. At first they paid a rent to the Libyans for the soil on which the city was built, but from this they freed themselves about B. C. 450 and soon extended their sway over the surrounding territory. The free Libyan farmers, as well as the nomades, became tributary and paid a fourth part of the produce of the soil as tribute. They were also liable to furnish contingents for the Carthaginian army. The other Phœnicians in Africa, the so-called Liby-Phœnicians, also acknowledged the supremacy of Carthage. After the subjugation of the native tribes agriculture began to be practised on a large scale. Vast numbers of slaves and hired laborers tilled the soil (a single citizen possessed as many as twenty thousand). The chief authority for the Punic wars is the great work of Polybius, who has left a history of the first Punic war drawn from contemporary writers, particularly from Philinus and Fabius Pictor. The first five books have been preserved entire and brings the narrative down to B. C. 216. The fragments of the remaining thirty-five books fail after B. C. 146. The third decade (the second is lost) of Livy takes up the narrative almost exactly where Polybius left it (it covers the space from B. C. 218–166). The fragments of Dion Cassius, Diodorus, Appian, as well as the abridgments of Zonaras, are of great help and sometimes throw important light on the course of events. Our chief information in regard to the Carthaginian constitution comes from Aristotle (*Polit.* ii. 11). These narratives of the fortunes of this mighty city, we must remember, were mostly written from the Roman point of view, and were distorted by political animosity. Besides, the Romans related only that part of her history with which they were connected, a part that did not commence until she had passed the acme of her prosperity. Most of the stories of the cruelty of the Carthaginian generals towards the Roman prisoners-of-war, and of the perfidy of the Carthaginians (Livy xxi. 4, 9), were invented by the Roman annalists for the purpose of representing the Punic character in an odious light, and at the same time of raising their own.

List of Magistrates.

Consuls (originally called *prætors*, sometimes *justices*) were the highest ordinary magistrates at Rome. They exercised at first the full civil and military authority. They were always two in number and were elected annually by the Comitia Centuriata. It was their duty to command the army, convoke the Comitia Centuriata, to preside in the same and to carry into effect the decrees of the senate and the people. They entered upon their duties after B. C. 154 on the first of January.

Tribunes of the People were elected (first in B. C. 494) to protect the plebeians. They could be chosen from the plebeians only, and their person was sacred. They were elected by the plebeians in the special plebeian assembly by tribes (after B. C. 471). The number of tribunes was increased in B. C. 457 to ten.

Prætor was first elected in B. C. 366. Originally there was only one; but as the territory of the state was extended, the number was increased in B. C. 242 to two, in B. C. 227 to four, in B. C. 197 to six, by Sulla to eight, and by Cæsar to sixteen. One of the prætors (*prætor urbanus*) administered justice in the city, while the other (*peregrinus*) attended to lawsuits between foreigners or citizens and foreigners. After B. C. 149 all the prætors remained in the city during their year of office (two presiding, as formerly, in the civil courts, the other two having charge of criminal cases), and the next year as proprætors governed provinces.

Ædiles were elected in the Comitia Tributa. There were two sets of ædiles, two plebeian ædiles and two curule ædiles (elected first in B. C. 367). The ædiles had charge of the public buildings, the care of cleaning and draining the city, and a general superintendence of the police and the public games.

Quæstors took charge of all the moneys belonging to the state. They received all the taxes and made all the payments for the civil and military service. At first there were two quæstors, but in B. C. 421, the number was increased to four, in B. C. 267 to eight, by Sulla to twenty and by Cæsar to forty.

Censors were two in number, and were elected every five years, but they held their office only until their duties were discharged. Their duties were to take the census, on which the position of every one in the state depended; they also exercised control over the conduct and morals of the citizens, and had a general superintendence of the finances of the state, under the direction of the senate (such as leasing the taxes, fixing the amount of the tributum for each individual, etc.). They had no concern, however, with payments into the treasury, nor with the expenditure of the public money. Whenever the senate resolved to have public works of any kind, as bridges, roads, aqueducts, etc., constructed, the censors made the contracts and superintended their erection.

The magistrates above mentioned (except censors) were elected annually. It became the custom (legally from the time of Sulla, B. C. 82) for them to remain the first year of office in the city, and then as proconsuls, proprætors, etc., to command in the provinces. It was legally enacted in B. C. 180, by the Lex Annalis, that any citizen who desired to attain the consulship must commence with the quæstorship and pass through a regular gradation of public offices. The earliest age for the quæstorship was 27 years; for the ædileship, 37; for the prætorship, 40; and for the consulship, 43.

Dictator must be nominated by one of the consuls in obedience to a decree of the senate. He exercised for six months only the whole civil and military authority, all the other magistrates being subject to his control. He was usually nominated in case of some extraordinary danger, as for the prosecution of a war (*rei gerundæ causa*) or the suppression of sedition (*seditionis sedandæ causa.*) At a later time dictators were appointed when the consuls were absent from the city to perform some special act, and they resigned when the duty was done. As soon as he was nominated he appointed a lieutenant, called *Magister Equitum*, to lead the cavalry, while he led the legions. After the second Punic war, the office fell into disuse, the senate conferring upon the consuls dictatorial powers in the formula, *videant consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat.*

FOREIGN CONQUESTS.

CHAPTER XX.

Carthage and Rome. — The First Punic War (B. C. 264–241).

1. Nature of the Carthaginian Empire.—On the shores of the Mediterranean, opposite to Italy, lived from the earliest times the Libyans,[1] a branch of the Semitic race. Their country was early visited by the Phœnicians, whose enterprise led them to plant colonies not only on the coast of Africa and the islands of the Mediterranean, but even in Spain. Connected by no particular tie with the mother country these colonies soon became independent. One of the most important on the coast of Africa was Carthage,[2] which, from her favorable situation, attained a rapid growth, and succeeded in not only uniting the other colonies under her sway but in subjecting a considerable tract of the surrounding territory. The city grew rich by industry, agriculture and commercial enterprise. In order to extend their commerce, and make the products of the countries of the Mediterranean pass through their hands, the Carthaginians established trading-posts on the northern coast of Africa, in Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, and Sicily. Their vessels distributed the products of the East—glass from Sidon, embroideries and purple from Tyre, frankincense from Arabia, slaves and ivory from Africa, linen from Egypt — over the shores of the Mediterranean, and brought back in return iron from Elba, silver from the Balearic islands, gold from Spain, tin from Britain, and copper from Cyprus. Carthage became

[1] The Numidians, Mauritanians and Gætulians belonged to the Libyan race.

[2] Carthage was founded probably in the ninth century; according to *Jus.* xviii. 6, in B. C. 826; according to others, in B. C. 861, or 826, or 888.

the mart for these countries, and the immense gain resulting from this commerce made her one of the richest cities in the world.

2. The Constitution of Carthage.—The government was very similar to that of Rome. Two magistrates, elected by the people from the best families, were at the head of the state. The command of the army was committed to a dictator whose authority in the field was unlimited. The families were represented in the senate, which, like the Roman senate, really managed all matters of foreign and domestic policy. From the senators was elected a board of one hundred and four, in whose hands the judicial power was vested, and through which the senate exercised control over the magistrates and the general administration of public affairs. How wisely this government was planned and administered is attested by the fact that for more than six centuries there was no revolution in Carthage.[1]

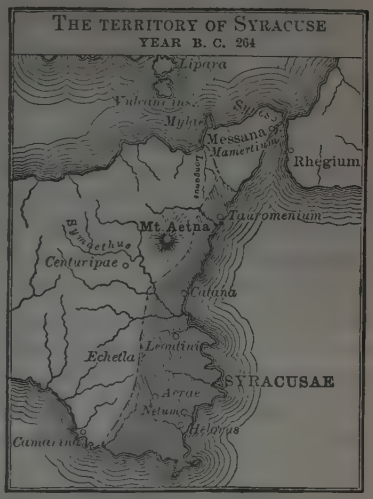
3. The Relative Strength of Rome and Carthage.—It was in Sicily that the Romans and Carthaginians first came in contact. Their relations had hitherto been peaceful, and the treaty concluded in B. C. 348 had been renewed in B. C. 279. The resources of the two nations were nearly equal. Carthage relied on mercenaries for conquest and defence, while Rome formed her armies from her own citizens. The Roman empire was consolidated and the different peoples in Italy looked to Rome as the centre. The dependencies of Carthage were widely scattered, and too loosely connected to be serviceable in a long war. The efforts of the Carthaginians to gain possession of Sicily and the expedition of Pyrrhus to relieve Syracuse have been related.[2] Both Rome and Carthage were eagerly watching the course of events in Sicily, and it was evident that a struggle for the possession of the island was not far distant. Pyrrhus, when he quitted Sicily, exclaimed, "How fine a battle-field are we leaving to the Romans and Carthaginians!"

4. The Mamertines.—It happened while the war was going on between Pyrrhus and the Romans, that bands of mercenaries

[1] Aristotle, Polit. ii. 8, § 9.

[2] See p. 107.

seized the towns of Rhegium and Messana. After the conclusion of the war Rhegium was taken by the Romans and the revolters were put to death.



In Messana* the mercenaries who called themselves Mamertines, that is, sons of Mars, maintained their position, preyed upon the surrounding territory, and made the whole island unsafe. After the capture of Rhegium the day of punishment seemed near for the Mamertines. Hiero, the king of Syracuse, was sent against them. They were defeated in battle and shut up in Messana. After the siege had lasted five years, and the Mamertines were reduced to the last extremity, they looked about for aid. Their only choice was between Rome and Carthage. The party in favor of Rome finally prevailed, and an embassy was sent to the senate to offer the surrender of the city. The temptation was strong, for the refusal to grant protection would surely throw the town into the hands of the Carthaginians.[1] Only six years before Hiero had assisted the Romans in subduing Rhegium, and it seemed now impossible that the Romans could lend their aid against their old ally to those who were guilty of the same crime which they had just punished so severely. If the assistance were granted it would lead to a war with Carthage and take the Romans beyond Italy. The Roman senate hesitated; but when the question came before the people all considerations were laid aside, and, animated by

[1] According to Ihne, a Carthaginian garrison was first admitted to the town, and then an embassy sent to the Roman senate.

* See map 1, p. 6–7.

the hope of spoils and gain, they voted for the undertaking. The consul, Appius Claudius, was entrusted with the task of carrying out the decree.

5. The Siege of Messana.—In the meantime the Carthaginians had appeared before Messana and concluded a peace between Hiero and the Mamertines; and Hanno, the Carthaginian general, had been admitted into the city, so that there was no longer any pretext for the interference of the Romans. Still the consul would not abandon the enterprise. His legate crossed to Messana, ostensibly for the object of settling the difficulty, and persuaded the Mamertines to expel the Carthaginians. Hiero and the Carthaginians made common cause, and laid siege to Messana.[1] Appius, although the Carthaginians ruled the sea, managed to elude their fleet, landed with his army, relieved Messana, and advancing even to the walls of Syracuse, defeated Hiero and the Carthaginians.

6. The Capture of Agrigentum (B. C. 262).—The next year the Romans carried on the war with two consular armies. On their advance the Sicilian cities one after the other deserted Hiero and the Carthaginians and joined the Romans, so that the latter were in a fair way to gain possession of the whole island. Hiero became alarmed and saw that he had made a great mistake in forming an alliance with the Carthaginians. He soon concluded a peace with the Romans, and ever after remained their faithful ally (B. C. 263). The Romans now laid siege to Agrigentum, which the Carthaginians had selected as the base of their operations. After a siege of seven months, the city fell into their hands. The capture of this fortified town had not been attained without great loss,[2] but the success was correspondingly great. All Sicily, except the fortresses of Eryx and Panormus, was entirely subdued. The Romans began now to look higher than merely keeping the Carthaginians out of Messana. The prospect of acquiring all Sicily was opened to them.

[1] There was no formal declaration of war by the Roman *fetialis* (see page 41 f.) the action of the people had practically begun the war.

[2] According to Diodorus (xxiii. 9), the Romans lost 30,000 men.

7. The First Roman Fleet.—The Romans prosecuted the war with vigor, but they saw from year to year that it was impossible to defend Sicily and bring the war to a successful conclusion without a navy. In Sicily the towns on the sea-coast were continually exposed to the attacks of the Carthaginian fleet, and even the coast of Italy was ravaged. There was a good deal of truth in the declaration of the Carthaginian diplomatists before the war, that no Roman against their will could wash even his hands in the sea. The Romans determined to construct a fleet and meet the Carthaginians on their own element. The navy of the Greek and Etruscan towns must have been considerable, yet the Romans determined to defend Italy with a fleet of their own. Hitherto Rome had built triremes only, that is, galleys with three tiers of benches for rowers, which were entirely unable to cope with the quinqueremes of the Carthaginians—ships with five tiers of benches for rowers. A Carthaginian quinquereme, wrecked on the coast of Bruttium, served as a model. The forests of Italy furnished pitch and timber. The sailors[1] were levied from the Greek and Etruscan towns. In the short space of sixty days one hundred and twenty ships were built.[2]

8. The Battle off Mylæ (B. C. 260).—One of the consuls, Cn.[3] Cornelius Scipio, put to sea with seventeen ships, but was surprised in the harbor of Lipara and taken prisoner with all his crews. This loss was, however, soon repaired. Gajus Duillius, his colleague, took command of the rest of the fleet and immediately led it against the enemy. The battle was fought off Mylæ. The Carthaginians were far superior to the Romans in maritime tactics. In order to supply their lack of skill in manœuvring the vessels, the Romans invented the boarding-bridges.[4] Each ship was provided with one, which was pulled

[1] The name *socii navales* shows that they were raised chiefly from the allies (*socii*).

[2] Ihne thinks that a great part of the fleet came from the allies and was manned by them (vol. ii., p. 54); see map No. 1.

[3] Although the letter *g* had been in use for some time, still the abbreviation *Cn.* was retained for the name *Gnæus*. See *Hist. of Literature*.

[4] It was thirty-six feet long and was pulled up twelve feet above the deck and fastened to the mast twenty-four feet high in such a way that it could be moved up and down as well as sideways, by means of a rope, which passed from the end of the bridge through a ring in the top of the mast, down to the deck. The bridge was broad enough

up and fastened to the mast in the fore part of the ship. If the enemy's ship approached near enough, the rope was loosened, the bridge fell on the deck of the hostile ship, and the spikes on the under side penetrated the timbers and fastened the two ships together. The soldiers then ran along the bridge to board, and the sea-fight became a hand-to-hand engagement. When the Carthaginians saw the Roman fleet, confident of an easy victory, they bore down upon it. The boarding-bridges worked admirably. Their ships were seized by the boarding-bridges, and when it came to a hand-to-hand fight the Carthaginian crews were no match for the Roman soldiers. The victory was complete, and Duillius was awarded the honor of a triumph[1] on his return to Rome, and a column, decorated with the beaks of the conquered ships and an inscription[2] celebrating the victory, was erected in the forum.

COLUMNA ROSTRATA.

9. The Battles of Tyndaris and Ecnomus. — After the battle of Mylæ, two plans were open to the Romans, either

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for two soldiers to walk abreast, and a railing on each side protected them from the missiles of the enemy.

[1] It is related that other honors were conferred upon him, and that he was accompanied home in the evening from banquets by a flute-player and torch-bearer.

[2] The fragment of the inscription on this column, renewed by Tiberius, is preserved at Rome, in the Palace of the Conservatori (*Duilios consol adversum Pœnos en Sece'iad*, etc. See *Hist. of Lit.*, p.).

to invade Africa or to attack and subdue the islands of the Mediterranean. The latter course was adopted. Expeditions were sent to Corsica and Sardinia, and Hamilcar, who at this time was placed in command of the Carthaginian forces in Sicily, was driven to the western end of the island. The sea battle at Tyndaris (B. C. 257), although not a decisive victory, encouraged the Romans to enlarge their fleet, and to transfer the war to Africa. The task was entrusted to the two consuls, M. Atilius Regulus and L. Manlius Vulso. They sailed along the southern coast of Sicily, and near Ecnomus met the Carthaginian fleet, under command of Hamilcar and Hanno, prepared to obstruct their way to Africa. In the battle which followed,[1] the boarding-bridges did good service as at Mylæ. The Roman fleet was victorious and the way to Africa was opened.

10. Regulus in Africa (B. C. 256).—The Romans landed near the town of Clypea,* and established there their camp. The country all about was covered with flourishing villages, towns, and the villas of the nobility. The spoils were great. Town after town fell into the hands of the Romans, till at last the capital itself was in danger. The Carthaginians sued for peace, but the conditions were too humiliating, and they determined to continue the war with energy. They increased their forces. Among their mercenaries was Xanthippus, a Spartan general, a man of great military ability. He pointed out to them that their defeat was due to the fact that they did not select the proper field of battle where their elephants and cavalry could be useful, and not to the superiority of the Romans. By his advice the Carthaginians left the hills and offered battle on the level ground. This Regulus readily accepted. His army was almost annihilated (B. C. 255). A Roman fleet[2] was sent to carry off the remains of the army, but on its return home, it was overtaken by a fearful hurricane on the southern

[1] The Romans, according to Polybius, had 330 ships and 140,000 men; and the Carthaginians had a still larger force, 150,000 men and 350 vessels.

[2] On its way to gain a victory at the Hermæan promontory, near Alexandria.

* See map, p. 217.

coast of Sicily. Nearly the entire fleet was destroyed, and the coast was strewed for miles with wrecks and corpses.

11. Panormus (B. C. 254).—The Romans, after these reverses, set about with undiminished energy rebuilding their fleet, and in less than three months they had 220 vessels ready for sea. This fleet surprised and captured Panormus (*Palermo*), one of the most important Carthaginian strongholds in Sicily. This success so encouraged the Romans that they made a second descent on the African coast, but nowhere obtained a firm footing. On its return the fleet was overtaken by a terrible storm near the Palinurian promontory on the coast of Lucania, in which one hundred and fifty ships were lost. For the next few years the war languished. The Carthaginian dominion was confined to the western part of Sicily, with the two important fortresses of Lilybæum and Drepana.

12. Panormus (B. C. 250).—In the year B. C. 251 Hamilcar arrived in Sicily with a large army and one hundred and forty elephants. He laid waste the country and approached the walls of Panormus. The consul, L. Metellus,[1] at a favorable time accepted battle and gained a complete victory. This was the most important battle that had yet been fought in Sicily,[2] and the result encouraged the Romans.

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[1] GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

L. Cæcilius Metellus, cos. B. C. 251, 247.

- Q. Metellus, cos. B. C. 206.
- L. Metellus, tr. pl. B. C. 215.
- M. Metellus, pr. B. C. 206.

Q. Metel. Macedonicus, cos. B. C. 143.

L. Metellus Calvus, cos. B. C. 142.

- 2. Met. Balearicus, cos. B. C. 123.
- L. Met. Diadematus, cos. B. C. 117.
- M. Metellus, cos. B. C. 115.
- G. Met. Caprarius, cos. B. C. 113.
- Cæcilia, m. G. Servilius, Vatia.
- Cæcilia, m. Scipio Nasica.

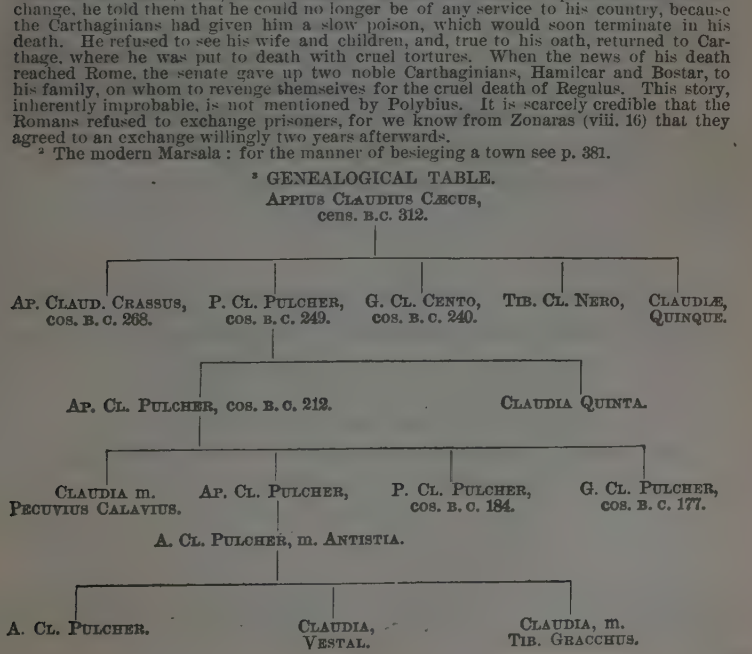
[2] Hamilcar, on his return to Carthage, was crucified. 120 elephants were taken and led in the triumphal procession of Metellus.

13. Lilybæum and Drepana.—The battle of Panormus was a turning point in the war. The Carthaginians were discouraged and sent an embassy[1] to Rome to negotiate a peace. Nothing, however, was accomplished, and the Romans renewed the war with vigor. They concentrated all their force against Lilybæum,[2] situated in the western extremity of the island on a promontory of the same name. This siege, like that of Veji, lasted almost ten years. All kinds of attacks were resorted to, but without avail. In the second year (B. C. 249), the consul, P. Claudius Pulcher,[3] was sent to Sicily with a new army. He

[1] Connected with this embassy is the celebrated story of Regulus. It is related that he was sent to Rome with the ambassadors to negotiate a peace or at least to procure an exchange of prisoners, bound by his oath to return if not successful. The poets relate how Regulus at first refused to enter the city as a slave of a Carthaginian; how he would not give his opinion in the senate, as he had ceased by his captivity to be a member of that body; how at length he dissuaded his countrymen not only from peace but from an exchange of prisoners, because he thought it would result to the advantage of Carthage; how he resisted all the persuasions of his family and friends who urged him to remain at Rome; how, when the senate wavered and seemed disposed to make the exchange, he told them that he could no longer be of any service to his country, because the Carthaginians had given him a slow poison, which would soon terminate in his death. He refused to see his wife and children, and, true to his oath, returned to Carthage, where he was put to death with cruel tortures. When the news of his death reached Rome, the senate gave up two noble Carthaginians, Hamilcar and Bostar, to his family, on whom to revenge themselves for the cruel death of Regulus. This story, inherently improbable, is not mentioned by Polybius. It is scarcely credible that the Romans refused to exchange prisoners, for we know from Zonaras (viii. 16) that they agreed to an exchange willingly two years afterwards.

[2] The modern Marsala: for the manner of besieging a town see p. 381.

[3] GENEALOGICAL TABLE.


Appius Claudius Cæcus, cens. B.C. 312.
Ap. Claud. Crassus, cos. B. C. 268.
P. Cl. Pulcher, cos. B. C. 249.
G. Cl. Cento, cos. B. C. 240.
Tib. Cl. Nero,
Claudiæ, Quinque.
Ap. Cl. Pulcher, cos. B. C. 212.
Claudia Quinta.
Claudia m. Pecuvius Calavius.
Ap. Cl. Pulcher,
P. Cl. Pulcher, cos. B. C. 184.
G. Cl. Pulcher, cos. B. C. 177.
A. Cl. Pulcher, m. Antistia.
A. Cl. Pulcher.
Claudia, Vestal.
Claudia, m. Tib. Gracchus.

formed the design of surprising the Carthaginians at Drepana. The attack miscarried, and he was defeated with great loss.[1] This defeat caused great terror at Rome, such as the city had not experienced since the day of the Allia.[2]

14. Destruction of the Roman Transport Ships.—The other consul, L. Junius Pullus, was almost equally unsuccessful. He was sailing along the coast of Sicily with a part of the eight hundred transports, loaded with provisions for the soldiers in Lilybæum, which he had collected in Sicily and Italy, when he was overtaken by a storm, which was so severe that not one of the transport ships was saved.

15. Romans Discouraged.—These were great misfortunes for the Romans. The war had continued fifteen years. They had lost four large fleets and more than one-sixth of their fighting population. Lilybæum and Drepana defied all their efforts. Their trade and industry were ruined. It was no wonder that they were discouraged. They became inactive or carried on hostilities on a small scale. For the next six years their efforts were chiefly confined to blockading Lilybæum and Drepana.

16. Hamilcar Barcas.—In the year B.C. 247 the chief command of the Carthaginians was entrusted to Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas (that is, *Lightning*), the father of the celebrated Hannibal. He was truly a great man. With slender means he carried on the war for six years, until the faults of others compelled him to counsel peace.

17. Battle at the Ægatian Islands (B.C. 241).—He took possession of Mount Hercte (*Monte Pellegrino*), from which he could threaten Panormus, now the most important possession of the Romans in Sicily. For three years Hamilcar attacked the Romans by land and sea, carried his raids even as far as Mount Ætna, and laid waste the coast of Italy. All efforts on the part of the Romans to dislodge him were in vain. At length he left Mount Hercte for a position on Mount Eryx, near Dre-

[1] He lost 8,000 men in battle, 20,000 prisoners, and 180 ships.

[2] The Romans attributed his defeat to his impiety. When the auguries were consulted, and Claudius was informed that the sacred chickens would not eat, "At any rate," said he, "let them drink;" and ordered them to be cast into the sea.

pana, which he held for two years longer; at length the Romans determined to build another fleet and attack the Carthaginians again on the sea, the only means by which the war could be brought to a successful conclusion. In B. C. 242 a fleet of two hundred ships under the consul G. Lutatius Catulus was fitted out and sent to Sicily. As the Carthaginian fleet was away plundering the coast of Italy and Sicily, the consul had time to exercise his men and to become acquainted with the coast. The next year (B. C. 241),[1] he gained a complete victory over the Carthaginian fleet off the Ægatian islands.

18. Terms of Peace.—The Carthaginians were exhausted and weary of the war. The discontent of their mercenaries warned them to make peace. Carthage therefore empowered Hamilcar to treat with Catulus. At first the Romans demanded dishonorable conditions, but Hamilcar refusing these, and the consul being anxious to complete the negotiation before his term of office expired, preliminaries were agreed upon. Carthage was to evacuate Sicily, to give up the Roman prisoners without ransom, and pay the cost of the war.[2]

CHAPTER XXI.

The Beginning of the Provincial System—The Illyrian Wars—Wars with the Gauls.

1. War with the Mercenaries (B.C. 241–238).—During the interval between the the first and second Punic wars, a period of twenty-three years, both Rome and Carthage exerted

[1] The engagement was with the fleet of the Carthaginians, which had just arrived with supplies for the troops in Sicily. The commander attempted to land the provisions and take on board the soldiers of Hamilcar, then to engage the Romans. Catullus, although wounded, promptly prevented this. In the battle which followed, Valerius Falto took the command.

[2] That is, the sum of 3,200 talents = $4,000,000; one-third down and the remainder in ten annual payments.

themselves to the utmost to consolidate and extend their power.

The resources of Carthage were very much weakened by the revolt of her subjects in Africa; so much so, that when the mercenaries returned from Sicily, and were unable to obtain their overdue pay, they rose in open mutiny. The mercenaries and African allies made common cause. They laid waste the country far and wide, and all the towns in Libya except Carthage were in their hands. The genius of Hamilcar organized an army, and after a war of nearly three years, exterminated the mutineers.

2. Provincial System.—Rome took advantage of the exhausted condition of Carthage, to interfere in a revolt in Sardinia. When Carthage made preparations to subdue the revolting island, Rome pretended to regard it as a menace of war. Carthage being too much exhausted to engage in war with Rome, had to purchase peace by resigning Sardinia and paying twelve hundred talents.[1] Sardinia[2] became a Roman province.[3] At this time (B.C. 227) Sicily[4] was also organized as a province. This was the beginning of the *provincial system*. Each province was governed by a prætor and paid taxes[5] to the Roman people.

3. Hamilcar Barcas.—The manner in which Carthage had been treated inspired in Hamilcar an implacable hatred of Rome. He departed for Spain, where he strove to restore the resources of his government and to renew her exhausted energies.

4. The First Illyrian War (B.C. 229–228).—The Romans, in securing their frontier, first came in contact with the Illy-

[1] About 1,500,000 dollars.

[2] Corsica, which had never been in the hands of Carthage, was added to Sardinia, and formed one province.

[3] The word province (*provincia*) denoted primarily the field to which the *imperium* of the consul or other magistrate was limited. When foreign territory was acquired, the government of it was assigned to a consul or a prætor and the *imperium* was extended (*prorogatum*) for this purpose. This foreign territory was called *provincia*, a special use of the word, which is more familiar than the original meaning.

[4] According to Appian (Sic. 2), Sicily was organized as a province in B.C. 241; Livy (Ep. xx.) says that the number of prætors was increased from two to four in B.C. 227, and one sent to Sicily; this is the earliest notice that the Romans took the government into their hands. The province of Sicily consisted, until B.C. 210, of only the western part of the island; after that, of the whole island. The territory of Syracuse consisted of the seven cities, Syracusæ, Acræ, Leontini, Megara, Elorum, Netum, and Tauromenium.

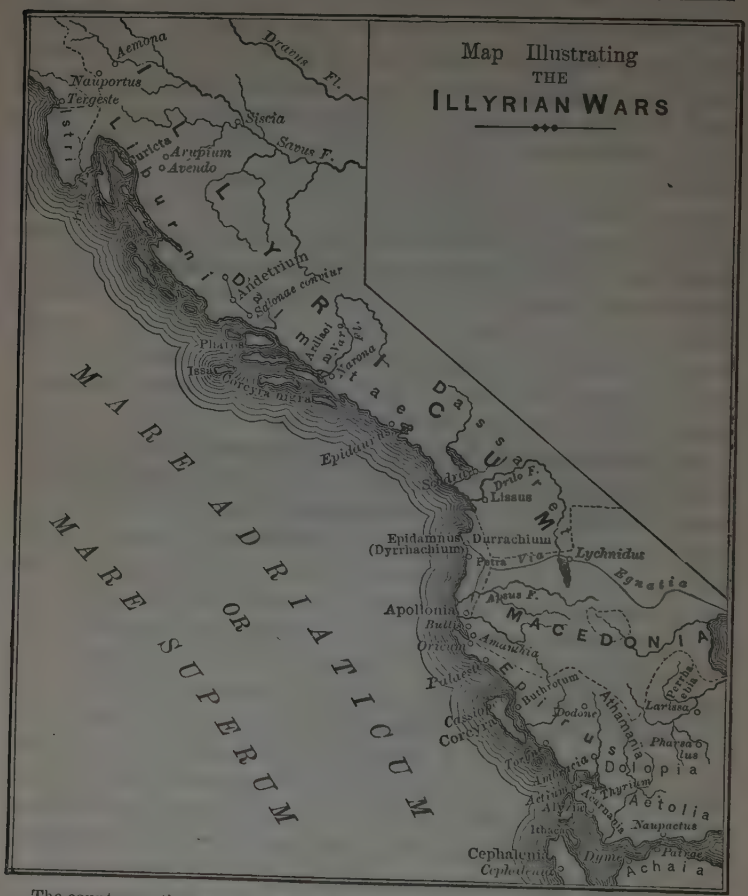
[5] Either *vectigal or tributum*; see p. 182,

rians, who lived on the eastern side of the Adriatic. They were a nation of pirates and made the whole Adriatic and Ionian seas unsafe for commerce,[1] and even the Italian towns began to suffer. An embassy was sent to Scodra (*Scutari*), to Queen Teuta, to complain of these injuries. She not only refused all redress, but caused one of the ambassadors to be murdered on his way home. War[2] was declared (B. C. 229). A Roman fleet appeared in the Adriatic, the corsair vessels were scattered and Queen Teuta was compelled to give up her conquests and to make peace. Corcyra was surrendered and Demetrius of Pharos (*Lesina*) taken under the protection of Rome. The Greek towns which were liberated from the Illyrians were taken under the protection of Rome. The action of Rome in suppressing the piracy caused great joy among the Greek states.

5. The Agrarian Law of G. Flaminius (B. C. 232).—The Romans began now to look to their border in northern Italy, with a view of extending it to the Alps. After the defeat of the Gauls at the Vadimonian Lake comparative quiet had prevailed, and the colonies at Sena and Ariminum had been founded to secure their dominion in that quarter. There were still large tracts of unoccupied land which had been taken from the Gauls, and which had thus far remained as public land. In B. C. 232 the tribune, G. Flaminius, carried an agrarian law to the effect that this land should be divided among the veterans and poorer classes in order to people those districts. The senate, although since the Hortensian law the resolutions of the assembly of tribes did not need the confirmation of the *patrum auctoritas*, resisted the measure. In spite of this resistance the law was executed, colonies were planted, and the Flaminian Way[3] was constructed to Ariminum, at that time the extreme outpost of Roman civilization.

6. War with the Gauls (B. C. 225–222).—This activity of the Romans alarmed the Boji. They looked forward to the day when their country would be seized by Roman settlers. To pre-

[1] The towns Issa, Pharos, Apollonia, and Epidamnus were in danger. Corcyra was taken and given to an unprincipled Greek from Pharos called Demetrius.
[2] An army of 20,000 men and 2,000 horse went to Brundisium to embark.
[3] *Via Flaminia*; see maps, pp. 2 and 114.



The country on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, comprising what was afterwards the provinces Dalmatia, Pannonia, Mœsia, and, according to Appian (Illyr. 6), Rhætia, and Noricum, was known to the ancients by the name of Illyricum (see map, p. 130). At one time Dacia and the district between the Dalmatians and Epirus, with the cities Apollonia, Dyrrhachium, and Lissus, were included under the name of Illyricum, although later this district was mostly joined to Macedonia and known as Illyria. The last king of Illyria was Gentius; he was subdued B. C. 167, his capital, Scodra, taken, and his kingdom was divided into three parts and taken under the protection of Rome. When the Dalmatians, Iapydian, and Liburnians were subdued their country was formed into a province which the Romans called Illyricum. It extended on the south to the river Drilo, on the north to the northern boundary of Pannonia, and to the eastward as far as the Donau (after A.D. 9). In A. D. 10 Pannonia was made a separate province, and at the same time the territory between the borders of Macedonia and those of Italy, or from Lissus to the river Arsia, was organized under the name of *superior provincia Illyricum*, or simply Illyricum. Soon after the time of Augustus (about A. D. 50) the name Dalmatia was substituted for that of Illyricum.

vent this they organized an alliance of all the Cisalpine Gauls,[1] and summoned numerous adventurers across the Alps for a combined attack on Rome. When the news of this invasion reached Rome terror pervaded all Italy. The day of the Allia * was recalled and the Sibylline books[2] were consulted. To avert the impending evil two Gauls and two Grecians, one of each sex, were burned alive in the public market-place.[3] A large army was raised and stationed at Ariminum, on which side the attack was expected. In the common danger the allies eagerly offered men and supplies. The consul, Atilius Regulus, who was engaged in a war with the natives in Sardinia, was hastily summoned home. The Gauls, deceiving the calculations of the Romans, took the most westerly of the great highways to Rome and thus avoided the consular army at Ariminum. They fell in with the reserve corps, and completely defeated it.[5] Instead of continuing their advance to Rome they decided to fall back and first place their plunder in safety, and after collecting new forces, to renew their raids. By this time the consular army had arrived from Ariminum and followed closely on their heels. The other consul had brought back his army from Sardinia, and landing at Pisa, marched southward on the same road on which the Gauls were retreating. The decisive battle was fought near Telamon (*Telemone*). The Gauls, hemmed in between the two consular armies, were annihilated.[6]

7. Roman Colonies.—During the next two years the Romans defeated the Insubres, captured their capital, Mediolanum (B. C. 222), compelled them to submit, and reduced the whole country between the Alps and Apennines. Two more colonies, Placentia and Cremona, were founded to secure the newly acquired territory.[7]

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[1] Except the Cenomanians. * See p. 77, note.

[2] Plu. Marcell. 3: according to Ihne the *libri fatales*, of Etruscan origin, were consulted. The Sibylline books, which were of Grecian origin, would hardly demand the sacrifice of a Greek.

[3] *Forum Boarium.*

[4] The army numbered in all 23,000 men and was commanded by the consul, L. Æmilius Papus, with a reserve corps of about 50,000 Umbrians and Sabines to protect Etruria, stationed near Arretium.

[5] Probably near Clusium.

[6] This was B.C. 225; 40,000 were killed; 10,000 taken prisoners; only the horsemen escaped.

[7] According to Mommsen the *Via Flaminia* was extended, after the subjection of Cisalpine Gaul, from Spoletium through the Furlo Pass to Ariminum (B. C. 220).

8. The Second Illyrian War (B. C. 219).—While the Romans were engaged on the northern frontier in subduing the Gauls, Demetrius of Pharos had taken the opportunity to free himself from his subjection to Rome, and entered into an alliance with Antigonus of Macedonia. Thinking that Rome would soon be engaged in a war with Carthage, he had collected a fleet, attacked the Roman allies, and committed various acts of piracy along the coast as far as the Ægean Sea. The Romans prepared with all speed to settle affairs in Illyricum, that their hands might be free for the war with Hannibal which was now inevitable. The consul, L. Æmilius Paullus,[1] crossed the Adriatic, destroyed Pharos, and restored the Roman supremacy in that quarter. Demetrius fled to Macedonia and sought to prevail on the king to declare war against Rome; but Philip, the new king,[2] was too young to resent the attack upon his ally.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Second Punic War (B. C. 218–201).—The First Period (B. C. 218–216).

1. Carthaginian Policy.—While Rome was busy enlarging and strengthening her power, Carthage was not idle. After the loss of Sardinia the determination to renew the struggle with Rome became a fixed national sentiment. The aristocratic and peace party lost its control of the government. The popular party with true instinct saw its only hope in war, and a fitting leader in Hamilcar. He found a rich compensation for the loss of Sicily and Sardinia in Spain. Here, during nine (B. C. 236–228) years he extended the Carthaginian power over the southern part of the peninsula. When

[1] This spelling is better than Paulus; see Brambach, p. 262.
[2] Antigonus died B. C. 221.

he fell in battle his plans were ably carried out by his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, whom the voice of the soldiers raised to the chief command. New Carthage was founded and destined to be the capital of the new empire. The steady advance of the Carthaginian power to the northward awakened the jealousy of Rome; she entered into an alliance with Saguntum and Emporiæ and assumed to be the protectress of the Greek cities on the Iberian, as she already was of those on the Adriatic Sea. She formed an alliance with several of the native tribes and compelled Hasdrubal to declare that Carthage would not extend her power beyond the Ebro (*Iberus*).

2. Siege of Saguntum[1] (B. C. 219).—In B. C. 221 Hasdrubal was assassinated. The universal voice of the army and the Carthaginian people called Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar Barcas, to the chief command. He was at that time in his twenty-ninth year, and was already trained to the knowledge of war. Sworn from boyhood to eternal hatred of Rome, he had accompanied his father to Spain, and was there trained to that personal courage and endurance that made him the idol of the army. He wished to make war at once on Rome before the Illyrians and Gauls were subdued; but he had first to complete his preparations for the security of Spain and Africa, and to try his army. In the spring of B. C. 219 he proceeded to attack Saguntum, which claimed to be of Greek origin and which had already entered into an alliance with Rome. The Roman senate warned him to desist, and felt that a warning would be sufficient. Hannibal pushed on the siege, and after a stubborn resistance of eight months the town surrendered.

3. Roman Embassy to Carthage.—A second embassy was sent to Carthage, after the fall of Saguntum, to demand the surrender of Hannibal as a sign that the Carthaginians took no part in this violence done to the allies of Rome. After a long discussion, Quintus Fabius, the chief of the embassy, gathering up the folds of his toga, said, "Here I carry peace and war; say, ye men of Carthage, which you choose?" "Give us which ye will," was the reply. "Then we give you war," said Fabius, spreading out his toga. "We accept it,

[1] See map, p. 175.

and will maintain it with the same spirit with which we have accepted it."[1] Thus war was declared, a war the most memorable of all in the annals of the ancient world;[2] memorable not alone for its length, the numbers engaged, and the ability of the generals, but because it decided the future destiny of Europe. It decided whether the civilization of Greece or of Rome was to prevail in the west, or to be superseded by the Semitic civilization of the east.

After the fall of Saguntum, Hannibal returned to New Carthage, where he spent the winter in preparation for the invasion of Italy.

4. The Growth of Roman Power.—The power of Rome had been much increased since the last war with Carthage.[3] All Italy was now united, old animosities had died out and all looked to Rome as the centre. Her armies were composed of her own citizens and faithful allies. Her supremacy was acknowledged in the western Mediterranean. With Carthage it was very different. Her armies were composed of mercenaries, her subjects and allies were not trustworthy, and her finances, although considerably improved by the resources of Spain, were far from what they had been. Hannibal saw this, and the necessity of securing allies. Negotiations were opened with the king of Macedonia and with the Gauls in northern Italy. The colonies which the Romans had founded in their country had awakened anew their hostility. If he could unite these Gauls with his own disciplined army, and make their country the base of his attack on Rome, his success seemed certain. He hoped also to secure the alliance of the Italians, and that his victories would finally shake the adhesion of the Latins.

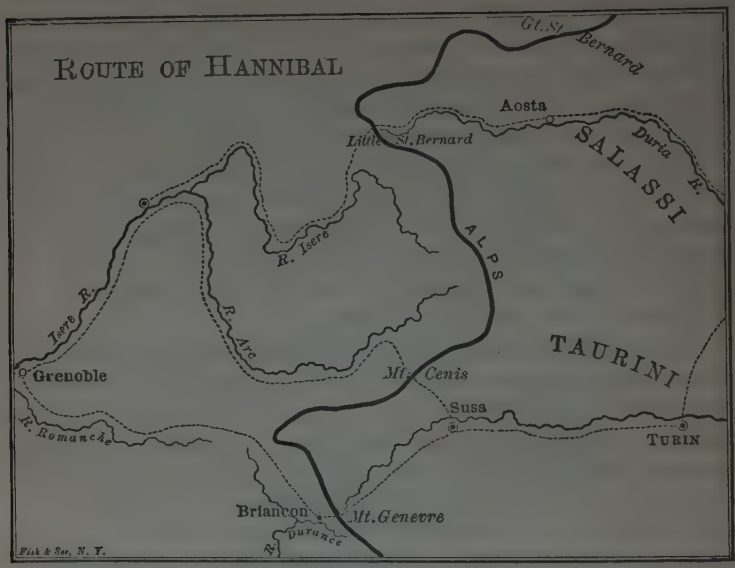
5. Hannibal's March from New Carthage.—In the spring of B. C. 218 all his preparations were complete, and he crossed the Ebro with an army of ninety thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and thirty-seven elephants. After a severe contest, and the sacrifice of nearly one-fourth of his army, he

[1] *Livy*, xxi. 18. [2] *Livy*, xxi. 1.
[3] The population of Italy proper was about 9,000,000, with 770,000 men capable of bearing arms.

forced his way through the country between the Ebro and the Pyrenees. At the Pyrenees he left his brother, Hasdrubal, with ten thousand men to defend the newly conquered territory. An equal number of Spanish soldiers he discharged, finding that they accompanied him unwillingly. With a picked force of fifty thousand men and nine thousand horse and the elephants, he reached the Rhone without serious opposition. The Gauls had assembled a force on the eastern bank of the river. These he outflanked by sending a detachment, under Hanno, across on rafts two days' march higher up, and thus easily put the Gauls to rout and forced a passage.

6. The Preparations of the Romans.—The Romans acted with remissness. They had no conception of Hannibal's plan. The two consular armies were levied as usual; the one under Tiberius Sempronius Longus was to be sent to Sicily and thence it was to cross over into Africa to attack Carthage itself: the other, under Publius Cornelius Scipio, to act against Hannibal in Spain. Scipio, late in the summer, proceeded to Massilia on his way to Spain. Here he learned that Hannibal had crossed the Ebro and the Pyrenees. On advancing up the Rhone to the spot where Hannibal had crossed, he learned that the Carthaginian army was three days in advance of him on its way to Rome. When he heard this, he sent the main part of his force under his brother Gnæus into Spain, and he himself set sail with a few men for Genoa and hastened to Cisalpine Gaul to take command of the troops there and to attack Hannibal immediately on his arrival.

7. Hannibal's Route.—Hannibal advanced up the river Isere almost to the foot of the Little St. Bernard. Here he commenced the passage of the Alps. In contests with the native tribes and in struggling through the difficult places he lost more than half of his army; when he at length emerged into the valley of the Duria and descended into the plains of the Po his first care was to recruit his exhausted troops. After a few days' rest he turned against the Taurinians, who had rejected his offers of alliance, and in three days took their capital (*Turin*) and annihilated their army. The other tribes submitted.



8. Skirmish on the Ticinus.—The Romans had no suitable army in northern Italy[1] to oppose the progress of Hannibal. The recent insurrection of the Gauls, on account of the founding of Placentia and Cremona, had caused the Romans to leave some troops there. The consul Scipio took command of this force, and, utterly ignorant of the quality of Hannibal's army and of his genius as a commander, hastened to meet him. He advanced along the left bank of the Po, across the Ticinus, where he fell in with a part of Hannibal's cavalry. The Roman cavalry was repulsed and Scipio himself severely wounded. Unwilling to come to a regular engagement, on account of the superiority of the Numidian cavalry, Scipio hastened across the Po to Placentia. Having occupied a strong position on the left bank of the Trebia, he waited until his colleague arrived from Sicily.

9. The Battle of the Trebia (B. C. 218).—Sempronius

[1] See map, p. 2.

had already sent his troops to Ariminum,[1] and thence he marched to the Trebia where he effected a junction with Scipio. The combined armies[2] were superior to Hannibal's, and Sempronius was eager for battle. Hannibal succeeded in drawing the Roman army across the river, already swollen by the recent rains, and in delivering battle on a field chosen by himself. It was towards midwinter (December), and the day was cold, and sleet and snow filled the air. The battle was decisive. The Romans were completely defeated and thousands perished on the retreat, in the river and by the cold. The remains of the army took refuge within the walls of Placentia. The wavering Gauls joined the Carthaginian standard and were eager for the plunder of Italy.

10. Battle of Lake Trasimenus (B. C. 217).—The Romans made great preparations for the next campaign. Four new legions were raised, and provisions and supplies were sent to the north. One of the new consuls Cn. Servilius, proceeded to Ariminum with two legions, and the other, G. Flaminius, the leader of the popular party and a man of great energy, to Arretium. It was the same Flaminius who was the author of the Agrarian law that occasioned the Gallic war. Of no great military ability, he had been raised to the consulship by popular favor, in opposition to the aristocratic party. After his election he hurried from Rome, lest under pretext of some bad omen his election should be annulled.[3] As soon as the season permitted, Hannibal crossed the Apennines,[4] and after great difficulty and tremendous loss in the low ground along the Arno, reached the Upper Arno, and then proceeded southward past the camp of the consul at Arretium towards Perusia. Flaminius followed the Carthaginian army beyond Cortona as far as Lake Trasimenus,[5] where Hannibal awaited the consul's approach in a narrow defile,[6] his army occupying the heights.

[1] According to *Livy*, xvi. 51.

[2] Numbered 40,000.

[3] *Livy*, xxi. 63. It was customary for the newly elected consul, before departing for his province, clad in his purple-bordered toga, to offer prayer to Jupiter Capitolinus, perform certain sacrifices, and superintend the celebration of the Latin festival on the Alban Mount. These formalities Flaminius disregarded and left Rome at once.

[4] By the Pontremoli pass from Parma to Lucca.

[5] *Lago di Perugia*; see colored map, p. 4.

[6] According to Nissen, near the village of Tuoro.

The Roman column advanced without hesitation into the defile, the thick mist concealing the position of the enemy. The rear-guard had just entered when Hannibal gave the signal for battle. The Romans, attacked by invisible enemies, encumbered by their baggage, with no time to form their line of battle, were cut down on every side.[1]

11. Hannibal's Treatment of his Prisoners.—Hannibal treated the prisoners the same as after the battle of Trebia. The Roman allies were dismissed without ransom, with the assurance that Hannibal waged war against Rome only. By this means he hoped to shake the adhesion of the Italians, and to represent himself, not as an invader, but as one come to free them from the Roman yoke. All Etruria was lost to the Romans, and the road to Rome was open. The senate, however, did not despair. Measures were taken for the defence of the capital; the bridges over the Tiber were broken down; arms were distributed, Servilius was summoned to Rome, and Quintus Fabius Maximus was appointed dictator.[2]

12. Plans of Hannibal.—Hannibal did not march to Rome as was expected, but turned aside across the Apennines through Umbria and Picenum to the Adriatic, and then continued his march to the southward, hoping that the Italians would join his standard. Their fidelity to Rome remained unshaken; not a town opened its gates.

13. The Policy of Fabius.—Four new legions were raised, and Fabius determined not to risk a battle, but revive the courage of his army and accustom his soldiers to war. He marched through Samnium into Apulia and encamped near Hannibal. The latter tried to force him to an engagement, but nothing could induce him to change his cautious strategy. Hannibal marched past him, crossed the Apennines into the Campanian plain, the garden of Italy, and then to Capua. After the battle at Lake Trasimenus he had released three Capuan knights who promised him their assistance. Capua,

[1] Fifteen thousand were killed and an equal number taken prisoners. Hannibal lost only fifteen hundred. The battle was fought the last of April.

[2] Constitutionally one of the consuls must nominate a dictator; in this case it was impossible, so the people elected a pro-dictator.

however, remained faithful, and Hannibal continued to lay the country waste far and wide, and, after collecting his plunder, set out to retrace his steps to Apulia. Fabius had all this time followed on his track, and from a secure position on the mountains had watched the ravages of Hannibal. Fabius attempted to occupy a pass and thus obstruct the retreat of Hannibal, loaded as he was with prisoners and plunder, to Apulia. Hannibal, instead of retracing his steps and taking another road, eluded the vigilance of Fabius by a stratagem. He ordered his light-armed troops to drive, in the night, a number of oxen with fagots tied to their horns, to the summit of the hill. The Romans in the pass, thinking that the Carthaginians were crossing the hills in that direction, left the pass and hastened to the same heights. This left the defile[1] open for Hannibal and he continued his march with all his plunder, unmolested, to Gerunium, where he encamped, dispatching a part of his army to collect supplies, while the remainder watched Fabius.

14. Dissatisfaction with Fabius.—The inactivity of the dictator occasioned great dissatisfaction at Rome. A temporary success of Minucius, the master of the horse, caused the storm of indignation to break forth. In the assembly of tribes it was proposed to divide the command between Fabius and Minucius. The latter, eager for battle, soon engaged the enemy. The army of Minucius would have been annihilated had not Fabius come to his assistance. Minucius acknowledged his error and resumed his former position. Hannibal took up his winter quarters at Geronium.

The cautious firmness of Fabius the *Cunctator*, or the Delayer, had saved the state, and the crown of grass,[2] the highest military distinction, was awarded him by the senate.

15. Roman Firmness.—During the winter the Romans made great preparations. As yet all the allies remained faithful. The Greek cities sent presents and Hiero sent supplies

[1] The location of this defile has not been satisfactorily ascertained; for Livy's account see book xxii. 10.

[2] *Corona graminea.*

and troops. The senate remained calm and firm, and even reminded the Illyrians to pay their tribute, and ambassadors were sent to the king of Macedonia to demand the surrender of Demetrius of Pharos, who had taken refuge with him. The people, however, were impatient. The burdens of war pressed heavily. By the defeat of Flaminius, the nobility had gained the upper hand, and Fabius, as dictator, was to restore their ascendency. The popular party made violent opposition. As the elections approached, party spirit ran high. The popular candidate, G. Terentius Varro, was elected, with Lucius Æmilius Paullus,[1] a man of experience and military ability, as his colleague.

16. Battle of Cannæ (B. C. 216).—Hannibal had remained at Geronium until late in the spring, and then taken up a position at Cannæ, on the south of the river Aufidus.[2] The Roman army [3] arrived at Cannæ about the middle of June (B. C. 216), and pitched two camps, the larger on the right and the smaller on the left bank of the Aufidus. In the bend of

[1] GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

M. Æmilius Paullus,
cos. B. C. 302.

M. Æmilius Paullus,
cos. B. C. 255.

L. Æmilius Paullus,
cos. B. C. 219, 216.
Fell at Cannæ.

L. Æmilius Paullus Macedonicus,
cos. B. C. 182, 168; died B C. 160.
m. Papiria, daughter of Papirius Maso,
cos. B. C. 231.

Æmilia, m. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus *major*.

Elder son, adopted by Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus.

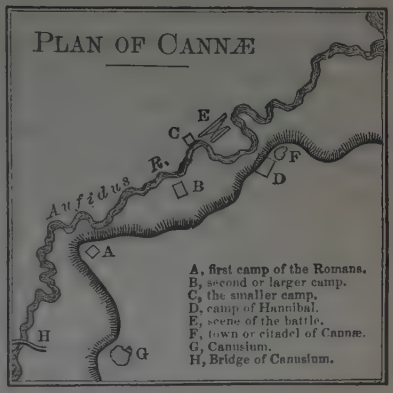
Younger son, adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Scipio Africanus *major*, became P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus *minor* (see p. 170).

Æmilia Prima
m. Q. Ælius Tubero.

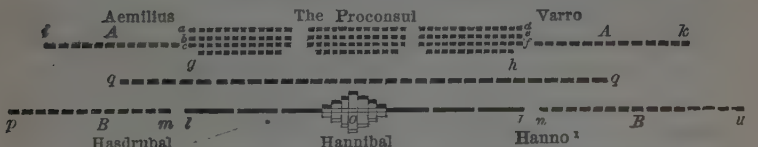
Æmilia Secunda
m. M. Porcius Cato, the son of M. Porcius Cato, the censor.

[2] His army numbered 40,000 foot and 10,000 horse.
[3] The army numbered nearly 90,000; 80,000 foot and 6,000 horse.

the river on the left bank Varro selected the battle-field. Leaving ten thousand men in the larger camp, he drew up his army, the legions in the middle in files of twice their usual depth, and the cavalry on the wings, with the right resting on the river. The Roman cavalry on the right, composed of the sons of the noblest families, was commanded by Paullus, and the cavalry of the allies on the left by Varro. Cn. Servilius, the consul of the preceding year, and Minucius led the legions in the centre. Hannibal drew up his infantry in the centre in a semicircle and placed on the left wing the Spanish and Gallic cavalry under Hasdrubal, and the light Numidian horse on the right under Hanno. The battle commenced almost simultaneously along the whole line. The onset of the Carthaginian cavalry was irresistible.



THE ORDER OF BATTLE



A A, the right and left wing; *i* and *k*, the cavalry; *g h*, the light armed troops before the line; *a b c*, the columns of infantry; on the side of the Carthaginians, *q q*, the position of the Balearic slingers, archers, &c.; *p m* and *n u*, the cavalry on the wings; *l l*, the infantry; *o*, the centre, the columns of infantry.

The battle all along the line was terrible. The legions, engaged in front and attacked by the cavalry of Hasdrubal in the rear, were crowded upon each other and surrounded on all sides. Flight was impossible. No quarter was given. Seventy

[1] Livy (xxii. 46) makes Maharbal command the right; see Polybius iii. 114, §7.

thousand Romans strewed the field of battle.[1] Hannibal lost only six thousand in all. Paullus, the two consuls of the preceding year, Minucius, about eighty senators, and many of the knights were among the slain. Varro escaped with a few horsemen to Venusia.

17. The Spirit of the People.—When the news of this battle reached Rome, the people thought that the last day of the republic had come. The remnant of the senate met and sought with calmness to restore the public confidence. Party strife was hushed before the common danger. The old Roman pride and stubbornness saved the commonwealth. Hannibal has been censured because he did not march after the victory, as Maharbal, the commander of the Numidian cavalry, urged, directly upon Rome. "If," said this officer, "you will let me lead the cavalry, within five days you shall dine in the capitol."

18. Position of Hannibal in Italy.—Hannibal knew the Roman people better. He sent a commission to Rome to treat for exchange of prisoners and to open negotiations of peace. No one in Rome thought of peace. The messengers were not allowed to enter the city. Hannibal proceeded to Campania and sought to obtain in the conquest of some fortified town a new base of operation. He also hoped that now, at last, the Roman allies would join him. In this he was disappointed. The Roman and Latin colonies, the Greek cities, and the vast majority of Italian subjects remained faithful. In southern Italy a few tribes showed a willingness to revolt from Rome.[2] Capua and a few other walled towns fell into his hands. Hannibal sent Mago to Carthage with the report of his last great victory, while he himself took up his winter quarters in Capua. It has been said that his brave warriors became effeminate in this luxurious city, and lost their love of war; in reality, however, Hannibal's superiority in the field remained as decided as ever. Henceforth the war was spread over a greater space.

[1] According to Livy (xxii. 49), the Romans lost 45,000 infantry, 2,700 cavalry killed; 3,000 infantry, and 1,500 cavalry taken in battle; 2,000 taken at Cannæ and 16,400 taken in the camps, a total loss of 71,100. Polybius (iii. 117) places the loss higher, or about 92,500 in all; the battle took place August 1st, or, according to the corrected calendar, in June.

[2] The Lucanians, Apulians, Bruttians, Caudinians, and Hirpinians.

Difficulties began to multiply around his path. The series of great victories had culminated in Cannæ, and it became yearly more evident that the resources of Rome were superior to those of Carthage.

19. The War in Spain (B. C. 218).—Publius Scipio,[1] when he returned from Massilia* to northern Italy, sent his brother Gnæus to Spain with a large part of the consular army. He acted with energy, and defeated Hanno both by sea and land, and acquired possession of most of the country from the Pyrenees to the Ebro. Meanwhile Publius himself had been sent to Spain with an army of eight thousand men and with thirty ships (B. C. 218). Even after the battle at Lake Trasimenus, reinforcements were sent to Spain, the senate regarding it as important that the war should be waged there in order that no considerable force could be sent to Hannibal in Italy. The two brothers carried on the war with vigor. They availed themselves of the discontent among the different tribes to in-

[1] GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

L. Scipio, cos. B. C. 259.

- P. Scipio, cos. B. C. 218. Killed in Spain, B. C. 211.
- Cn. Scipio Calvus, cos. B. C. 222. Killed in Spain, B. C. 211.
- L. Scipio.
  - Cn. Scipio Hispallus, cos. B. C. 171.
    - Cn. Scipio Hispallus, præt. B. C. 139.
      - Cn. Scipio Hispallus.
- P. Scipio Africanus *major*, cos. B. C. 205, 194, m. Æmilia.
- L. Scipio Asiaticus, cos. B. C. 190.
- P. Scipio Africanus.
- L. Scipio Africanus.
- Cornelia, m. P. Scipio Nasica Corculum.
- Cornelia, m. Tib. Gracchus.
- L. Scipio Asiaticus, quæs. B. C. 167.
- P. Scipio Æmilianus Africanus *minor* (son of L. Æmilius Paullus and adopted by P. Scipio Africanus), cos. B. C. 147, 134, married Sempronia, the sister of the Gracchi (see p. 202).
- L. Scipio Asiaticus.
- L. Scipio Asiaticus, cos. B. C. 83.

* See Map No. 5.

duce them to throw off the dominion of Carthage. When Mago laid the news of Hannibal's great victories before the Carthaginian senators, they resolved to raise, for his assistance, twenty thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry in Spain. This the Scipios determined to prevent; they crossed the Ebro and inflicted so severe a blow on Hasdrubal in the battle of Ibera[1] that he was obliged to delay his plan of sending reinforcements to Hannibal. The results of this victory probably saved the Roman government; it decided the wavering Spanish tribes in favor of Rome and prevented the Carthaginians from sending another army to reinforce Hannibal when he was in the full tide of success.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.—SECOND PERIOD (B. C. 216–207). SIEGE OF SYRACUSE (B. C. 214–212).—WAR IN SPAIN (B. C. 215–206).

1. Measures for Carrying on the War.—During the winter, while Hannibal was carrying on negotiations with the king of Macedonia and waiting for the co-operation of the Italians, Rome strained every nerve to raise a new army. All men of military age were called out. Prisoners and slaves were enrolled, and the whole city resounded with the preparations of war. Twenty-one legions were placed in the field[2] and a fleet of one hundred and fifty vessels was built. The year (B. C. 215) passed away without any decisive events. As no great accession of force came, Hannibal, having to protect Capua and southern Italy, acted on the defensive. Hasdrubal was detained in Spain; Philip, the king of Macedonia,

[1] The location of this town is unknown.

[2] Eight to keep Hannibal in check, three in the north against the Gauls, one at Brundisium to act against the king of Macedonia, two to guard Rome, two in Sardinia, two in Sicily, and three in Spain, amounting in all to nearly 200,000 men.

did not make the expected attack. Hannibal was also foiled in his attempt to get possession of Neapolis, Tarentum, and Puteoli.

2. War in Sicily (B.C. 214–210).—Meanwhile events were occurring in Sicily that revived the hopes of Hannibal. Hiero, the faithful ally of Rome for nearly fifty years, died and his grandson, Hieronymus, a boy of fifteen, succeeded him. The new king immediately opened negotiations with Carthage. Hannibal, in order to encourage him, sent two of his own officers, Hippocrates and Epicydes, to Syracuse, to act as negotiators. The king, however, was assassinated after a reign of a few months, and the Roman party in Syracuse gained the ascendency. Hannibal's envoys had to leave the city. They took refuge with the people of Leontini and urged them to assert their independence of Syracuse, and finally incited them to attack a military post of the Romans. Marcellus, the Roman prætor, without waiting for the co-operation of Syracuse, marched against Leontini, took the city by storm, and although he spared the inhabitants, inflicted severe punishment on the Roman deserters that he found in the garrison. This act of brutality alienated the Syracusan soldiers and they joined Hippocrates and Epicydes. The gates of Syracuse were opened and the Carthaginian party had undisputed possession of the city. Marcellus appeared before Syracuse with a large army, and, failing to take it by storm, proceeded to lay siege to the city. On the land side the usual modes of attack[1] were directed against the walls, while sixty Roman vessels, carrying wooden towers and battering-rams, attacked from the sea. These were driven back, and all efforts to capture the city were rendered unavailing by the skill of Archimedes.[2] Marcellus was compelled to turn the siege into a blockade.

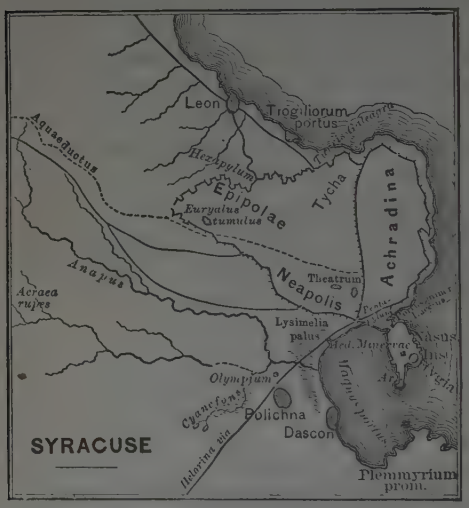
3. The Fall and Sack of Syracuse.[3]—This delay

[1] See page 380 ff.

[2] Many stories are told of the wonderful and curious engines of war constructed by Archimedes. It is said that the ships of the Romans were seized by iron hooks, partly raised from the water, and then dashed back to the dismay of the crews. The story that Archimedes fired the Roman vessels by wonderful reflecting mirrors is probably a fiction, since neither Polybius nor Livy mention it.

[3] The siege of Syracuse began probably near the end of the year B. C. 214, and the town

gave the Carthaginians time to send reinforcements to Syracuse. Landing at Heraclea, they soon made themselves masters of Agrigentum. The position of Marcellus was becoming critical when an unexpected attack on a part of the walls, left unguarded during a festival, made him master of the Epipolæ with the quarters of Neapolis and Tycha. This was the condition of affairs when the Carthaginian army advanced to the relief of the city. The Roman army managed to keep its position. As summer approached a deadly disease broke out among the Carthaginian army which was encamped on the low ground by the river Anapus. After a great part of the men and officers had died the remainder dispersed. In the meantime another revolution took place in Syracuse; still Marcellus did not attempt to take the city by storm until a Spanish officer, commanding on the side of Ortygia, opened the gate. The next day the army, after a siege of two years, entered. Marcellus promised to spare the lives of the inhabitants, although the city itself was given up to plunder. Archimedes was slain, because he was too intent upon a mathematical problem to answer the question of a plundering soldier.[1] The numerous works of art which during so many centuries had been collected



was stormed in B. C. 213. Livy, however, assigns the storming of the town to the year B. C. 214; see Weissenborn's (Livy xxiv. 39) note. The text of Polybius is probably corrupt; he says (viii. 9, § 6) that the siege lasted only eight months. The town was taken in the fall of B. C. 212.

[1] Archimedes called to the soldier in the well known words, *noli turbare circulos meos.*

were sent to Rome.[1] The fall of Syracuse gave the Romans the upper-hand in Sicily; still Hannibal's cavalry general, Matines, prolonged the war for two years. After Agrigentum fell, and the leaders were beheaded, the inhabitants sold as slaves, and the town sacked, the other towns submitted, and all resistance in Sicily to Roman rule was at an end.

4. War in Spain (B. C. 215–206).—After the successful campaign of the two Scipios in Spain, in B. C. 215, the Romans continued the war, and overran the Carthaginian possessions. The Ebro was crossed, Saguntum was taken, and preparations were made for an attack on Africa. Syphax, a Numidian chief, was won over to their side. The Libyans began to desert Carthage in such numbers that Hasdrubal was recalled from Spain. He secured the alliance of another Numidian prince, Gula,[2] whose son, Masinissa, only seventeen years old, began his long career, which was destined in the end to be so fatal to the Carthaginians. Syphax was defeated and Hasdrubal was able to return to Spain with large reinforcements (B. C. 212). Finding that the Romans had divided their forces, Hasdrubal attacked each army in succession, and so thoroughly routed them that but few escaped, and the two Scipios were slain. Nearly all Spain was lost to the Romans. The efforts of Rome to prevent the invasion of Italy from Spain had ended disastrously, and nothing seemed able to check the Carthaginian general if he intended to attack Italy from this quarter. The senate, however, resolved to make one more effort[3] and to entrust the command to Publius Cornelius Scipio,[4] then only twenty-seven years of age, who had only been ædile, and therefore never invested[5] with any office to which the *imperium* was attached. In the autumn of B. C. 210 he set out on his hazardous mission.

[1] This was not the first instance of a practice that afterwards became so general. Tarentum and Volsinii, on their capture, had been plundered. These works of art from Syracuse were so much more numerous and valuable than any before taken that tradition (Liv. xxv. 40) assigns the beginning of the custom to Marcellus.

[2] King of the Massylians.

[3] They sent 11,000 men.

[4] Livy (xxvi. 18) relates that when no one came forward to take the command in Spain, Scipio declared his willingness to assume the dangerous post, and inspired the people with confidence and courage.

[5] See p. 50.

5. The Success of Scipio.—Landing at Emporiæ* he took up his winter quarters in Tarraco, where, with the utmost secresy,[1] he prepared for the coming campaign. Fortune favored him from the first. Learning that the three Carthaginian armies[2] were a long distance from New Carthage, in the early spring of 207 B.C. he appeared unexpectedly before this city, which, after a short siege, fell into his hands, with all its stores, engines, and materials for war. Scipio, following up this success, attacked Hasdrubal at Bæcula in Andalusia. The results,[3] however, were so far favorable to Hasdrubal that he was able to carry into execution his long-delayed plan of reinforcing his brother in Italy. His departure left Spain an easy conquest for Scipio. In the year B. C. 206, Scipio, marching southward, met a second time the Carthaginian army under another Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, at Bæcula,[4] and totally defeated it. The Spanish levies fell off, and Hasdrubal escaped almost alone to Gades, the only place in Spain left in the hands of the Carthaginians.

6. Scipio's Interview with Syphax.—This decided victory not only caused the spirit of disaffection to spread among the Spanish tribes, but even among the African troops. Masinissa, the brave Numidian prince who had rendered important services against Syphax, thinking that the cause of Carthage was lost, and fascinated by the influence of Scipio, secretly promised aid to the Romans. According to Livy, Scipio crossed to Africa with only two quinqueremes and spent some days at the court of Syphax, where he accidentally met Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo.[5] During his absence some of the Spanish tribes revolted, and a body of eight thousand Roman soldiers, who complained that their pay had been withheld, mutinied. This rebellion was quickly subdued, and before the

[1] He communicated his plans to his friend G. Lælius only, the father of the Lælius whose friendship for the younger Africanus, Cicero has rendered so celebrated.

[2] Hasdrubal Barca was in Castile; Mago was at the Straits of Gibraltar, and Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, on the Tagus with an army of 25,000 infantry and 2,500 cavalry.

[3] Livy (xxvii. 18 f.) asserts that Hasdrubal was defeated with loss of 20,000 men.

[4] Livy (xxviii. 12) calls the place also Silpia, which is probably the same place that Polybius (xi. 20) calls Ilipa (in the MS. Elinga). * See map, p. 175.

[5] The voyage of Scipio to Africa and the succession of events for the year B. C. 206 have been exposed to serious doubts. Weissenborn (note to *Livy*. xxviii. 16, 14) assigns a part of the events to the year B. C. 207. The mutiny of the army probably took place during the illness of Scipio.

close of the year (B. C. 206) Gades fell into the hands of the Romans, and Spain was lost to the Carthaginians.

7. The War in Italy (B. C. 214–203).—While these events were going on in Spain and Sicily, Hannibal made no real progress in Italy. Two years of indecisive warfare passed, in which Hannibal tried to capture Tarentum, and the Romans to recover Capua. In the year B. C. 212 Hannibal's efforts were crowned with success, and Tarentum was betrayed into his hands. This enabled him to turn his attention to Capua. By a brilliant campaign he relieved Capua, and scattered the Roman armies in southern Italy. Still Roman perseverance held out. There was no thought of peace.

8. The Siege of Capua.—The next year (B. C. 211), the Roman armies marched toward the doomed town. When the news reached Hannibal, he appeared once more on the ridge of Mount Tifata and made an attack upon the Roman line. This time the Romans were too numerous. Compelled to give up the attempt to raise the blockade of Capua by a direct attack on the Roman lines, he changed his plan, and marched directly upon Rome. Plundering the country as he advanced, he spread terror and dismay everywhere on his path. At his approach, the city, although well garrisoned, was filled with alarm. A part of the army was recalled from Capua, and marching directly by the Appian road reached Rome as soon as Hannibal. His plan, however, did not succeed; the siege of Capua was not raised, and the Romans, acting strictly on the defensive, gave no opportunity for battle. In the meantime the fate of Capua was sealed. All the leading men in the town were beheaded; the people were sold as slaves. Capua could no longer hope to rival Rome; she was blotted from the list of Italian towns. The right of local self-government was withdrawn, and a prefect was annually sent from Rome to govern the district.

9. Movements of Hannibal.—The conquest of Capua was the turning point in the war. Hannibal lost his stronghold in Campania and was obliged to retire to the southern part of Italy. Rome was gaining everywhere. The Italians who had joined Hannibal began to lose confidence. Salapia and

many towns in Samnium were betrayed to the Romans. But when Fulvius, the proconsul who commanded in Apulia, appeared before Herdonea, which he hoped to gain possession of by treachery, Hannibal marched from Bruttium, attacked the Roman army, and gained a brilliant victory. In the following year[1] the Romans recovered several places in Lucania and Bruttium, and Fabius Maximus crowned his long military career with the recapture of Tarentum (B. C. 209). The inhabitants were sold as slaves; the town was plundered and the works of art were sent to Rome. The next year Marcellus, for the fifth time elected to the consulship, was surprised near Venusia and killed. Hannibal paid suitable honors to the remains of his great opponent. This defeat taught the Romans to adhere to their old plan of avoiding pitched battles, and to limit their operations to the capture of the places that had been lost. In this way Hannibal, although unconquered, was pushed back into narrower and narrower limits.

10. Movements of Hasdrubal.—The war had lasted ten years, yet its favorable conclusion seemed far off. There were increasing symptoms of discontent among the allies, while the news from Spain left little doubt that the long prepared expedition of Hasdrubal over the Alps to join his brother in Italy was at last to be realized. Rome strained every nerve to meet the impending danger. The number of legions was increased from twenty-one to twenty-three. The preparations were incomplete, when the news came that Hasdrubal was crossing the Alps by the same route which his brother had taken eleven years before. The consuls for the new year were M. Livius Salinator and G. Claudius Nero. Hannibal, at the beginning of spring, after organizing his force in Bruttium, advanced northward, encountered the consul Nero at Grumen-

[1] In this year an event happened that showed in how exhausted a condition the people were, and how near Hannibal was to the attainment of his expectation—the disaffection of the Latin towns. When the consuls in B. C. 209 called upon the Latins to furnish more men and money, twelve of the thirty Latin colonies declared that their resources were exhausted. Thus far Rome had been saved by the firm adhesion of the Latin towns, but now the fabric seemed on the point of crumbling to pieces. All depended on the action of the other eighteen colonies. Fortunately their decision was favorable; they declared that they were willing to furnish not only their contingent of troops, but even more.

tum, whence, after a bloody but indecisive battle, he continued his march to Canusium. Here he waited for news from his brother. The expected despatch was intercepted by Nero, who formed the bold resolution of joining his colleague in the north, and with their united armies crushing Hasdrubal while Hannibal was waiting for the expected despatch.

Hasdrubal had appointed a rendezvous with his brother in Umbria, whence with their united armies they were both to advance on Narnia and Rome.

11. The Battle of Metaurus (B. C. 207).—Nero, selecting from his army seven thousand of the best soldiers and one thousand cavalry, left his camp so quietly that Hannibal knew nothing of his departure. Near Sena he found his colleague Livius, and in the night entered his camp that his arrival might not be known to the Carthaginians. Hasdrubal, when he heard the trumpet sound twice from the Roman camp and saw the increased numbers, was no longer ignorant that both consuls were in front of him. Thinking that his brother had been defeated, he resolved to retire across the Metaurus and wait for accurate information. Missing his way, wandering up and down the river to find a ford, pursued and attacked by the Romans, he was compelled to accept battle. Although in an unfavorable position, a deep river in his rear, his troops exhausted by marching all night, still the victory long hung in suspense. Hasdrubal displayed all the qualities of a great general, and when he saw that all was lost, he plunged into the thickest of the battle and was slain.[1] The consul returned to Apulia with the same rapidity with which he had come. He announced to Hannibal the defeat and death of his brother by casting Hasdrubal's head within the outposts and by sending two Carthaginian captives to give him an account of the disastrous battle. "I foresee the doom of Carthage,"[2] said Hannibal sadly, when he recognized the bloody head of his brother.

12. Hannibal Retreats to Bruttium.—This battle de-

[1] According to Livy (xxvii. 49) the Carthaginians lost 56,000 killed and 5,400 prisoners, and the Romans only 8,000; the estimate of Polybius (xi. 3) seems more reasonable, *i. e.* that the Carthaginians lost 10,000, and the Romans 2,000.

[2] Livy, xxvii. 51.

cided the war in Italy. Hannibal withdrew his garrisons from the towns in southern Italy, retired to the peninsula of Bruttium, where for four long years, in that wild and mountainous country, with unabated courage and astounding tenacity, the dying lion clung to the land that had been so long the theatre of his glory.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SECOND PUNIC WAR—THE THIRD PERIOD (B. C. 206–201).

1. Scipio's Expedition to Africa.—A favorable termination of the war seemed near at hand. The time had come to carry into execution that expedition to Africa which Sempronius had attempted in the beginning of the war. Publius Scipio, on his return from Spain, offered himself for the consulship and was unanimously elected. His design was to carry the war into Africa and in this way compel Carthage to recall Hannibal. The senate, headed by the aged Fabius Maximus, was not favorable to his plan. The people, however, were unanimous that the conduct of the war must be entrusted to Scipio, and that it must be finished in Africa. The senate finally consented that he should cross from his province of Sicily to Africa, but they voted no adequate means for such an expedition. Scipio called for volunteers. The whole of the year B. C. 205 passed away before he completed his preparations.

2. Efforts to Help Hannibal.—Meanwhile the Carthaginians made one last effort to help Hannibal. Mago, Hannibal's youngest brother, was sent to Liguria with fourteen thousand men to rouse the Ligurians and Gauls to renew the war on Rome; but having met a Roman army under Quintilius Varus, and being wounded in the engagement which followed, his movements were so crippled that nothing of importance was accomplished.

3. War in Africa.—In the spring of B. C. 204 Scipio had completed his preparations. He embarked his army[1] from Lilybæum, and after three days landed at the Fair Promontory* near Utica. After laying siege to Utica all summer, he was compelled to fall back and entrench himself on the promontory. Masinissa had joined him immediately on his arrival. By his advice Scipio planned a night attack on Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, and Syphax, who were encamped near Utica. This enterprise was completely successful. A short time afterwards Hasdrubal and Syphax were again defeated. Syphax fled to Numidia, where he was followed by Lælius and Masinissa and compelled to surrender.[2]

4. Efforts for Peace.—These successes convinced the Carthaginians that with the existing forces the Roman invasion could not long be resisted. Therefore they opened negotiations for peace with Scipio, in order probably to gain time to recall their generals from Italy. The desire of Scipio to bring the war to a conclusion induced him to agree upon preliminaries of peace, subject to the approval of the Roman senate and people. Carthage was to give up all prisoners and deserters, resign all claim to Spain and the islands between Africa and Italy, recall Hannibal and Mago from Italy, acknowledge Masinissa as king of Numidia, deliver up her ships-of-war except twenty, and pay five thousand talents to defray the expenses of the war. According to the conditions of the armistice, Hannibal and Mago were recalled from Italy, and the Roman prisoners were released in expectation that the conditions of peace would be accepted. When the Carthaginian ambassadors appeared before the senate they were dismissed almost without an answer, because the capture of Syphax had convinced this body that Carthage, deprived of her most powerful ally, would not be able to continue the war. Meanwhile the arrival of Hannibal at Hadrumetum had so encouraged the Carthaginians that the armistice had been broken before the return of the ambassadors

[1] The strength of the army is variously estimated from 12,500 to 35,000. The Carthaginian force is estimated at 33,000; the Numidian at 60,000; see map, p. 217.

[2] This was a great gain, as now Numidia united with Rome against Carthage.

* See map, p. 217.

from Rome.[1] All hopes of peace by negotiation vanished, and Scipio prepared to renew the war, which, since the arrival of Hannibal, had assumed a more serious character.

5. The Battle of Zama.—The details of the operations which ended in the battle of Zama are but imperfectly known. The decisive battle was fought on the river Bagradas, near Zama,[2] on the 19th of October, B. C. 202. Hannibal managed the battle with his usual skill. His veterans fought like the men who had so often conquered in Italy, but his army was annihilated. The elephants were rendered unavailing by Scipio's skillful management. Instead of the three lines of battle, with the usual intervals,[3] Scipio arranged his companies behind each other like the rounds of a ladder.[4] Through these openings the elephants could pass without breaking the line. This battle terminated the long struggle. Carthage had for a long time been exhausted and overcome, but with the madness of despair had fought on. The superior perseverance and stubbornness of the Roman people had won the victory before the battle of Zama. Hannibal himself advised peace. The terms were not so favorable as before. Besides the conditions already prescribed, and the increase of the war-contribution to an annual payment of two hundred talents for fifty years, Carthage was bound not to wage war either in Africa or elsewhere without the consent of Rome.

6. Triumph of Scipio.—Scipio returned to Rome, where a splendid triumph awaited him. All that witnessed the triumphal procession winding along the *via sacra*, up the *clivus capitolinus* to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, joined the youthful hero, henceforth called Publius Cornelius Scipio *Africanus*, in returning thanks to the gods that the *Hannibalian war*[5] was ended.

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[1] According to Ihne (vol. ii., p. 445) the action of the senate in regard to the treaty reached Carthage before the return of the embassy, and thus restored the ascendancy of the war party in Carthage, and dispelled all hopes of peace.

[2] According to Appian (viii. 41) Hannibal had 50,000 men and 80 elephants; Scipio, 34,500 in addition to the Numidians; Polybius (xv. 14, § 6) says both armies were equal in infantry. The place and time of the battle are both uncertain. The date is usually fixed by means of the solar eclipse, mentioned by Zonoras (ix. 14) as taking place on the day of the battle; according to Mommsen (vol. ii., p. 196, note) the battle took place in the spring.

[3] See page 386 f.

[4] Ihne, vol. ii., p. 451.

[5] Polybius, ix. 22.

7. The Results of the War.—The results of the war were that Carthage became a dependent state; the native tribes of Africa were admitted to an alliance with Rome. The Roman dominion was increased by the accession of Spain, which was formed into two provinces, and by the territory of Syracuse, which was added to the province of Sicily. The supremacy of the sea was transferred to Rome, and the way opened by the hostilities with Macedonia for the great conflict with the East.

8. The Romanizing of Italy.—In the meantime Rome, true to her policy of first securing what had been gained, turned her attention to the subjugation of the revolted tribes in Italy. The Cisalpine Gauls were subdued and the fetters were riveted more firmly over the states in southern Italy that had joined Hannibal. Large tracts of land were confiscated, the old colonies strengthened and new ones founded,[1] and an effort was made to extend the dominion and influence of Rome, the Latin language and Latin customs, throughout all Italy, and to weld the different peoples into one nationality. The great Flaminian way[2] was extended to Placentia, and the Cassian from Rome to Arretium was reconstructed and extended[3] to Bononia. The whole country was in process of being Romanized. The colony of Aquileja was founded to protect the eastern border (B. C. 183), the Istrians were subdued (B. C. 177), and the wandering Gauls who had crossed the Alps were driven back and compelled henceforth to keep within proper bounds. The contest with the Ligurians was severer, and it was not until B. C. 143 that the Romans gained a firm hold of the country. The work of subjugation was carried on by extending (B. C. 109) the great highway along the coast from Luna to Vada Sabbata (*Vado*) and thence over the Apennines to Dertona (*Tortona*). Gallia Cisalpina, however, was probably not formed into a province until the time of Sulla.

[1] Venusia (B. C. 200) and Narnia (B. C. 199) strengthened; Sipontum, Croton, Salernum, Thurii, henceforth called Copia, Puteoli (B. C. 194) and Aquileja (B. C. 183) founded to secure the command of the Gulf.

[2] Under the name of Æmilian way, B. C. 187. [3] B. C. 171.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Conquest of the East (B. C. 214–146).

1. Condition of the East.—The diffusion of Hellenic civilization and culture in the East which Alexander, the king of Macedonia, had begun, was carried out by means of colonies and trading-posts which were scattered over the vast empire which he had conquered. After his death this empire was rent to pieces by his generals, and finally, after a long struggle and various vicissitudes, resolved itself into the following kingdoms:

1. *Macedonia*, governed by Philip V., whose dominion extended over a great part of Greece.

2. *Syria*, ruled by Antiochus III., extended from the coast of the Mediterranean to the Indus, although many provinces within this limit were in a state of practical independence. In Asia Minor, Galatia and Pontus[1] were governed by native princes, while the kings of Pergamus ruled over most of the western part.

3. *Egypt*, embracing the valley of the Nile, the provinces of Palestine, Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria, together with the Greek city of Cyrene, the island of Cyprus, and many islands in the Ægean sea and towns on the coast of Thrace, was governed by the Ptolemies, and formed a compact and united state. The kings, instead of trying to extend their territory, had sought to attract the traffic between India and the Mediterranean to the port of Alexandria. By this means they hoped to make Egypt a leading commercial state, and the mistress of the eastern Mediterranean. They had, as early as B. C. 273, entered into friendly relations with Rome. In B. C. 205 the throne descended to Ptolemy V., Epiphanes, then a child only four years old. His minister, dreading the designs of the Macedonian and Syrian kings, had sought the protection of the Roman senate.

[1] See map, p. 248–9.

MAP
Illustrating
WARS IN THE EAST;
ASIA
as far as MT. TAURUS,
MACEDONIA & GREECE,
B. C. 188
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
THRACE
MACEDONIA
Epirus
Paeones
Dardani
Dassaretii
Bessi
Odrysae
Thessalia
Lemnus
Athos M.
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Heraclea
Amastris
Sinope
Paphlagonia
Bithynia
Galatia
Cappadocia
Pontus
Mysia
Phrygia
major
KINGDOM OF EUMENES
Lydia
Ionia
Caria
Pisidia
Lycaonia
Isauria
TAURUS MTS.
Pamphylia
Lycia
Milyas
Cilicia
Cyprus
Syria
Rhodus
Cos
Chios
Samos
Delus
Paros
Naxus
Cythera
Creta
Corcyra
Cephallenia
Achaia
Aetolia
Acarnania
Peloponnesus
ACHAEAN League
Corinth
Athenae
Thebae
Chalcis
Oreum
Scarpheia
Ambracia
Nicopolis
Actium
Pharsalus
Larissa
Thessalia
Pydna
Philippi
Amphipolis
Abdera
Philippopolis
Hebrus
Strymon
Scodra
Lissus
Dyrrhachium
Apollonia
Genusus
Aous
Celetrum
Thessalonica
Aenea
Acanthus
Torone
Lampsacus
Abydus
Dardanus
Ilium
Rhoeteum
Tenedos
Hellespontus
Troas
Alexandria
Lesbus
Mytilene
Methymna
Smyrna
Ephesus
Tralles
Laodicea
Eumenia
Magnesia
Thyatira
Pergamus
Adramyttium
Antandrus
Abydus
Lysimachia
Cyzicus
Nicaea
Nicomedia
Chalcedon
Sangarius
Halys
Thymbres
Pessinus
Antiochia
Tyriaeum
Laodicea
Tyana
Tarsus
Soli
Celenderis
Seleucia
Orontes R.
Antiochia
Laodicea
Salamis
Cyprus
Xanthus
Patara
Milyas
Caunus
Halicarnassus
Miletus
Myonnesus
Priene
Magnesia
Ephesus
Tralles
Laodicea
Eumen

2. The Free Greek Cities.—The most important position among the minor states was held by the free Greek cities on the shore of the Propontis, along the coast of Asia Minor, and on the islands of the Ægean sea. Among these may be mentioned :

1. *Byzantium*, the mistress of the Bosporus, which had grown rich from her favorable position and trade with the towns on the Black Sea.

2. *Cyzicus*, on the Propontis, was one of the marts for the vast trade of the interior, and soon attained an independent and important position.

3. *Rhodes.* This republic was the chief maritime power in the Ægean Sea. From its favorable position it had secured much of the carrying-trade of the eastern Mediterranean. Its vessels entered, without port-dues, the Bosporus and the Black Sea. Rhodes took an active part in defending the Greek cities, and as a protection against Macedonia had formed a commercial treaty with Rome.

3. The Achæan and Ætolian Leagues.—In Greece proper two new powers had arisen since the death of Alexander, which served as a counterpoise to Macedonia, and might have been of great service to the Greek nation had they not, by internal dissensions, inflicted more injury than good. The more important was the Achæan League which embraced Corinth, Arcadia, and a greater part of the Peloponnesus, and which sought to unite the best elements of the Greek nation in a league for self-defence. The Ætolian League included a great part of Central Greece. The Romans, during the second Punic war, had availed themselves of the hostility of the Ætolian League to Macedonia, and entered into an alliance with it (B. C. 212), and by this means occupied Philip at home while they crushed Carthage. Athens and Sparta still retained their independence, but only a shadow of their former power.

4. First Macedonian War (B. C. 214–205).—It will be recollected that Demetrius of Pharos[1] took refuge with Philip

[1] See page 182.

and urged him to make war on Rome. After the battle of Cannæ the king sent an embassy to Hannibal, offering assistance, but the ambassadors being captured by the Romans the alliance was not concluded until B. C. 215. Philip's fleet appeared in the Adriatic, captured Oricum[1] and laid siege to Apollonia, which, since the Illyrian war, had been in possession of the Romans. The Romans sent M. Valerius Lævinus with a small force to the Adriatic; he recaptured Oricum, raised the siege of Apollonia, stormed the Macedonian camp at night, and compelled Philip to burn his ships to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Romans. This overthrew his scheme of invasion and so frightened him that for three years he suspended active operations. In B. C. 211 Lævinus appeared at the assembly of the Ætolians and promised them aid in a war against Philip. This gave the war a new aspect, and so occupied Philip that he was compelled to seek assistance from Carthage instead of co-operating with Hannibal. The attention of the Romans, however, was so occupied with affairs in Spain that the Ætolians were left almost alone to cope with Philip, and, being hard-pressed, they made a separate treaty (B. C. 206). The Romans, who wished to have their hands free for the invasion of Africa, soon after also consented to peace (B. C. 205).

5. Second Macedonian War (B. C. 200–196).—Philip now had an opportunity to consolidate his power in Greece, to restore the prosperity of his kingdom and to prepare for the struggle with Rome, which both sides regarded as inevitable. Instead of doing this, he entered into an alliance with Antiochus, king of Syria,[2] for the dismemberment of the territories of the king of Egypt, who at once applied to Rome for assistance. Soon after he plunged into a war with Attalus, king of Pergamus, and with the Rhodians.[3] He even sent a force of four thousand soldiers to Africa who fought at the battle of Zama under the command of Hannibal. Philip was still pursuing his policy in the east when the peace with Carthage left Rome at liberty to succor her eastern allies. An embassy was

[1] See map, p. 130. [2] B. C. 205. [3] B. C. 203.

sent to mediate between Antiochus and Ptolemy, and Philip was warned to give up the Egyptian dependencies that had fallen into his hands, and not to attack the Greek cities. He was still engaged in these ambitious schemes,[1] when an event growing out of the hostility of Macedonia to Athens furnished the Romans the pretext for a declaration of war.

6. The Cause of the War.—It happened that two Acarnanian youths had been put to death in Attica for intruding upon the Eleusinian mysteries. The Acarnanians, exasperated by this outrage, laid their complaints before the king of Macedonia, their ally and protector. He encouraged them to make war upon Attica and lay waste the country with fire and sword. The Athenians immediately sent an embassy to Rome[2] asking assistance against the Acarnanians and the king of Macedonia. The senate sent an embassy[3] to Philip to declare war unless he desisted from hostilities against the Greek cities and gave up the possessions of Ptolemy which he had seized. When Philip replied that the Romans should observe the terms of the treaty, but if they were bent on war, they should have it, the declaration was determined upon.[4]

7. The Battle of Cynoscephalæ (B. C. 197).—After two unsuccessful and indecisive campaigns, T. Quinctius Flamininus was sent to Greece. He was an able general and a skillful diplomatist, and, by proclaiming himself the champion of Greek freedom, succeeded in uniting almost the whole of Greece against Macedonia. He carried on the war with energy and vigor and in B. C. 197 met Philip at Cynoscephalæ and completely defeated him. Philip was now glad to make peace on any terms. He was compelled, in addition to the demands already made,[5] to surrender all his navy except five ships, reduce his army to five thousand men, and pay a war indemnity of one thousand talents.[6] After the conclusion of peace the

[1] Against Egypt, Rhodes, and Attalus.
[2] The Athenians had entered into friendly relations with Rome as early as B. C. 228, and in the peace of B. C. 205 were mentioned as Roman allies.
[3] The embassy visited Athens and Egypt, and remonstrated with Philip, who was still engaged in the siege of Abydos.
[4] Livy xxxi. 18.
[5] See § 6.
[6] About 244,000 pounds sterling.

Roman garrisons were withdrawn from the Greek towns, and at the ensuing Isthmian games Flamininus ordered the herald to proclaim the independence of all Greece.[1]

8. The Syro-Ætolian War (B. C. 192–189).—While the Romans were engaged in Greece, Antiochus, instead of co-operating with Philip, thought it best to take this opportunity to extend his own territories. He conquered Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, advanced even into Asia Minor, took Ephesus, and proceeded to conquer Thrace. Here a Roman embassy met him, and declared that he must surrender all his conquests in Asia Minor, recognize the independence of the Greek cities, and not send any more troops into Europe. Antiochus asserted his claim to Thrace,[2] and denied the right of Rome to interfere in his affairs. The negotiations were broken off by the return of the king to Syria on account of a rumor of the death of Ptolemy, the young king of Egypt (B. C. 196).

9. The Plans of Hannibal.—The next year Hannibal found refuge at the court of the Syrian king at Ephesus. From that time forth Antiochus made active preparations for war. After the defeat at Zama, Hannibal counseled peace and devoted all his energies to promoting the welfare of his country. He introduced changes into the constitution, depriving the oligarchy of their power, and reformed the financial administration. The Romans sent an embassy to Carthage to inquire into these changes and assist the aristocratic party in their opposition to these reforms. Hannibal, seeing that it was useless to resist the threatening storm, escaped from his native town and visited Antiochus at Ephesus. Here he was received with great honors (B. C. 195), and urged the king to a war against Rome, and to raise an army for the invasion of Italy.

10. The Intrigues of the Ætolians.—Meanwhile the internal dissensions in Greece increased. The Ætolians, dissatisfied with the terms of the last peace, and believing that the

[1] That the Roman senate, and Titus Quinctius Flamininus, the general and pro-consul, having vanquished king Philip and the Macedonians, restore liberty, their own lives and privileges, without foreign garrisons or tribute, to the Corinthians, Locrians, Phocians, Eubœans, Achæans, Phthiotians, Magnesians, Thessalians, and Perrhæbeans.—*Plut. Flamin.* 10.

[2] Thrace had belonged to Seleucus, his ancestor.

success of the Romans was chiefly due to their own efforts, began now to intrigue against them, and to encourage Nabis the tyrant of Sparta to make war on the Achæans, and finally invited Antiochus over from Asia, representing to him that all Greece was ready to join his standard. When the news reached Rome that Antiochus had landed in Greece, war was immediately declared (B. C. 192), and the following year an army crossed to Greece under command of Marcus Acilius Glabrio. The king had entrenched himself at Thermopylæ, but when a detachment under Marcus Porcius Cato surprised the Ætolians and put them to flight, the king fled in all haste to Chalcis and then to Ephesus. The Ætolians were now left to bear the brunt of the war. They attempted further resistance at Naupactus, but by the influence of Flamininus they were admitted to capitulation.

11. The Battle of Magnesia (B. C. 190).—The next year the Roman army under Scipio, after the fleet had gained the mastery of the sea,[1] proceeded to follow Antiochus across the Hellespont. The two armies met at Magnesia, and the Romans gained an easy victory, which ended the war. The king had to cede all of Asia west of the Taurus range, to give up his elephants, to reduce his fleet to ten ships, and to promise not to sail west of the mouth of the river Calycadnus in Cilicia. He had also to pay the sum of fifteen thousand talents,[2] and to surrender Hannibal. Most of this vast territory was added to the kingdom of Pergamus. Scipio returned to Rome, where a splendid triumph awaited him, and in imitation of his brother he assumed the surname of *Asiaticus*.

12. Death of Hannibal. — Hannibal, after the conclusion of peace, fled to Crete, and thence to Prusias, king of Bithynia. When this king could no longer protect him, he drank poison to escape falling into the hands of the Romans (B. C. 183).

13. The Ætolian War (B. C. 189).—The Romans now had leisure to punish the Ætolians. The consul Marcus

[1] At Corycus.

[2] About $20,000,000.

Fulvius Nobilior landed at Apollonia (B. C. 189) and began the third war against them. Ætolia was ravaged on every side; but when Ambracia the chief town was taken, and the works of art transported to Rome, the Ætolian confederacy gave up the contest and sued for peace. Henceforth Ætolia, like Macedonia, became tributary to Rome, renounced all conquests recently made, and gave up the right to make war or peace without the consent of Rome.

14. The Achæan League.—The degradation of Ætolia was favorable to the growth of the Achæan league. Under the able management of Philopœmen, the Greek states so far forgot their petty jealousies that all Peloponnesus united with this league.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR—THE ACHÆAN EXILES—CAPTURE OF CORINTH—MACEDONIA REDUCED TO A PROVINCE.

1. Ungenerous Policy towards Macedonia. — Philip had been induced to co-operate in the war against Antiochus with the prospect of being able to extend his dominions. When his assistance was no longer needed and he proceeded to take possession of the Ætolian towns, complaints, directly encouraged by Rome herself, were sent in on all sides, and he was compelled to give up all his conquests and confine himself to the limits of ancient Macedonia. In the negotiations which followed, Philip was treated with great harshness and contempt. Still there was no course open to him but war or submission. He chose the latter, but with the firm determination to prepare for the day of revenge.

2. The Battle of Pydna (B. C. 168).—In B. C. 179 Philip died, and was succeeded by his son Perseus, who prosecuted with great energy and skill the aim which his father so long had kept in view. From new sources of revenue open to him

in mines, customs, and tenths, and from the flourishing condition of agriculture and commerce, Perseus was enabled to raise and discipline his army. A change had taken place even among the Greeks, who no longer regarded the Romans as the liberators of their country, but as its enemies. Perseus was becoming daily more popular. The economic degradation of Greece was frightful, and the class which lived by spoil and plunder was growing daily larger. The result was that Perseus was soon at the head of a large army, but now his good genius seemed to forsake him, and by his parsimony and ill-timed measures he disgusted his allies, and instead of prompt and vigorous action pursued a policy of procrastination. The time had come, however, for Rome to put an end to the partial state of independence in which the Greek nation still existed.[1] A Roman army landed in Epirus in B.C. 171 and first succeeded in detaching the allies of Perseus. A battle followed, in which Perseus was victorious, but still with unaccountable inactivity, he made no use of his victory. In B. C. 168 L. Æmilius Paullus defeated Perseus at Pydna,[2] and soon afterwards took him prisoner. This was the end of the war.

3. Macedonia in Nominal Independence.—Macedonia was not at once reduced to a province like Sicily, but was divided into four parts, each of which governed itself and was independent from the other three.[3] An annual tribute[4] was

[1] Eumenes, the king of Pergamus, preferred the formal charges against Perseus which led to the declaration of war. On his return from Rome, Eumenes was attacked by four assassins hired by Perseus, and badly wounded.

[2] Polybius (xxxii. 11, 6) dates from this battle the establishment of the universal empire of Rome. It was in fact the last battle in which a civilized state confronted Rome in the field on a footing of equality with her as a great power; all subsequent struggles were rebellions or wars with peoples beyond the pale of the Romano-Greek civilization —the barbarians, as they were called. The whole civilized world thenceforth recognized in the Roman senate the supreme tribunal, whose commissioners decided in the last resort between kings and nations; and, to acquire its language and manners, foreign princes and noble youths resided in Rome. A palpable and earnest attempt to get rid of her dominion was in reality made only once—by the great Mithridates of Pontus. The battle of Pydna, moreover, makes the last occasion on which the senate still adhered to the state maxim, that they should, if possible, hold no possessions and maintain no garrisons beyond the Italian seas, but should keep the numerous states dependent on them by a mere political supremacy. Indications of a change of system, and of an increasing disinclination on the part of Rome to tolerate by its side intermediate states, even in such independence as was possible for them, were clearly given in the destruction of the Macedonian monarchy after the battle of Pydna.—*Mommsen*, vol. ii., p. 330.

[3] The form of government was settled by the proconsul Æmilius Paullus and a commission of ten. The four divisions were deprived of the *jus connubii* and *jus commercii* among one another. Amphipolis, Thessalonica, Pella, and Pelagonia were made the capitals of the four divisions.

[4] One-half of the amount which the kings had exacted.

laid upon the Macedonians, in return for which Rome undertook to defend the country and to relieve the people from military service.[1] In order to secure the permanency of this form of government, all the most prominent men of the country, all who had served the king in any capacity, were transported with their grown up sons to Italy. Paullus on his return celebrated the most magnificent triumph[2] Rome had ever seen.

4. Treatment of the Other States.—The other states of Greece were treated in the same manner,[3] being obliged to pay as tribute one-half the sum hitherto paid in taxes, and the most noted men were sent to Italy. Rome now had time to look to the states of the East. Rhodes, which had offered its mediation during the war, was stripped of its most valuable dependencies, and compelled to seek an alliance with Rome; Eumenes of Pergamus was humbled, and Antiochus of Syria, who had commenced war with Egypt for the possession of Cœle-Syria, was commanded to leave Egypt and to make peace.[4]

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[1] Illyria was treated like Macedonia, the country was divided into three parts, each of which retained an independent government; see p. 130.

[2] We must pause for one moment to contemplate the spectacle of the triumph which ended this memorable war. Rome had long been accustomed to magnificent sights of this kind. The conquerors of Tarentum and Carthage, of Philip and Antiochus, had exhibited before the Roman people the greatness of their exploits in brilliant shows. But the past was entirely eclipsed by the magnificence of the procession which brought home to the Romans the fact that the empire of Alexander the Great was completely overthrown. The festival lasted three days. On the first day two hundred and fifty wagons, containing the paintings and statues taken in the war, were driven through the streets and exhibited to the people. On the second day were seen wagons with trophies consisting of piles of the finest and most precious arms. Then followed the procession of three thousand men carrying the captured silver; after these the vessels of silver, drinking horns, bowls, and goblets. The third day was the most magnificent of the whole festival. A string of animals decorated for sacrifice was followed by the bearers of the captured gold and golden vessels, the heirlooms of the dynasty of Macedonia. Then came the royal chariot of Perseus with his arms and his diadems; behind it walked his children, led by their attendants and tutors. Next came Perseus himself in unkingly garb, bowed down and completely broken in spirits. His friends and higher servants, who had been taken prisoners in war, and now walked behind their master, had tears and prayers only for him, and almost forgot their own fate in contemplation of his overwhelming misfortune. Four hundred golden crowns, the offerings of Greek communities, were carried behind the prisoners; then came the general himself on his chariot, dressed in the garb and decked with the insignia of Jupiter Capitolinus, with a laurel branch in his hand. The whole army was also adorned with laurels, and marched in warlike order behind their chief, singing songs of victory, mingled with occasional sallies of satire directed against him. A solemn sacrifice in the Capitol concluded the festival.—*Ihne*, vol. iii., p. 187 f.

[3] In Ætolia the league was dissolved; Acarnania was allowed to continue an independent form of government; Epirus was punished and ravaged for deserting the Roman side; Bœotia was divided into four districts.

[4] Popillus Lænas was the ambassador who carried the message of the senate. He met the king near Alexandria and handed him the letter ordering him to leave Egypt. The king replying that he would consider the matter, Popillus drew with his staff a circle on the ground around the king, saying: "Before you step out of this circle tell me what

5. The Achæan League. — The punishment of the Achæans, who had taken no part in the war, was peculiarly severe. In pursuance of the policy hitherto adopted in the other states, of removing all suspicious persons to Italy, the decree was issued that all accused Achæans should be sent to Italy and answer the charges against them there. More than one thousand of the noblest Achæans were transported to Italy, and were kept in prison in the towns in Etruria for seventeen years without a trial. Among the exiles was Polybius, the great historian whose long residence at Rome and intimate friendship with Scipio Africanus and other leading statesmen gave him that accurate information and extended knowledge of Roman policy which admirably fitted him for the task he undertook, viz.: to write the history of the union of the Mediterranean states under the hegemony of Rome.[1] The control of the Achæan league fell into the hands of Callicrates, a strong partisan of Rome who had been chiefly instrumental in procuring the punishment of the Achæans. After languishing in prison for seventeen years, the exiles, by the influence of Africanus and Cato, were allowed to return to their native land (B. C. 151). The number was reduced to three hundred, and returning to their country bitterly exasperated at their long confinement, they were ready to engage in any enterprise against Rome.

6. The Destruction of Corinth (B. C. 146).—The opportunity was offered by Andriscus, a pretended son of Perseus, who raised the standard of rebellion. Andriscus met at first with some success, but was soon conquered and taken prisoner. The Achæans were defeated in two engagements by Metellus.[2]

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answer I shall bear to the senate" (Liv. xlv. 12). The king saw that resistance was useless, and yielded to the demands of Rome.

[1] The history of Polybius consisted of forty books (the first five of which only are extant), and embraced the period from the accession of Philip to the extinction of Grecian independence (B. C. 220-146). As he lived from about B. C. 208 to B. C. 127, and his intimacy with the leading statesmen gave him an opportunity of learning the earlier events, the work is almost a contemporaneous history.

[2] *The details of the war.*—Athens, which had suffered greatly during the war, in order to indemnify herself, sent a plundering expedition against Oropus. The Oropians appealed to Rome, which referred the question to the Sicyonians, and Athens was condemned to pay 500 talents. An embassy, at the head of which stood the academician Carneades, the stoic Diogenes, and the peripatetic Critolaus, was sent to Rome to deprecate the severity of the sentence. The appearance of these three eminent men in the senate produced such an effect among the admirers of the Greek language and literature (the speeches were translated by Gajus Acilius for those who did not understand Greek) that

His successor Mummius soon brought the struggle to a close. Corinth, where the remnant of the Achæan army had taken refuge, was stormed and burnt to the ground (B. C. 146). The inhabitants were either slain or reduced to slavery, the works of art were sent to Rome, and the richest city of Greece, which Cicero called the "eye of Hellas,"[1] was blotted from the face of the earth.[2]

7. Macedonia a Roman Province (B. C. 146).—Macedonia, enlarged so as to include Apollonia and Dyrrhachium on the Adriatic, became a Roman province. The old divisions were abolished, each community was allowed local self-government, and the general administration was, like that of Sicily, under the control of a governor sent annually from Rome. The supervision of the different communities in Greece was entrusted to the governor of Macedonia, but it was not until the time of Augustus that Greece, under the name of Achaja, was regularly organized as a Roman province.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE THIRD PUNIC WAR (B. C. 149–146).

1. Roman Policy.—During this period of conquest in the East, Rome kept up a system of surveillance by sending to

the fine was reduced to 100 talents. This sum the Athenians were unable to pay, and a compromise was effected with the Oropians, and a garrison was placed in their town. When they wished to get rid of this garrison, they applied to the Achæan league, and bribed the Spartan, Menalcidas, who was chief of the league, to help them. He promised half of the bribe to Callicrates for his influence, a promise which he failed to keep, and Callicrates brought an action for the money. Menalcidas applied to Diæus and bribed him, and from this dispute about money, the quarrel between Sparta and the Achæan league arose which caused Rome to interfere. The league under Critolaus was defeated first by Metellus at Scarphea, and then under the lead of Diæus by Mummius at Leucopetra, on the Gulf of Corinth, which is not mentioned on any other occasion.

[1] *Lumen totius Græciæ.*

[2] [The destruction of Corinth] by no means proceeded from the brutality of any single individual, least of all of Mummius, but was a measure deliberated and resolved on by the Roman senate. We shall not err if we recognize it as the work of the mercantile party, which even thus early began to interfere in politics by the side of the aristocracy proper, and which, in destroying Corinth, got rid of a commercial rival. If the great merchants of Rome had anything to say in the regulation of Greece, we can understand why Corinth was singled out for punishment, and why the Romans not only destroyed the city as it stood, but also prohibited any future settlements on a site so pre-eminently favorable for commerce. The Peloponnesian Argos henceforth became the rendezvous for the Roman merchants, who were very numerous even in Greece. For the Roman wholesale traffic, however, Delos was of greater importance.—*Mommsen*, vol. iii., p. 54.

the different states ambassadors[1] who interfered with the government, acted as arbiters in disputes between states, and formented quarrels on all sides. The object was to scatter seeds of discord and encourage internal disputes. These controversies were received with open ears at Rome, and prolonged by negotiation, until Rome found a pretext for interference, and in the end humbled allies and enemies alike. In Greece, particularly, Rome's perfidious policy[2] tormented the different states, until decay and ruin and desolation spread over the land which had once raised itself to the pinnacle of prosperity and happiness by its wonderful achievements in art and literature. It is true that the battle of Pydna had put an end to the detestable policy which left the conquered countries to rule themselves, weakened them by separation, and still sought to entangle them in disputes until a pretext was finally found to crush them. It was this intriguing, insidious policy which Rome pursued with Rhodes, with Pergamus, and particularly with Carthage; this constant encouragement of disputes that finally drove the people to despair and made them prefer any form of slavery rather than be longer exposed to this cruel system.[3]

2. The Condition of Carthage.—After the conclusion of peace in B. C. 201 Carthage began, by a strict neutrality during the wars in Macedonia, Asia and Spain, to recover the carrying-trade of the Mediterranean, which soon restored the old prosperity of the city. This could not fail to awaken the jealousy of Rome. Masinissa* was encouraged in his attack on Carthaginian territory, and being prevented by the terms of the treaty from waging war with any ally of Rome, Carthage was compelled to refer the dispute to Rome. Embassies commenced their work; the land in dispute was assigned to Masinissa. In this way Carthage was annoyed, harassed, and stripped of her territory, her towns and her castles, while by the terms of the

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[1] *Legati.* [2] For Mommsen's view, see l. c. vol. ii., p. 268.

[3] "It would be better," said the Carthaginians, "to live as slaves of the Romans than to possess a liberty exposed to the insolence of Masinissa." Nay, utter ruin was preferable to a condition in which they were dependent upon the grace of so cruel a tormentor. —*Livy* xlii. 23; see *Ihne*, vol. iii., page 319 note, and p. 325. * See p. 158.

peace she was prevented from defending her just claims by war. In B. C. 157 an embassy was sent, of which Marcus Porcius Cato was chief, to arbitrate on some new claim of Masinissa. The Carthaginians appealed to the terms of the treaty, while Masinissa professed his willingness to abide by the decision of Rome, whatever it might be. The deputies were astonished when they beheld the increasing prosperity of the city, the harbor thronged with ships, the country highly cultivated, and on every side signs of prosperity and wealth. From this time the decision was fixed to destroy Carthage and remove the only commercial rival that Rome had in the western world. So firmly fixed was this determination, that Cato is said to have ended each of his many speeches with the words, "Carthage must be destroyed."[1]

3. War with Masinissa.—The opportunity that Rome was seeking for soon occurred. The popular party[2] having obtained the power in Carthage, about forty partisans of Masinissa were banished. When the people refused to receive the exiles, at the request of Masinissa, he marched upon the city, and the Carthaginians, instead of appealing to Rome, took up arms. A battle followed in which the Carthaginians were defeated, and their army, after passing under the yoke, was treacherously cut to pieces (B.C. 150). These events took place while P. Scipio Æmilianus happened to be at the camp of Masinissa to ask for elephants for the Spanish war.

4. Roman Interference.—Carthage had now offered the wished-for pretext, by taking up arms against an ally of Rome. An embassy was sent to Rome to appease the anger of the senate, but it was coldly received. The Carthaginians were ordered to send three hundred hostages within thirty days and to obey the further commands of the consuls. The hostages were sent, but still fearful forebodings filled the minds of the Carthaginians when the Roman fleet landed at Utica. Here the Carthaginians were informed that all their munitions of

[1] *Delenda est Carthago.*

[2] There were three parties in Carthage: the aristocratic party which favored Rome; the democratic or popular party; and a Numidian party which sought to free themselves from their dependency on Rome by an alliance with Numidia

war must be surrendered, as they could no longer have any occasion for arms, since they would henceforth be under the protection of Rome. When this demand was complied with, the consuls, thinking that the state was now defenceless, threw off the mask and announced the final irrevocable decree of the senate: "That Carthage must be destroyed and the inhabitants must settle ten miles from the sea." Then the Carthaginians realized to its full extent the revolting perfidy, the perfidious policy of the Roman state.

5. Siege of Carthage. — When this news reached Carthage the spirit of resistance burst all bounds. One thought, one feeling animated the people, to fight to the death. Their temples were turned into workshops, supplies were collected, and arms were manufactured day and night; the women sacrificed their long hair to make strings for the catapults, the whole town resounded with preparations for war. Hasdrubal, who had been expelled to please the Romans, was recalled and entrusted with the chief command; without allies, without ships, almost without arms, the Carthaginians maintained the unequal struggle for nearly four years. When the consuls, after a short respite, advanced from Utica to Carthage, they found that matters were changed, and that, after an unsuccessful attack, the town could only be taken by the slow process of a siege. For this they were utterly incompetent, and the army is said to have been saved from destruction on one occasion by Scipio Æmilianus,[1] who was serving as military tribune.

6. Capture and Destruction of Carthage.—As no permanent success was gained, the people determined to confer the consulship on Scipio, and give him the command in Africa,[2] although he was only thirty-seven years of age and therefore legally disqualified for the office.[3] In B. C. 147 he landed in Africa, forced his way into Carthage, took it almost house by house, firing it as he advanced, until finally only the citadel

[1] It was in an expedition into the interior that, according to Appian (who borrowed from Polybius), Scipio saved the Roman army. It is not surprising that Polybius seized every opportunity to praise his friend and pupil.

[2] Without the senate's resorting to the usual decision by casting lots.

[3] By the *lex annalis* of B. C. 180; see p. 185, n. 4.

remained. When this surrendered, fifty thousand men, women, and children were carried away as captives, and the town, after being plundered, was consigned to the flames, which raged for seventeen days. As Scipio beheld the desolation of the once flourishing city, he is said to have shed tears, and to have given vent to his sad presentiment in the words of Homer:

> "The day shall surely come when sacred Troy will fall,
> And Priam, and the people of the ash-speared Priam, all!"[1]

When Polybius, who had accompanied him to Africa, asked what he meant by these words, Scipio replied that he was thinking of Rome and foresaw the ruin of his own country.

A splendid triumph awaited Scipio on his return to Rome, and the surname Africanus, already his by adoption, he had now acquired by his own exploits.[2]

7. Africa a Roman Province.—The territory of Carthage was joined to Utica, which became the capital of the new province of Africa.[3] The towns which had sided with Rome became free cities, while those that had adhered to Carthage were punished with loss of land, which was partly added to the public domain,[4] and leased to occupants,[5] and partly restored to the former communities on condition that they should pay a fixed tribute[6] to Rome. The Roman merchants flocked to Utica, and henceforth conducted the inland and foreign trade that had formerly belonged to Carthage from that port. In this way Roman customs and manners, the Latin language and literature, were carried to Africa. The rich Libyan[7] plains even surpassed Sicily in their production of corn. The site of Carthage was plowed, and a curse pronounced against any one who should undertake to rebuild the city.

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[1] Homer's *Iliad*, vi. 448-9.

[2] He was the son of Æmilius Paullus, the hero of Pydna, and had been adopted by Publius Cornelius Scipio, the elder son of the elder Africanus; according to custom he retained the name of his own *gens*, and assumed that of his new father; his full name was Publius Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus Africanus, to which that of Numantinus was afterwards added.

[3] The province of Africa included only the territory that Carthage possessed last, *i. e.*, the territory along the coasts of Zeugitana and Byzacium. See map, p. 217.

[4] *Ager publicus.* [5] *Possessores.* [6] *Stipendium.*

[7] The name of Africa, which the Romans gave to the province, was unknown to the Greeks; they applied the name of *Libya* to the whole continent.

8. The Formation of the Roman Empire.—Rome had now extended her dominion over the chief countries that skirted the shores of the Mediterranean. Before turning to study the manner in which the senate managed these dependencies, let us attempt to determine, if possible, how a great city could have grown up on such a site as that of Rome, and attained such superiority over the other towns in Latium and in Italy, and then over the countries around the Mediterranean. In fertility of soil and healthfulness of climate the situation of Rome was far inferior to that of most of the old Latin towns. Neither is Rome's supremacy sufficiently explained by saying that the people were warlike and fond of conquest, for so was nearly every nation in antiquity; and besides, the Romans and Sabines, that united to form the predominant element of the Roman people, were offshoots of the Sabellian stock to which nearly all the races in Italy belonged. We have already learned that the career of conquest on which the Romans entered with so much energy and perseverance was far from being a contrived plan carried out from generation to generation by men of genius. Rome was singularly barren of great men, and during this whole period of conquest the Roman aristocracy confined its ideas to Italy, and desired nothing but its sovereignty. What then were the causes that raised this city on the Tiber first to the position as ruler over the surrounding country, then over Italy, and finally over the Mediterranean states?

9. The Causes of Rome's Superiority. — The chief causes that contributed to this end were first the site of the city itself. The other Latin towns were built on isolated hills, but Rome was situated on a group of hills which were easily defensible, and at the same time so near to each other that the political isolation of each was impossible, and that some kind of federation[1] was necessary for the maintenance of internal peace. The people were compelled therefore to agree upon some terms of amicable life or to submit to the miseries of

[1] *Synoikismus.*

internecine warfare. Community of interest then compelled the various settlements on the different hills to unite for mutual protection, and the ties that bound these political communities together were riveted by those of the *gentes*, *curiæ*, and *tribes*. The site, too, was admirably adapted to make Rome the emporium of Latium; and the ready access to it up the river, while it was at the same time remote enough to be protected from the pirates that infested the Tyrrhenian sea, invited adventurers wandering over the Mediterranean to make it their home. This accounts in a measure for the rapid growth of the population. Even the sterility of the soil may have encouraged the warlike spirit of the early Romans, and have induced them to undertake their frequent wars for the sake of booty; while the malaria that infested the lower parts of the city, particularly when the valleys between the hills were swamps, may have served as a barrier to ward off attacks when other resources failed. The principle of association then based on calculations of interest lay at the root of the early vigor of Rome, and gave the people the first predominance over the isolated cities of Latium.[1]

10. Secondary Causes.—This principle, however, did not stop here, but city after city and tribe after tribe were invited or compelled to join the leading power, until all of Italy formed one vast confederacy, around which Rome wove a network of colonies and military roads. After the conquest of Italy, the geographical position of Rome, in the centre of the Italian peninsula, by which she was enabled to divide like a wedge the northern from the southern half and thus subdue her enemies separately, greatly facilitated the career of foreign conquest. This position prevented her enemies from combining[2] and attacking the city simultaneously on all sides. Thirdly, the similarity of race which bound the Romans by ties of blood and customs to the Latins, Samnites, and

[1] Ihne, *Early Rome*, p. 7.

[2] The ancient world knew nothing of a balance of power among nations, and therefore every nation which had attained internal unity strove to subdue its neighbors.—*Mommsen*, iii., p. 333.

the other indigenous races in Italy, enabled them to appear as the protectors and champions of Italy, and to unite all the other races under their lead in repelling the invasion of foreign enemies.[1] Finally the admirable political system and military organization, based upon the character of a people like the Romans, with so much inherent energy and perseverance, were important elements that contributed largely to their success. When they had once entered upon a war, no obstacle discouraged them, no power could arrest their progress. Their defeats were but incentives for greater efforts, and, urged on by an uncontrollable instinct, they gained the sovereignty of three continents.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Spanish Wars (B. C. 200–133)—Extension of the Provincial System—The Condition of the Slaves.

1. The Oppression in Spain.—In the year B. C. 205 Spain had been formed into two provinces,[2] although the Roman dominion was established in only a small part of the country. The country was easy of defence and the people brave and fond of war. Although efforts had been made to colonize it,[3] and in this way bring it under the influence of Rome, yet little had been accomplished, and the native tribes were in a continual state of revolt. Marcus Porcius Cato was sent to the country in B. C. 195; he arrayed the different tribes against each other, gained several decisive victories, and on his return to Rome, boasted that he had destroyed more towns

[1] Ihne, *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iii., p. 427.
[2] The two provinces were called Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior, and were divided by the Iberus.
[3] Scipio had settled his soldiers in Spain and founded Italica (B. C. 205).

than he had spent days in Spain (B. C. 194). The senate undertook to control the rapacity of the Spanish governors, and the first of those judicial commissions,[1] which afterwards became so numerous, and which were designed to protect the provincials, was appointed. Spain enjoyed comparative quiet for a few years, and treaties[2] were formed with a number of towns, stipulating that in return for war contributions or auxiliaries, Rome guaranteed them protection. Still there was but little

real gain; the Roman dominion was recognized only on the eastern border, the tribes in the interior and to the north were but little known, and had never come under the Roman yoke. The military service in Spain, which offered but little plunder and no easy, bloodless victories, was becoming daily more distasteful to the Roman soldier.

2. War with the Celtiberians.—In the year B. C. 154

[1] *Quæstiones repetundarum.*

[2] By T. Sempronius Gracchus.

it happened that the people of Segeda were occupied in enlarging their town, when the order came from Rome bidding them to desist, and to furnish tribute and auxiliaries. The order they refused to obey, because according to the treaty they were only forbidden to build a new town, and not to enlarge one already existing, and because they had hitherto neither paid tribute nor supplied soldiers. War broke out, and the consul, Fulvius Nobilior, was defeated with great loss. The people of Segeda took refuge in Numantia and defeated the Romans again under the walls of that city. In the same year (B. C. 153), the Lusitanians revolted and defeated a Roman army. The next year the consul M. Claudius Marcellus concluded a treaty with the Arevacians and other tribes, on condition that they should pay tribute and give hostages. When Lucullus, the next consul, arrived in Spain the following year, finding the war had been ended and his hopes of bringing home honor and especially plunder frustrated, he turned his arms against the tribes[1] at peace with Rome.

3. War in Lusitania.—Meanwhile Sulpicius Galba was vying in Lusitania with Lucullus in treachery and deceit. When the Lusitanians sent ambassadors to him to ask for peace, he received them kindly, lamented the condition of their country, and promised to settle their people on fertile lands. After having collected them to the number of many thousands and disarmed them, they were surrounded by his own troops and murdered (B. C. 150). This outrage was too much even for the Roman people, accustomed as they were to so many acts of cruelty and treachery. Cato preferred charges against Galba, but his wealth and great gifts as an orator (he was one of the most famous orators of his time) procured his acquittal in the assembly of tribes.

4. Viriathus.—Among the few who escaped the massacre was Viriathus, who, as the avenger of his people, carried on the fiery war[2] in Spain against the vast power of Rome for

[1] He attacked the Vaccæans, gained possession of Cauca by treachery, slew the inhabitants, and plundered the town.

[2] Polybius, xxxv. 1.

more than ten years. Army after army was defeated, year after year the incompetent Roman commanders fell into the same traps. Even Q. Fabius Maximus[1] was unable to break the power of the Lusitanians and defeat the wily Viriathus. In the year B. C. 141 Viriathus formed a treaty with Rome which recognized him as the friend of the Roman nation, but the consul for the next year, in open violation of the treaty, renewed the war. Viriathus was defeated and compelled to sue for peace. When the Lusitanians were ordered to give up their arms, Viriathus, convinced that the treachery of Galba was to be repeated, was meditating a last desperate resistance, when he was murdered by his own envoys (B. C. 139), who had been bribed by the Roman consul Servilius Cæpio to do the deed. So low had Roman honor and valor descended that the proconsul did not hesitate to employ the hand of the assassin to rid himself of an enemy whom he could not defeat in the field.

5. The Numantine war (B. C. 143–133).—In the meanwhile the Celtiberians had revolted and renewed the war, which centred round Numantia, and which defied the Roman arms for ten years. During the first two years the war was conducted by Metellus Macedonicus[2] with considerable degree of success, but his successors experienced repeated defeats and disasters. Finally Gajus Hostilius Mancinus was brought to such straits by his own incapacity and the cowardice of his soldiers, that he was compelled to sign a treaty in which he acknowledged the independence of the enemy. The senate repudiated the treaty, and the commander was surrendered by the Roman *fetialis*. Naked and with chained hands he stood bound before the town, but the Numantines, like Pontius, refused to accept the sacrifice, and Mancinus returned to the camp and then to Rome. The war continued in the same disastrous manner until B. C. 134, when Scipio Africanus[3] took the command. Three men, Gajus Marius, who was afterwards

[1] This was the eldest son of Æmilius Paulus, who had been adopted into the Fabian *gens*; his full name was Quintus Fabius Maximus Æmilianus.

[2] See page 124.

[3] Scipio was re-elected consul, notwithstanding the law passed in B. C. 151 prohibiting the re-election of a consul; see Mommsen, *Röm. Staatr.* i., p. 425.

SIEGE OF NUMANTIA.

seven times consul, Jugurtha, the grandson of Masinissa, and Tiberius Gracchus, who was destined to play an important part in Roman history, served under Scipio. Scipio's first efforts were devoted to the restoration of the discipline of the army. He drove the vast rabble of camp-followers, traders and traffickers who supplied the soldiers with articles of luxury, from the camp. He reduced the amount of baggage to what was actually necessary for the wants of each soldier, and by constant drill and exercise succeeded in bringing his soldiers back to a suitable condition for war.

6. Siege of Numantia.—Scipio now advanced to the siege of Numantia. The inhabitants defended themselves with wonderful heroism and courage, and it was not until they had suffered the most dreadful extremities of famine, eating even the bodies of the dead, that they surrendered. Fifty of the principal citizens were selected to adorn Scipio's triumph, the rest were sold as slaves and the town was razed to the ground. Scipio now assumed the surname of Numantinus in addition to his title of Africanus. All serious resistance in Spain was at an end; and the country, by the great influx of Roman traders, speculators, merchants, and settlers, became rapidly Romanized. Great towns sprang up as centres for the vast inland commerce in corn, wool, wine, and mineral products, and Latin soon became the official language of both the Spanish provinces.

7. The Province of Asia (B.C. 129)—The same year in which Spain was subdued the first province beyond the Hellespont was acquired. Attalus III., the sixth king of Pergamus, died in B. C. 133, leaving no children. He bequeathed his kingdom and treasures to the Roman people. Aristonicus, a natural son of Eumenes the father of Attalus, laid claim to the throne, but he was soon defeated and taken prisoner. The country was formed into a Roman province under the name of Asia.

8. The Increase in Slavery.—The slave population, during the wars in the East, had increased enormously. On the large estates the labor was almost entirely performed by gangs of slaves; the immense herds of cattle on the pasture-lands were tended by slaves who were made responsible for their flocks

and were left to find subsistence as they could. Almost all had once been freemen, and no marked difference of color or race or civilization placed the master above the slave. The Roman nobles, as occupiers of the public lands, found it profitable to cultivate them by slave-labor. The free population in Italy, particularly the possessors of small farms, had so decreased that large tracts were parcelled into sheep-walks.

9. The Servile War (B. C. 134–132).—The condition in Sicily was even worse.[1] There a wealthy land-owner, named Damophilus, maltreated his slaves to such a degree that they resolved to have revenge. They found a leader in Eunus, a pretended Syrian prophet. They attacked Enna and plundered the town. The insurrection spread far and wide; four Roman armies were defeated, and the rebels so increased that they numbered two hundred thousand. For three successive years (B. C. 134–132) Roman consuls were sent to the island, but nothing was accomplished towards subduing the insurgents until B. C. 132, when Publius Rupilius brought the war to a close by the capture of their strongholds, Tauromenium (*Taormina*) and Enna, and as pro-consul, with the aid of ten com-

[1] When the slaves landed in Sicily they were kept by the dealers in slave-pens waiting for purchasers. The wealthy capitalists would buy whole batches at once, brand or mark the slaves like cattle, and send them off to the country to work. The young and robust were employed as shepherds, the others in agricultural and other labor. Some worked in fetters, to prevent them from running away. All of them had hard service, and their masters supplied them scantily with food and clothing. They cared little about their slaves. They worked them while they were able to work, and the losses by death were replaced by fresh purchases. This want of humanity and prudence in the masters soon produced intolerable mischief. The slaves who were employed in looking after sheep and cattle of necessity had more freedom than those who were cultivating the ground. Their masters saw little of them, and left them unprovided with food, supposing that they would be able to look after themselves and cost nothing. They soon found ways of helping themselves. They began by robbing and murdering, even in frequented places, travellers who were alone or only in small companies. It became unsafe for travellers to move about by night, nor could people any longer safely live on their lands in the country. The shepherds got possession of huts which the occupants abandoned, and of arms of various kinds also, and thus they became bolder and more confident. They went about with clubs and spears and the staves which were used by herdsmen, dressed in wolf-skins or hog-skins, and already began to make a formidable appearance. They had a great number of fierce dogs with them, and an abundance of food from the milk and flesh of their beasts. The island was filled with roaming bands of plunderers. Slaves were bought cheap, and could be made profitable by working them hard; and thus the greediness of gain, the total want of any human feeling in the masters, the neglect of proper discipline among the slaves, and the careless feeling of security produced by many years of prosperity, brought things gradually to such a state that repression of the disorder was beyond the power of the masters or governors; for the masters could not reduce such sturdy fellows to obedience on estates far removed from towns, and a Roman governor of Sicily had no army at his command.—*Long's Decline of the Rom. Rep.*, vol. i., p. 114 f.

missioners, settled the affairs of the island.[1] On his return to Rome he celebrated a sort of lesser triumph, called ovation.[2]

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE INTERNAL GOVERNMENT.—FARMING THE REVENUE.—THE ITALIAN ALLIES.—THE NEW NOBILITY.—THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.—HELLENIC INFLUENCES.—ORIENTAL SUPERSTITIONS.—SLAVERY.

1. The Provincial System.—During the preceding century the chief countries that skirted the borders of the Mediterranean had become provinces of Rome: (1) Sicily[3] was acquired in B. C. 241; (2) Sardinia and Corsica, B. C. 238; (3) Hispania Citerior and (4) Ulterior,[4] B. C. 206;[5] (5) Macedonia,[6]

[1] By the *lex Rupilia*; see map No. 1.

[2] In order to enjoy a triumph the *imperium* must have been conferred upon the commander in the regular way (hence Publius Scipio, after the conquest of New Carthage in Spain, was not allowed to triumph because he had commanded *sine ullo magistratu*.—*Liv.* xxviii. 38); the war ended, the dominion of the state extended (Liv. xxxix. 29), at least 5,000 of the enemy slain in battle, the war must have been a legitimate one, waged under the auspices, in the province, and with the troops of the commander seeking the triumph; for a magistrate as a pro-consul to triumph after the expiration of his term of office, a *plebiscitum* was necessary to allow him to enter the city, while for the consul whose *imperium* included the city it was only necessary to confer the full *imperium* (*regium imperium*). To settle these preliminaries, and to fix the day for the triumphal procession, belonged to the senate. The procession, headed by the senate and followed by the victorious troops with trains of wagons loaded with spoils from the captured cities, entered the *porta triumphalis* and advanced along the *via sacra* to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The triumpher sat upon a golden chariot drawn by four white horses, clad in the gorgeous triumphal robe embroidered with gold (*toga picta*) and the flowered tunic (*tunica palmata*) crowned with a wreath of myrtle, and holding a sceptre (*scipio eburneus*) in his right hand. He was accompanied in his chariot by his children, while his clients and relatives, clothed in white togas, surrounded it; behind him stood a slave holding over his head a golden crown, and whispering in his ear, *respice post te, hominem memento te*. The soldiers were in the rear, their spears adorned with laurel; some sang hymns to the gods, some shouted *Io triumphe*, while others sang songs in praise of their leader, or indulged in sallies of satire, or coarse ribaldry, for the soldiers were released from military discipline and full license of speech was granted on this day.

In the ovation the imperator entered the city on foot, or in later times on horseback, clad in the purple-bordered robe (*toga purpurea*), his head being crowned with laurel. Instead of a bull he sacrificed a sheep (*ovis*), hence the name *ovatio* (Serv. ad Verg. A. 4,550).

[3] That is, the western part of the island; the whole island was acquired after the capture of Syracuse in B. C. 210.

[4] The first enlarged by Celtiberia; the second by Lusitania, in B. C. 179; according to Marquardt (*Staatsver.* p. 99) Spain was organized in B. C. 197.

[5] According to Appian, *Hisp.* 38.

[6] Achaja became practically a province at the same time, although not formally organized until the time of Augustus.

B. C. 146 ; Illyricum,[1] about B. C. 167 ; Africa, B. C. 146 ; Asia, B. C. 133. Each province was governed generally by a prætor,[2] the number of whom was increased in B. C. 227 to four and in B.C. 197 to six. These provincial governors received no salary, but they were entitled to exact certain contributions from the provincials for the support of themselves and suite.[3] They possessed the supreme military and civil authority, and no matter how serious the complaints were against their management, they were irremovable during their term of office. At its expiration, it is true, they could be brought to trial either before the people or before the senatorial judges,[4] but there was little prospect of conviction in a suit brought by a poor man or by a foreigner against a powerful member of the ruling aristocracy, especially since it was tried before jurymen far removed from the scene, and if not involved in like guilt, at least belonging to the same order as the accused.[5]

2. Roman Governors.—After B. C. 149 it became the general practice for the prætors [6] to spend their first year of office in Rome, and the second year as pro-prætors to undertake the management of a province.[7] For many years these governors ruled the provincials with honesty and protected them from the oppression of the revenue-farmers.[8] But gradually they relaxed

[1] Livy (xlv. 26, 11) designates Illyricum as a province ; see 338, n. 1.

[2] A consul was sent only in case of a dangerous war.

[3] *Cohors ;* consisting of quæstors, secretaries, notaries, lictors, augurs, and public criers.

[4] A criminal prosecution was made before the people, a civil suit before a jury selected from the senators.

[5] The provinces found some protection from the rapacity of Roman officials by becoming clients of distinguished men who brought the plundering officials to trial on their return to Rome.

[6] According to Mommsen this arrangement, by which the governor spent the first year at Rome and the second in the province, became the established practice from the time of Sulla ; see p. 257.

[7] The population in the provinces consisted of two classes : those to which a certain degree of independence was granted, and those completely subject to the civil and judicial administration of the governor. In the first class were the (1) free cities (*civitates liberæ*) ; (2) the cities that were free and exempt from taxes (*civitates liberæ et immunes*) ; and (3) the allied cities (*civitates fœderatæ*) ; the second class paid not only tribute, but a land tax.

[8] *Publicani :* those were the persons who farmed the public revenues (*publica vectigalia*), *i.e* direct (*decumæ ; tributum, scriptura, metalla, salinæ*) and indirect (*portoria*), taxes ; about the time of the second Punic war the *publicani* (principally from the equestrian order) formed themselves into corporations which enabled them to carry on the business on a large scale. The land in the provinces was partly given to Roman settlers (*agri privati*), or to the free communities (*civitates fœderatæ* and *civitates liberæ et immunes*), or, as was generally the case, became public domain (*ager publicus*), and was (1) partly sold by the quæstor (as *ager privatus vectigalisque*), but still remaining so far the property of the state that it payed a nominal tax (*vectigal*), or, as was the case with most

in their honesty, and it became a rare case for a governor to return from his province with clean hands. The governor had the right to free quarters and free conveyance when travelling on the business of the state, and to obtain, at a fair price, supplies for himself and retinue, and in case of war for the army. As the senate exercised no strict control over the provincial magistrates, these privileges opened the way to so many abuses that in time the condition of the provincials, under such governors as Verres, became intolerable.[1] The man who had ruled a province in a manner substantially independent of the senate, found it hard on his return home to descend to the common level. In this way the equality within the aristocracy was broken down, the oversight by the senate of the provincial magistrates, always lax, began to give way, and hence the aversion of the government to the acquisition of new provinces, as in the case of Macedonia after the battle of Pydna. Further, the immense wealth of the governing families was used to influence the votes of the proletarians in the capital, either directly or by expending vast sums on the public games or gladiatorial shows. This rendered it more and more difficult for a man who was not wealthy to rise to office.

3. Titles and Insignia.—We have already noticed that the desire for titles and insignia was so great, and that every insignificant combat was so magnified by false bulletins, that the senate had to enact a law that a triumph could be granted only when a pitched battle had taken place in which five thousand of the enemy fell. At first the thanks of the senate satisfied the successful commander, but soon he demanded some permanent distinction. Statues and monuments had become so

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of the land, (2) was restored to the old owners, subject to taxation, or (3) was retained by the state and was leased by the censors (*ager Romanus populi, quia censoribus locari solet*). The provinces paid either tenths (*decumæ*), as in Sicily, or a fixed sum (*stipendium*) as in the other provinces. The collection of the tenths was farmed out, or leased, to the *publicani*, who paid a fixed sum into the public treasury and collected what they could; they abused their power and oppressed the defenceless provincials to such a degree that even Livy (xlv. 18) says *ubi publicanus est, ibi aut jus publicum vanum, aut libertas sociis nulla—wherever a tax-collector was employed, either the rights of the people were disregarded or the freedom of the allies destroyed.*

[1] When complaints of such extortion (in year B. C. 173) began to be made, they came before the senate; in B. C. 149 the *lex Calpurnia de repetundis* was enacted by which a prætor was appointed to try such complaints; the penalty was pecuniary, but it was continually made heavier by the various laws passed after the *lex Calpurnia*.

common that they were no longer considered an honor, and the custom mainly established by Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal, of acquiring a permanent surname for himself and his descendants from the victories he had won, came into general practice.

4. The Italian Allies.—In consequence of the long wars, the position of the Latins, and particularly of the allies in Italy, had undergone a change greatly to their disadvantage. The burdens imposed upon them had been unjustly increased, and the military service—particularly garrison duty and the odious service in Spain—was transferred more and more to the Italian allies. After the subjugation of Italy, the admission of individuals as well as communities to the Roman franchise was almost completely stopped, and the Italian allies, although by their blood and toil the Roman dominion had been extended over the states of the Mediterranean, remained substantially in the same condition as the provincials. Just as the ruling class at Rome separated itself from the people, so the Roman citizens in their turn asserted their superiority over the Latins, and excluded them more and more from their rights—such as an equal assignment of land, the right of free migration, and of free settlement in Rome, unless the emigrants left children behind them in their native city—while transferring to them an increased share in the common burdens.

5. Roman Citizenship.—This injustice was the more keenly felt by them, from the fact that the rights of a Roman citizen had been enlarged, and more clearly defined by laws that threatened the severest punishment to a magistrate who put to death or scourged a Roman citizen.[1] To this was added the right to one on trial for life before the *comitia centuriata* of going into voluntary exile, before the decision of the assembly was announced. The great increase of the revenue[2]

[1] These were the three celebrated Porcian laws (Cic. de Rep. ii. 31, 54) carried probably by (1) M. Porcius Cato (prætor B. C. 198), which threatened *aquæ et ignis interdictio* to a magistrate who ordered a Roman citizen to be scourged and put to death within the *pomerium*. (2) M. Porcius Læca (tribune B. C. 195) extended this privilege to Roman citizens living in any part of Italy or the provinces; and (3) L. Porcius Licinus (consul B. C. 185), to the Roman citizens serving in the army, so far as was consistent with military discipline.—*Lange, Röm. Alterth.* vol. ii., pp. 179, 218, 479.

[2] Of the vast revenue of the Roman state, (the spoils in the war with Perseus amounting to £2,100,000), ¼ in time of peace, ⅛ in time of war was expended in roads, bridges, aqueducts, and public buildings. The great system of sewers was constructed about B. C. 180;

from the transmarine provinces had rendered it unnecessary to impose the tribute on Roman citizens since the battle of Pydna. These privileges rendered citizenship from year to year more desirable, and made the allies feel that they were subjects of Rome. When they saw the chasm growing greater, and that it was spanned by no bridge, a profound dissatisfaction prevailed throughout the whole Italian confederacy.

6. Formation of New Parties.—In Rome itself the condition of things was not much better. The old opposition between the plebeians and the patricians had been removed by the Hortensian and Mænian laws,[1] only to be renewed under another form. The common people rose in revolt against the new nobility, composed of the members of those families that had held a curule magistracy,[2] and were members of the senate, and thus virtually renewed the old contest. The increasing power of wealth to influence elections, the initiative of the senate in legislation, the exclusion of all "new men"[3] from the higher magistracies, threw the government[4] more and more into the

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In B.C. 171 the streets of Rome were paved; in B.C. 160 the Pomptine marshes were drained, and the magnificent aqueducts, which even in their ruins are the admiration of modern times, were begun by the prætor Q. Marcius (B. C. 144). In B. C. 159 the first clepsydra was set up by Scipio Nasica. The Romans for nearly 500 years possessed no clocks. At first they guessed at the time from the position of the sun, not even dividing the day into hours. Afterwards twenty-four hours were reckoned from midnight to midnight, but the day, from the rising to the setting sun, was divided into twelve hours. After sundials (*solarium*) (about B. C. 294) were introduced, the day was divided into twelve equal parts, and the night into twelve hours. Hence the hours of night and day were of variable length, and only equal at the equinoxes. In order to compare the Roman hours with ours we must always know the natural length of the day at Rome. For a full comparison see *Ideler's Lehrbuch d. Chronologie*. It is well to remember that on the sundials (*solarium*) the hours were divided by means of eleven lines. If the shadow of the finger (*gnomon*) fell upon the first line, the first hour was already passed. Hence *prima hora* denotes the beginning of the second hour. On dull days there was no means of determining the time until the clepsydræ were known. They were similar to our sand-glasses, the water being allowed to escape gradually like the sand. In order to know the time without any trouble, slaves were kept at the *solarium* and clepsydra to report when each hour expired.

[1] See pp. 84 and 85, note 3.

[2] The curule magistrates had the right of sitting on the *sella curulis*, or chair of state. This right belonged, in the time of the republic, to the consuls, prætors, curule ædiles, censors, flamen Dialis, dictator, and his master of horse (*magister equitum*).

[3] It will be recollected that the nobility had no legal privileges as a class (see p. 85), but the nobles were bound together by common interest, particularly in confining the election to all the higher magistracies to the members of their own order. The especial distinction of the nobles was the *jus imaginum* (the right of showing the images of their ancestors). When a plebeian attained to a curule office, and was thus the founder of his family's nobility, he could have no *imagines* of his ancestors nor of his own, for the *imagines* of a man were not made until he was dead. Such a person, then, was not *nobilis* in the full sense of the word nor yet was he *ignobilis*. He was called *novus homo*, or a "new man."

[4] A law was carried in B. C. 342 (see p. 82) to prevent re-election to the same office until after ten years, and in B. C. 180 (by the *lex annalis*) the order in which the magistracies must be sought was defined, and the age before which they could not be held was fixed: the

hands of a few great houses.[1] In this way the old republican aristocracy was transformed into a family oligarchy.

7. Separation of the Orders.—Upon those whose ancestors had attained to any of the curule magistracies there were bestowed certain privileges—the most ancient of which was the permission to place the wax images of such ancestors[2] in the family hall—and external insignia, of which the stripe of purple[3] on the tunic, the golden finger ring,[4] the silver mounted housings[5] of the youths, and the golden amulet case[6] of the boys were the most important. These served to distinguish the noble families, and combined with the innovation introduced by Scipio (B. C. 194), of assigning the front seats of the theatre[7] to the senatorial order, and the fact that the senators who had been consuls, prætors, or curule ædiles were honored with certain special privileges,[8] drew a sharp line between the ruling class and the people.

8. The Aim of the Nobility.—During this period the nobility sought to gain sole and exclusive control of the government by means of the senate and equites.[9] Formerly the censor had placed the names of worthy men on the list of senators who had not held a curule office, and sometimes expelled unworthy members from that body although they did belong to the nobility. Now the aim of the governing aristocracy was to grant to the senate the power of filling up its own ranks by legally entitling every one who had held a curule magistracy to a seat in that body, and by making it the duty of the censor,[10] on erasing from its list any name, to give the reasons in writing. As the nobility succeeded in confining the higher offices to their own clique, the senate gained control over both modes of admission to its ranks—election to a curule office and nomination by the censor. The government man-

earliest age for the quæstorship was 27; for the ædileship, 37; for the prætorship, 40; for the consulship, 43.

[1] According to Mommsen (Röm. Forsch. p. 71, ff.) some fifteen or sixteen houses controlled the government to the end of the republic. [2] *Jus imaginum.*

[3] *Latus clavus.* [4] *Annulus aureus.* [5] *Phaleræ.* [6] *Bulla aurea.*

[7] In the orchestra. [8] See p. 88, n. 2. [9] See p. 23 and p. 210, note 6.

[10] One censor had the right to veto his colleague's decision, and his successor could entirely cancel it. Further, the list was not liable to revision at any time, as formerly, but only once in five years.

aged in the same way with the equites. Senators,[1] although past the age when they could serve in the cavalry, and young men of the nobility were allowed to vote in the equestrian centuries, and thus to exert undue influence in the *comitia*. And further, in order to bring the public assemblies more and more under the control of the ruling aristocracy, large numbers of freedmen, the political retainers[2] of the noble houses, were admitted to the franchise either by legal enactment[3] or by the carelessness and collusion of the censor. The lower classes of voters, the city rabble, were also systematically corrupted by largesses of corn and by the public games which the rich celebrated with great expense and splendor in order to curry favor with the voters. These assemblies were also brought more and more under the influence of the governing aristocracy as the body of citizens increased, because the elements which composed them grew more numerous and varied and widely separated, and therefore more easily managed by the presiding officer. The magistrate alone had the right of addressing the assemblies; and the people stood and assented to his proposals. The voters were too widely scattered to be instructed beforehand and to agree upon any unity of action. Therefore it is not to be wondered at that it had long been the custom for the more important affairs of state, the entire foreign policy, to be settled in the senate.

9. The Condition of the People.—Originally the Romans had been a hardy and industrious race and had lived on their small farms and cultivated them with their own hands. During the war with Hannibal the devastation of Italy had been so great that the small farms had almost entirely disappeared. The armies destined for foreign service were composed chiefly of veterans, many of whom served for fourteen years. They became estranged from civil life, adopted the habits of soldiers, and relied chiefly on plunder. The condition of Italy, particularly after the Hannibalic war, was favorable for indulging such propensities. A great number of the

[1] p. 23 and p. 210, n. 6. [2] *Clientēs*. [3] As in B. C. 249.

Italians had joined Hannibal, their towns were given up to plunder, and large tracts of land were confiscated. The soldiers could seldom make use of the spoils that fell into their hands, and therefore had recourse to the retinue of traders that followed in the wake of the armies, converted their plunder into ready money, which was soon squandered, and returned home to swell the impoverished crowd that was daily increasing in the capital. The result was that during the long wars the rich grew richer, and the poor poorer; productive labor declined when a vast amount of wealth poured into Rome from the conquered states. The proletarians increased to an alarming extent, and by the largesses of corn and the enormous sums spent in public festivals[1] fell more and more under the power of the few reigning families.

10. The Agrarian Law of Flaminius.—All over Italy large tracts of land were deserted, thousands of people were impoverished, and what was worse, disinclined to earn an honest living by toil in the field or in the workshop. There were some who saw the evils that threatened the state and sought to avert them by wise measures of reform, but they were thwarted by the calculating avarice and selfishness of the nobility, and the state continued on the downward road and approached nearer and nearer the fatal catastrophe. G. Flaminius saw clearly the danger that threatened the state, and strove against the entire opposition of the Roman aristocracy to remove it. The people however sided with him, and he was able to carry his measures for reform in the plebeian assembly of tribes in direct opposition to the senate.[2] The law passed during his tribunate (B. C. 232), assigning the territory of the Senonian Gauls to Roman settlers, has been mentioned.[3] He was elected consul in B. C. 222, and conducted the war against the Insubrians. When the tribune G. Claudius proposed the law to prevent the nobility from

[1] The public festivals were religious ceremonies instituted to pacify the gods. To the great Roman games instituted in the regal period were added the plebeian games in B. C. 509, the Apollinarian in B. C. 512, and the Megalisian in B. C. 204.

[2] So important was this that Polybius (ii. 21), a stanch defender of the aristocracy, dates the decline of the Roman state from this time.

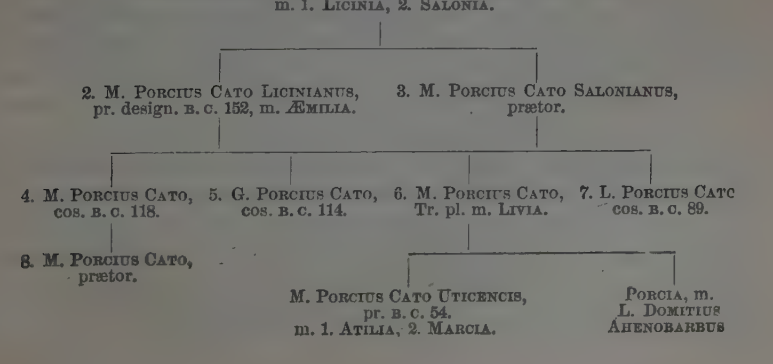
[3] See page 129.

speculating in government contracts by forbidding senators and their sons to engage in foreign trade or to own any vessel beyond a certain size, Flaminius was the only man in the senate who was outspoken in favor of the measure.[1] The disastrous defeat which Varro, the popular leader, suffered in the Hannibalic war, threw the entire control of the government again into the hands of the senate.

11. Cato's Efforts for Reform.—There were also other men who saw with regret the decline of the old national vigor and the spread of corruption, and strove to resist it. Such was Marcus Porcius Cato,[2] who was born at Tusculum in B. C. 234. He was brought up on his father's Sabine farm, where his attachment to the hardy habits of his ancestors was encouraged by his neighbor Curius Dentatus, the conqueror of Pyrrhus.

[1] The reform in the order of voting, effected soon after the first Punic war, was due to the opposition, and was a change in favor of the people. Hitherto the *equites* and the first class had constituted a majority of the 193 centuries; as it was now arranged each of the thirty-five tribes was divided into five classes, each class was subdivided into two centuries, thus giving 350 centuries, which with the eighteen centuries of equites and the five centuries of smiths, carpenters, &c., made the sum of 373. The right of priority in voting was withdrawn from the *equites*, and transferred to a division chosen from the first class by lot. About this time began the agitation in regard to the manner of voting for elections of magistrates and in public trials. Hitherto each citizen declared the candidate for whom he voted: now the opposition demanded the ballot (*tabella*), hence the laws were called *leges tabellariæ*; the first law (*lex Gabinia*) for the election of magistrates by ballot was not carried until B. C. 139, and in B. C. 137 the voting by ballot was extended to state trials; in a trial, *C* (*condemno*) for guilty, *A* (*absolvo*) for not guilty, and *N. L.* (*non liquet*, *i. e.*, it is not clear) for a neutral verdict, were inscribed upon the ticket. In an election, the name of the candidate; for the enactment of a law, *U. R.* (*uti roges*) for the affirmative, and *A.* (*antiquo*) for the negative.

[2] GENEALOGICAL TABLE.


1. M. Porcius Cato Censorius, cos. B. C. 195, cens. B.C. 184.
m. 1. Licinia, 2. Salonia.
2. M. Porcius Cato Licinianus, pr. design. B. C. 152, m. Æmilia.
3. M. Porcius Cato Salonianus, prætor.
4. M. Porcius Cato, cos. B. C. 118.
5. G. Porcius Cato, cos. B. C. 114.
6. M. Porcius Cato, Tr. pl. m. Livia.
7. L. Porcius Cato cos. B. C. 89.
8. M. Porcius Cato, prætor.
M. Porcius Cato Uticencis, pr. B. C. 54. m. 1. Atilia, 2. Marcia.
Porcia, m. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus

Cato entered public life under the patronage of Valerius Flaccus, a lover of the olden times in which the farmer was called from his plow to lead the armies of the commonwealth. He was seventeen when he served his first campaign. He fought with honor through the whole Hannibalic war. He rose from one office to another until in B.C. 195 he became consul, crossed the line, and entered that well-fenced circle from which the efforts of the aristocracy were to exclude all "new men." He distinguished himself by opposing all corruption. He resisted the repeal of the Oppian law, which forbade a woman to possess more than one ounce of gold, or to wear a garment of diverse colors, or to ride in the city in a carriage. Cato was the same in the forum as on the battle-field. He battled manfully against the prevailing corruption. His prompt and ready wit, his knowledge of Roman law and Roman affairs, made him a dreaded opponent, as he laid before his colleagues the list of their shortcomings.

12. Prosecution of the two Scipios.—After the battle of Zama, Cato took an active part in the measures which led to the accusation of Scipio. When the tribune, at his instigation, preferred a charge against Lucius Scipio of being bribed by Antiochus, and Lucius was about to produce his accounts, his brother Africanus snatched them from his hand and tore them up, saying that it was unworthy for a man to be called to account for a few thousands, who had paid millions into the treasury. This haughty conduct contributed to the conviction of Lucius, and he was sentenced to pay a heavy fine. As he was being led away to prison, Africanus attempted to liberate him, and a violent conflict was averted only by the interference of the tribune Tiberius Gracchus. In B. C. 185 the tribune brought charges against Africanus himself; but the trial happened to come on the anniversary of the battle of Zama, and Scipio invited the people to follow him to the capitol and to give thanks for the victory. After this he retired from Rome to his country-seat at Liternum, where, after two years, he died and had this inscription placed on his tomb: "Ungrateful country! you do not even possess my bones."

13. Censorship of Cato.—Cato himself did not escape; he was accused forty-four times, but the people always stood by him. In B.C. 184 he was elected censor with Lucius Flaccus, and devoted himself with honesty and impartiality to the duties of his office. He restrained the farmers of the revenue, levied a heavy tax on articles of luxury,[1] forbade the celebration of the festival to Bacchus, and was chiefly influential in expelling the three Greek philosophers from Rome who had come to procure an abatement in the sum which the Athenians had been ordered to pay the Oropians.[2] In his old age Cato began to waver in his opposition to every thing foreign. He even applied himself to the study of Greek literature, and the love of gain caused him to invest his money in commercial speculations.[3] Cato was honest but thoroughly narrow-minded; he restricted his ideas to Italy and was averse to the career of conquest which brought the states of the Mediterranean under the dominion of Rome. His measures, however, produced but little lasting effect, and the increase of wealth and the decay of the old republican virtues continued.[4]

14. The Character of the Roman Government.—Notwithstanding the evidences of disorder and decline that were visible in the government at home, in the administration of the provinces, and in the army, we must remember that the downward step was gradual; that it took many ages of corrup-

[1] The opposition carried the *lex Orchia* (B. C. 182), which limited the number of guests at banquets, the *lex Fannia* (B. C. 162), the expense, and the *lex Didia* (B. C. 144), which made these restrictions applicable to the allies. Cato himself never allowed more than thirty *asses* (50 c.) for any meal; no dress cost him more than 100 *denarii* ($21.50); no slave more than 1500 *denarii* ($325); he had no carpets in his house, often no wine on his table, and he partook ordinarily of the same fare with his servants. It was at this time that the booths (*tabernæ veteres et novæ*) and markets were removed from the forum, and the *Basilica Porcia* erected near the *Curia Hostilia*.

[2] See p. 166, n. 2.

[3] Cato never speculated in state leases nor practised usury.

[4] To the later generations who survived the storms of the revolution, the period after the Hannibalic war appeared the golden age of Rome, and Cato seemed the model of the Roman statesman. It was in reality the calm before the storm and an epoch of political mediocrities, an age like that of the government of Walpole in England; and no Chatham was found in Rome to infuse fresh energy into the stagnant life of the nation. Wherever we cast our eyes, chinks and rents are yawning in the old building; we see workmen busy sometimes in filling them up, sometimes in enlarging them, but we nowhere perceive any trace of preparations for thoroughly rebuilding or renewing it, and the question is no longer whether, but simply when, the structure will fall. During no epoch did the Roman constitution remain formally as stable as in the period from the Sicilian to the third Macedonian war, and for a generation beyond it; but the stability of the constitution was here, as everywhere, not a sign of the health of the state, but a token of incipient sickness and the harbinger of revolution.—*Mommsen*, vol. ii., p. 384.

tion and mismanagement to break down the system of government based upon the character of a people with so much inherent energy as the Roman nation possessed. It was the hardy habits, the civic virtues, the willing submission to the power of the government, the sacrifice of the individual will to the national, that made the Romans a nation of warriors and then the rulers of the world. These qualities laid the elements of their political constitution, which at home remained for ages unchanged, and when carried to the provincials was felt by the subjects to be a blessing; for it introduced a "government of laws, and not of men,"[1] and the subjects clung to that constitution until abuses began to undermine its very foundations and converted it into an intolerable tyranny.[2]

15. Hellenic Influences.—If we turn to study the inner life of the nation, we shall find the old Roman frugality and integrity disappearing, and signs of Hellenic and Oriental influences visible on every hand. We have already learned that Rome, even in the regal period, was subject to the influence of Greece, and that the Greek language and literature and particularly the laws of the Greek states had been studied by the leading statesmen at Rome. We have already seen to what moral and social degradation Greece had been reduced when the people came most intimately in contact with Rome. The luxury and levity of manners, the vice and infidelity that came from Greece, did much to subvert the old Roman frugality and piety. Cato opposed with energy and honesty the inroads that Greek indolence and Greek immorality were making on the Roman character, but in vain. Greek literature and Greek ideas grew more and more attractive, and it became the fashion to laugh at Cato for his old-fashioned notions. There was, however, much truth in his denunciations. The literature of Greece had in some measure kept pace with the degeneracy of the country. Plato and Aristotle had been succeeded by Chrysippus and Carneades; Euripides and Menander had taken the place of Æschylus and Aristophanes.[3]

[1] Livy ii. 1, 1: *imperia legum potentiora quam hominum.*
[2] See Ihne, vol. iii., p. 423. [3] Max Müller, *Lect. on Science of Lang.*, vol. i., p. 113

16. Philosophy and Religion.—It was particularly in the religious life that the influences from Greece were most deleterious. It was openly avowed by the enlightened classes that philosophy must take the place of religion, and that a belief in miracles and oracles was necessary to keep the masses in order. There were three schools of philosophy: the Stoic, the Epicurean, and the New Academy. The last two were always considered dangerous, but with the Stoic philosophy and the native religion a kind of compromise was effected. The Stoics professed to believe the popular faith, but with them Jupiter was the soul of the universe, and the statues of the gods were mere works of art, not representations of divinity.[1] Many Greek philosophers[2] lived in the house of the Scipios, which was the rendezvous of the select literary circle in Rome. Here the problems of Greek philosophy were discussed, and the standard of good taste for classical Latin was established. The influences that emanated from this "Scipionic circle" reacted powerfully and beneficially on the national literature.

17. Oriental Superstitions.—The conquest of the East brought the Romans in contact with various forms of superstition, some of which were introduced into Italy. The worship of Cybele, the Phrygian mother of the gods, was very popular. A crowd of Chaldean horoscope-casters and Marsian bird-seers found their way to Italy and made a great impression on all classes, and even the leading men of the state had recourse to their omens. Measures of repression were adopted, but they were temporary in their effect, and wholly inadequate to root out the evil. Gradually these forms of superstition spread into every grade of society and into every corner of Italy, and men began to be perplexed in their old faith.

18. Slave Labor.—We have already alluded to the injurious results of slavery, how the chief part of the labor on the large estates and the vast tracts of pasture-land was performed by slaves. This system gave the rich a great advantage, from the fact that they could, with their retinue of slaves, produce at a

[1] Max Müller, l. c. p. 115; Mommsen ii., p. 415 ff.

[2] The philosopher Panætius, the historian Polybius, and the poets Lucilius and Terence were welcome guests.

cheaper rate than the small farmer, who, unable to compete with the system of farming on a large scale, gave up the contest, sold his lot of land, and swelled the impoverished crowd that was swarming over Italy. His land was absorbed in the large estate of the rich landlord, and this evil, instead of being restrained, was ever on the increase. This inequality was indirectly encouraged by the government. Corn[1] was admitted from the provinces to the Roman market free of duty, and the Roman farmers were compelled to give up the raising of grain and confine their attention to the production of oil, wine, and wool.

19. Unfavorable Legislation.—The Claudian law (about B.C. 218), by excluding senators from commercial speculations, indirectly compelled them to invest their enormous capital in land. This helped to swallow up the little plot of the farmers, and add it to the great estates of the rich. Already the Roman bankers[2] and money-lenders,[3] the crowd of brokers and speculators, had got control of the varied mercantile and moneyed transactions at home and in the provinces, and managed all of their different branches of business by means of slaves and freedmen. The corporations that leased the custom dues, farmed the public revenues, contracted for furnishing supplies, or erecting public buildings, had these duties performed chiefly by slaves and freedmen. The various means of investing capital, combined with the unfavorable legislation, created a moneyed aristocracy, discouraged the growth of a prosperous middle class, caused the small farmers to disappear and the absorption of their farms in the large estates, where the labor was performed by slaves under the supervision of a steward.

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[1] In the second Punic war, a *medimnus* (1½ bushels) of wheat had cost fifteen *drachmæ* ($2.50), while grain afterwards so flowed into Italy from Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, that a *medimnus* of wheat cost four *oboli* (about 12 cents), and of barley two *oboli*. In B. C. 194 more than 240,000 bushels of Sicilian grain were distributed, at 12 *asses* (20 cents) per bushel. In Cato's time Sicilian and Sardinian corn was sometimes sold in the Italian ports for the freight. The average price in the first and second centuries before Christ was one *denarius* for a *modius*, or about seventy cents per bushel (the average price now is about eighty-five cents (in the provinces of Brandenburg and Pomerania from 1816–41), this difference is probably owing to the fall in the value of silver). In the time of Polybius victuals and lodgings at an inn in northern Italy cost on an average half an *as* (two-thirds of a cent) per day; a bushel of wheat was there worth one-third of a *denarius*, or about six cents. The result was that wheat-producing land was almost valueless.

[2] *Argentarius.* [3] *Fenerator.*

SUMMARY.

First Punic War—B. C. 264–241.

Carthage.

Form of Government.

Carthage was the most flourishing commercial city on the Mediterranean Sea. Its form of government was very similar to that of Rome; there were two chief magistrates, a senate, and a council of 104. The army was commanded by a dictator. At the time Carthage came in collision with Rome she was the first maritime power in the world. The Carthaginians and Romans for many years had maintained friendly relations, and had, as early as B. C. 348, formed a treaty with each other, which had been renewed in B. C. 279. This alliance, however, had never possessed any real significance, and after the conquest of Italy by the Romans the two nations began to regard each other with jealousy. The Carthaginians were aiming to secure possession of Sicily, and the Romans wished, if they could not obtain the island for themselves, to have at least friendly and not too powerful neighbors there. When it happened, therefore, that the Mamertines, who had seized Messana and were plundering the surrounding country, were on the point of being subdued by Hiero, King of Syracuse, and applied to Rome for assistance, she thought that this was a good opportunity to get a footing in Sicily, and without much hesitation dispatched an army to relieve the Mamertines. Before this army could arrive in Sicily, the Carthaginians had effected a reconciliation between the Mamertines and Hiero. This made no difference to the Roman commander; he crossed to Messana, persuaded the Mamertines to expel the Carthaginians from the town, and finally attacked and defeated Hiero and the Carthaginians near Syracuse. This energy on the part of the Romans alarmed Hiero, and he made a treaty with Rome, and ever afterwards remained a faithful ally. The next year the Romans captured Agrigentum. Nearly all of Sicily was now in the hands of the Romans.

The Relations of Rome and Carthage.

Cause of the War.

Battle near Syracuse, B.C. 263.

Capture of Agrigentum, B.C. 262.

Rome Creates a Navy.

The necessity for a navy began now to be felt by the Romans. It was difficult to transport troops to Sicily, and the shores of Italy even were ravaged by the Carthaginian fleet. The senate set about the work with such energy that in 60 days 120 ships[1] were launched, and soon after Gajus Duillius gained a great victory over the Carthaginians off Mylæ.[2]

Battle off Mylæ, B.C. 260.

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[1] Rome had not been hitherto a mere agricultural state, as is proved by many circumstances: the port-dues on exports and imports at Ostia, the commercial treaties with Carthage, and the antiquity of the galley on the city arms. The Roman fleet, however, was insignificant in comparison with that of Carthage. The Romans had only triremes, and these were not fitted to contend with the larger and better manned quinqueremes of the Carthaginians.

[2] See account of the boarding-bridges, p. 121 and note 4.

Battle of Tyndaris, B.C. 257.

Invasion of Africa, B.C. 256.

Battle of Panormus, B.C. 250.

The Battle at the Ægatian Islands, B.C. 241.

Peace, B.C. 241.

The Romans were now prepared either to invade Africa or to subdue the islands in the Mediterranean Sea. They adopted the latter course. Corsica and Sardinia were attacked, and the Carthaginian army was driven to the western end of Sicily. A victory at Tyndaris encouraged the Romans to invade Africa. Regulus set sail with a fleet of 330 vessels and a large army, and after defeating the Carthaginians at Ecnomus landed at Clypea, but was defeated, and the fleet that was sent to bring back the remnant of his army was destroyed by a storm. The Romans, however, rebuilt their fleet and captured Panormus.

A few years after Metellus gained a great victory at Panormus (B.C. 250). This was the turning point in the war; henceforth it centres round Lilybæum and Drepana, which the Romans found impossible to take on account of the brilliant strategy of Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal. At last, however, the great sea fight at the Ægatian Islands, where the Roman fleet was commanded by Lutatius Catulus, decided the contest. The Carthaginians were exhausted; their treasury[1] was empty, and they were glad to conclude a peace.

All of Sicily except the territory of Hiero, who had been the firm ally of the Romans, passed into the hands of Rome; it was organized as a province,[2] and governed by a prætor. The Carthaginians paid the cost of the war. The Romans had created a navy and wrested from the Carthaginians the sovereignty of the sea.

Interval between the First and Second Punic Wars—B. C. 241–218.

Carthage Weakened by the War with the Mercenaries, B.C. 241–236.

War with the Gauls in N. Italy, B.C. 231–222.

Battle of Telamon, B.C. 222.

Illyrian Wars, B.C. 229–219.

During the interval between the First and Second Punic Wars both Rome and Carthage exerted themselves to the utmost to consolidate and extend their power. Carthage was weakened by the revolt of her mercenaries, whom she was unable to pay. Rome took this opportunity to wrest from Carthage Corsica and Sardinia. In addition to this the Romans subdued the Gauls in Northern Italy, defeating them at Telamon, and founded colonies to secure the possession of the country. On the eastern coast of the Adriatic the Romans suppressed the Illyrian piracy. In the meanwhile Carthage had found a compensation in Spain for the loss of Sicily. Hamilcar had really established a new empire in the west, and had made good the loss of Sicily, so that Carthage was able to renew the war.

Second Punic War—B. C. 218–202.

When his preparations were completed, Hannibal, who had just come to the command of the Carthaginian

[1] They tried in vain to raise a loan in Egypt. [2] See p. 178 and n. 3, also p. 181.

Siege of Saguntum, B.C. 219.

Battle at the Ticinus, B.C. 218.

Battle at the Trebia, B.C. 218.

Battle of Lake Trasimenus, B.C. 217.

Fabian Policy.

Battle of Cannæ, B.C. 216.

army, laid siege to Saguntum, a town in alliance with Rome. This led, as Hannibal expected, to a declaration of war. The next spring Hannibal set out with a well equipped army for the invasion of Italy. Crossing the Alps, he descended into the plains of the Po; here he defeated the Romans under Scipio, first near the river Ticinus, and then at the Trebia. The next spring Hannibal crossed the Apennines, reached the upper Arno, and advanced past Arretium towards Perusia. In a narrow defile near Lake Trasimenus he defeated the consul Flaminius with terrible slaughter. After this battle Hannibal proceeded through Umbria and Picenum to the Adriatic, and sent news to Carthage of his great victories. The Romans appointed Fabius to the command of their army, and he sought to avoid an engagement; but the dissatisfaction became so great that the command was transferred to Paulus and Varro. A murderous battle was fought at Cannæ, in which the Roman army was almost annihilated. Many of the nations in Southern Italy joined Hannibal, and particularly the Capuans, with whom Hannibal took up his winter quarters. The Romans, however, made greater efforts, and placed 21 legions in the field, but the next year passed without any decisive battle.

War in Spain—B. C. 218–206.

Battle of Ibera, B.C. 215.

The two Scipios had been sent to Spain to prevent if possible Hasdrubal, whom Hannibal had left there in command, from sending reinforcements to Italy. They carried on the war at first with vigor, and defeated Hasdrubal at Ibera. Many of the Spanish tribes joined the Romans. This enabled the Romans to cross the Ebro, take Saguntum, and to prepare even for the invasion of Africa. Hasdrubal, however, received large reinforcements, and soon after defeated the Romans. Nearly all Spain was now lost to the Romans, and Hasdrubal was prepared to send reinforcements to his brother in Italy. The Romans, however, displayed that energy that had so often saved them in the crises of their fortune. A new army was raised and the command was entrusted to Publius Cornelius Scipio. Landing at Emporiæ, he passed the winter in preparing for the campaign. He surprised and captured New Carthage, and soon after engaged Hasdrubal at Bæcula; the results were so far favorable to Hasdrubal that he was able to carry out his plan to reinforce his brother in Italy. The departure of Hasdrubal left Spain an easy conquest for Scipio.

Capture of New Carthage, B.C. 207.

Battle at Bæcula, B.C. 207.

Conquest of Spain, B.C. 206.

War in Sicily—B. C. 214–210.

While the war was going on in Italy Hannibal sent envoys to Sicily, and after the death of Hiero, the faithful friend of the Romans, the Carthaginian party gained possession of Syracuse. Marcellus, the Roman prætor,

Siege of Syracuse, B.C. 214–212.

soon appeared before the city, which after a stubborn siege fell into his hands. The other towns soon submitted, and Roman rule was restored in Sicily.

War in Italy—B. C. 214–203.

Capture of Tarentum, B.C. 212.

Recapture of Capua, B.C. 211.

While these events were going on in Spain and Sicily, Hannibal made but little progress in Italy. The war centred round Capua, which the Romans tried to recover, and round Tarentum, which Hannibal finally captured. The next year the Romans recovered Capua, and two years later Fabius Maximus recaptured Tarentum. Hannibal's only hope of successfully continuing the war rested in procuring aid from his brother Hasdrubal. In the year B. C. 207 Hasdrubal crossed the Alps and reached Northern Italy, where he waited for news from his brother. The consul Nero, who was watching Hannibal, managed to intercept Hasdrubal's despatch, and, without the knowledge of Hannibal, to leave his camp, join his colleague Livius Silinator near Sena, and with their united forces completely defeat Hasdrubal. This ended the war in Italy. Hannibal withdrew to Southern Italy. The time had now come for the invasion of Africa. Scipio was elected consul (for B.C. 205), and in B.C. 204 completed his preparations and landed near Utica. Hannibal was recalled from Italy, and the decisive battle was fought near Zama. The Carthaginian army was annihilated and Carthage was compelled to make peace. The terms of the peace were: (1) Carthage gave up all of her territory beyond Africa; (2) she could engage in no war, either in Africa or out of Africa, without the consent of Rome; (3) she must give up all prisoners and deserters; (4) the payment of an annual war-contribution of 200 talents for 50 years; (5) the surrender of all her fleet except 20 vessels; (6) the recognition of Massinissa as King of Numidia.

The Battle of the Metaurus, B.C. 207.

Invasion of Africa.

Hannibal Recalled from Italy, B.C. 203.

Battle of Zama, B.C. 202.

Terms of Peace.

Results of the War.

The results of the war were great for Rome. (1.) Carthage was removed from the position of a rival to that of a small dependent state. (2.) The Roman dominion was increased by the acquisition of Spain, which was divided into two provinces, and by the territory of Syracuse, which was added to the province of Sicily. (3.) The Roman protectorate was extended to the native tribes in Africa. (4.) The complete supremacy of the sea was transferred to Rome, and the way was opened for the great conflict with the East. (5.) The war tended further to consolidate the Roman power in Italy. The nations in Italy—as the Bruttii, Apulians, Samnites, and the Greek cities—that had joined Hannibal were deprived of a part of their land, and colonies were established there. The fetters were riveted more firmly on the Umbrians and Etruscans, and everywhere except in Latium the Roman dominion pressed more heavily. It is reckoned that during the war 400 flourishing towns were

Condition of Italy.

destroyed in Italy; slaves and robber-bands haunted every corner of Italy. As many as 7,000 men were condemned for robbery in Apulia alone in one year (B.C. 185).

Wars with the East—B. C. 214–146.

Causes of Rome's Interference.

The nations around the western part of the Mediterranean acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. The treaty which Philip had made with Hannibal after the battle of Cannæ had opened the way for Rome to interfere in the affairs of the East. In B. C. 273 Rome had entered into friendly relations with Egypt, and her wars with the Illyrian pirates[1] had brought her in contact with the Ætolians. Finally, the alliance of Philip with Hannibal had compelled her to send a fleet to the Adriatic.[2] Rome had then been drawn on without any design on her part to interfere in the affairs of the East.

First Macedonian War, B.C. 214–205.

The First Macedonian War was barren of results. After the conclusion of peace with Carthage the Romans prepared to renew the war with Macedonia, for which Philip had given sufficient cause. He had sent troops to fight at the battle of Zama; he had commenced war against Egypt, the ally of Rome, and also against Attalus and the Rhodians, both friendly to Rome, and one was protected by a treaty. War was declared and a Roman army sent to Macedonia. After two unsuccessful campaigns, Flamininus was appointed to the command. He defeated Philip at Cynoscephalæ. This battle was decisive. Philip was compelled to withdraw his garrisons from the Greek cities, to surrender his fleet, and to pay 1000 talents.

Second Macedonian War, B.C. 200–196.

Battle of Cynoscephalæ, B.C. 197.

Syro-Ætolian War, B.C. 192–189.

Battle of Thermopylæ, B.C. 191.

Battle of Magnesia, B.C. 190.

War with the Ætolians, B.C. 189.

The Ætolians had formed a treaty with Rome, but feeling that they had been unjustly treated, and that the success of the Romans was mainly due to their efforts, they began to intrigue against Rome, and invited Antiochus of Syria to their assistance. The king crossed to Greece, but the Romans defeated him at Thermopylæ. Antiochus returned to Asia, but the Romans followed and defeated him again at Magnesia. This battle ended the war. Antiochus had to give up all of his possessions west of the Taurus range, to surrender his fleet, and to pay 15000 talents (=$20,000,000). The Romans now had time to punish the Ætolians. They were defeated and Ambracia, their chief town, was taken. The Ætolians now sued for peace. Their confederacy was dissolved, and Ætolia, like Macedonia, became tributary to Rome.

Terms of Peace.

The Third Macedonian War, B.C. 171–168.

In B. C. 179 Philip died, and was succeeded by his son Perseus. Perseus was popular, and the Greeks themselves began to see through the designs of Rome, that independence was impossible, and that the choice really lay between subjection to Rome or to Macedonia. Rome watched the preparations made by Perseus, and when

[1] See p. 132.

[2] See p. 159.

she felt that longer delay would be fatal to her interests war was declared. A Roman army landed in Epirus, and defeated Perseus at Pydna. Macedonia was broken up into four separate states, which paid an annual tribute to Rome. Illyria was divided into three states. From this battle the universal dominion of Rome is dated. All subsequent wars were mere rebellions.

Battle of Pydna, B.C. 168.

Universal Dominion of Rome.

Rome's Policy in Dealing with the Dependent States.

Rome left the countries to govern themselves. Still she interfered. She sent commissioners, who visited the different states, acted as referees in disputes, and fomented quarrels on every hand. Rome's policy was to maintain and strengthen her friends as counterpoise to her foes. When the foes were subjugated the friends were no longer needed, and she quarreled with them. Hence, when Macedonia was subjugated a coolness arose between Rome and her eastern allies, Pergamus and Rhodes, and they were both punished.

Achæan War, B.C. 147–146.

The Achæans gave Rome the pretext for converting Greece into a province.[1] They joined the standard of revolt raised by Andriscus, a pretended son of Perseus. They were, however, quickly defeated, and the consul Mummius gave orders to destroy Corinth, where the remnant of the Achæan army had taken refuge. This removed one of Rome's commercial rivals; one still remained, and to this the Romans now directed their attention. Cato simply expressed the general sentiment when he said that Carthage must be destroyed. Rome therefore determined to destroy Carthage and to form Africa into a province. After a siege of three years, Carthage was stormed by Scipio and blotted from the face of the earth.

Destruction of Corinth, B.C. 146.

Third Punic War, B.C. 149–146.

Destruction of Carthage, B.C. 146.

The Wars in the West.

While Rome was extending her empire in the East, her authority was fiercely disputed by the wild tribes in the West. Spain was far from being subdued, and constant wars were carried on with the natives. When the Romans ordered the Celtiberians to desist from enlarging their town, they refused and prepared for war. The same year the Lusitanians revolted, and the different Spanish tribes were united under the leadership of Viriathus. When he fell by treachery (B. C. 140), the Celtiberians took refuge in Numantia, and prolonged the war for ten years. When Numantia surrendered all serious resistance in Spain was at an end.

Celtiberian War, B.C. 154.

Capture of Numantia, B.C. 133.

[1] The change in Rome's policy must be noted. When Macedonia was first conquered Rome was unwilling to undertake the government of more dependencies. Her experiment in Spain had been far from successful. Accordingly she left the conquered countries to rule themselves, while she watched over them, and weakened them by separation. Eighteen years of trial had proved how injurious this plan was. Rome therefore determined to end this and reduce the conquered countries to provinces, and at the same time, as the best means of advancing her interests, to destroy Corinth and Carthage, her commercial rivals in the western world.

THE MODERN CAPITOL.[1]

PERIOD OF CIVIL DISSENSIONS.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE AGRARIAN LAW OF TIBERIUS GRACCHUS (B. C. 133).

1. The Causes of the Civil Troubles.—We have now reached a period in the history of the Roman state when foreign wars became few and unimportant. The Roman dominion was undisputed, and Roman law and Roman customs had found their way to three continents and inspired the people with rev-

[1] The staircase leads to the Piazza del Campidoglio, or Square of the Capitol; at the foot are the two Egyptian lions and at the top the horse-taming Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux, once in the theatre of Pompey; see p. 414). At the side of the Dioscuri are the so-called trophies of Marius (these were taken from the water-tower of the *Aqua Julia*) and the statues of the Emperor Constantine and his son Constans (taken from the baths of Constantine on the Quirinal). To the right is the ancient milestone of the *Via Appia*. In the centre is the magnificent equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius (p. 467). It was originally placed in the forum near the column of Phocas. In 1187 it was transferred near the Lateran, and to its present position in 1538. Its excellent state of preservation is due to the belief that it was the statue of Constantine, the first Christian emperor. Be-

erence and admiration. For many generations the Romans had been so intent on bringing to a successful issue the career of conquest on which they had entered, that they had given but little attention to the condition of affairs at home. The pressure of poverty had been alleviated by the long wars that thinned the population and thus relieved the labor market, by the distribution of plunder, and by the colonies[1] planted in various parts of Italy. But now there were no more lands in Italy to be confiscated and no more nations to be conquered. The labor market was overcrowded, and it became more difficult from year to year for a poor man to earn a living. Besides, a genuine Roman was too proud to carry on any useful craft, and regarded all kinds of business as a mild sort of slavery, only fit for slaves, freedmen, and foreigners.[2]

2. The Necessity for Reform.—The provisions of the Licinian law had been disregarded for so many generations that the land in Italy[3] was all in the possession of a few noble houses. Instead of having this land cultivated partly by free laborers, as the Licinian law prescribed, which would have relieved the labor market and averted the evils that threatened the state, the possessors found it more profitable to employ slaves, whom the wars in the East had made cheap. The result was that the large body of poor Roman freemen, cut off from every means of obtaining wealth—the occupation of the public land, the farming of the revenue, and the government of the provinces—and now unable to obtain work on the very land that they had won by their blood and toil, was left without means of support, and flocked to the capital to swell the impoverished crowd that fed on the bounty of the rich.[4]

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yond this statue is the *Palazzo del Senatore*, erected in 1389 on the site of the ancient *Tabularium* by Michael Angelo. The top of the tower is embellished by a standing figure of Roma. The palace on the right is the *Conservatori*, or Town Hall; on the opposite side is the *Capitoline Museum*.

[1] The last Italian colony was sent to Luna in B. C. 177.

[2] *Cic de Off.*, i. 42.

[3] It was reserved for G. Gracchus to propose a system of transmarine colonization. See p. 210.

[4] As the Latins had long been waiting to be admitted to the privileges of Roman citizens, they thronged to Rome, and the Italians to Latium.

3. The Government Unable to Afford Relief.—The government, controlled by a few noble houses which found their centre in the senate, was both unable and unwilling to afford relief. The leading aim of the new nobility was to maintain its usurped[1] privileges and exclude all "new men" from a share in the government. If some one could restore the lands and love of labor to the people, limit the vast power of the senate, restrain the cupidity of the capitalists, and arrest the flood of slaves that was pouring in from all parts of the world to spread over Italy and destroy its free population,[2] such a statesman could restore the wasted energies of the Roman state.[3] Lælius and Scipio Æmilianus[4] had recognized the peril that threatened the state, and had proposed agrarian measures of reform (B. C. 148); but when these met with determined opposition from the nobles, they gave them up as impracticable. It must be remembered that the nobles, from long possession, regarded the public land as their own. Many had acquired their vast estates by purchase, inheritance, or marriage, and against one who interfered with their interests the whole body of the nobility rose as one man. If anything could have opened the eyes of the nobility, the woeful condition of Sicily must have been sufficient; for the servile war was then at its height and was sweeping all before it. Matters, however, went on in their old way, and the government drifted, like a shattered ship before the storm, with no statesman at the helm. The old contest between government and governed, the old conflict between labor and capital was renewed, and it was only a question of time who should deal the first blow.

4. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus.—Two brothers, Tiberius Sempronius and Gajus Gracchus, came forward to remedy the evils in the state. They were the sons of that Tiberius Sem-

[1] That is, to restrict re-election to the consulship in order that its honors might be enjoyed by a larger number. In B. C. 217 the law prohibiting re-election (see p. 82) was suspended, under the pressure of the war with Hannibal, down to B. C. 203. From B. C. 207 to B. C. 153 not one was re-elected in violation of the ten years' interval. The repeated election of Marcus Marcellus led to a law (about B.C.151) prohibiting re-election altogether.

[2] The census returns show a regular falling off in the number of citizens from B. C. 159, when the number capable of bearing arms was 328,000; B. C. 154, 324,000; B. C. 147, 322,000; B. C. 131, 319,000.

[3] See Michelet, p. 259.

[4] See Plut. *Life of Tib. Gracchus.*

pronius Gracchus,[1] whose prudent measures had given tranquillity to Spain for so many years. Tiberius sought to relieve the social condition of the poor, and to restore the small farmers in Italy; Gajus placed the axe at the root of the evil, and attempted to break down the power of the senate. At an early age they lost their father, but their education was carefully attended to by their mother, the highly cultivated Cornelia, the daughter of P. Scipio Africanus the elder. Tiberius was nine years older than his brother, and had been military tribune in the army of his brother-in-law, P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus, where he was the first to scale the walls of Carthage. As augur he came into intimate relations with Appius Claudius Pulcher,[2] the chief of the senate, and a man decidedly favorable to reform.[3] He established his popularity[4] as quæstor in Spain, where, by his influence, the army of Mancinus was saved from great peril. The rejection by the senate of the treaty which Mancinus had concluded with the Numantines and which Tiberius had signed and guaranteed, caused his alienation from the party of the optimates.[5]

5. His Measures for Reform.—On his return from Spain Tiberius was elected tribune of the plebs, and entered upon his office December 10, B. C. 134. After consulting with his father-in-

[1] GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS
m. CORNELIA, daughter of P. SCIPIO AFRICANUS *major*.

TIB. GRACCHUS.	G. GRACCHUS.	SEMPRONIA m. P. SCIPIO AFRICANUS *minor*.

[2] See page 125.

[3] Tiberius, in the following words, recounted from the rostra his own vivid impressions of the evils that beset Italy and the people: "For, among such numbers, perhaps there is not a Roman who has an altar that belonged to his ancestors, or a sepulchre in which their ashes rest. The private soldiers fight and die to advance the wealth and luxury of the great; and they are called masters of the world, while they have not a foot of land in their possession."—*Plut. Ti. Gr.*

[4] Plutarch records as a striking proof of the esteem in which Tiberius was held the offer which A. Claudius made him of his daughter in marriage at an augural banquet, and the answer which Appius received from his wife when he returned home and informed her of what he had done: "Antistia, I have promised our daughter Claudia in marriage;" "Why in such haste," said the mother, "unless you have promised her to Tiberius Gracchus;" see Genealogical Table, p. 125.

[5] That is, the senatorial party, consisting of both patricians and plebeians. Although not recognized by law as a distinct class, still the optimates endeavored by all means in their power to secure exclusive possession of its curule offices and the public land; the popular party began at this time to receive the name of *populares*.

law Appius Claudius, with Publius Crassus Mucianus the *pontifex maximus*, and with P. Mucius Scævola the great lawyer, he brought forward his measures[1] for reform,[2] planned with great care and with all possible regard to the interests of those in possession of the public land.[3] He proposed a re-enactment of the Licinian law, which in fact had never been repealed, but with certain additions suitable to the exigencies of the times.[4] Tiberius discussed his proposals before the people;[5] he pictured the deserted condition of Italy, the distress of the poor classes, as worse even than that of the beasts of the fields,[6] and appealed to the patriotism of the rich. The propositions met, however, with intense opposition. The nobility prevailed upon the tribune Octavius, one of his own colleagues, to interpose his veto. Tiberius, however, pushed his measures with zeal, induced the people to depose Octavius,[7] and finally succeeded in carrying his proposals. A commission[8] was appointed and

[1] *Lex Sempronia agraria.*

[2] Gracchus relied chiefly upon the popular party, the *populares*, for support. There was also a small party in the senate, headed by the distinguished names mentioned in the text, which favored him; this party was deserted by Scipio in the beginning of the contest; deprived of his influence, a peaceful settlement of the troubles became more difficult. This makes the statement of Cicero (*de Rep.* i. 19) clear, that the death of Gracchus divided the senate into two parties, and that P. Crassus, A. Claudius, and P. Mucius Scævola, were the opponents of Scipio.

[3] *Veteres possessores.*

[4] The *lex Sempronia* allowed each father, (1) beside the five hundred *jugera* for himself, two hundred and fifty for each of his sons who were under the *patria potestas*, provided the whole quantity did not exceed one thousand *jugera*; (2) the rest of the public domain was to be divided into lots of thirty *jugera*, and was to be leased in perpetuity to Roman citizens at a moderate rent (*vectigal*); (3) the appointment of a standing commission of three (*tresviri agris dandis assignandis* elected in the *concilium plebis*) to carry the provisions of the law into force; (4) the indemnification was to be made for improvements, buildings, etc., to the former holders. According to Mommsen (l. c. vol. iii., p. 94) the Italian allies were to be admitted to a share in the land, but this seems hardly probable if we consider the feeling of the Roman citizens against the Latins and Italian allies (see *Lange*, l. c. vol. iii., p. 10). It must be kept in view that the agrarian law did not meddle with private property, nor with the lands that were let on lease as the Campanian lands (*ager Campanus*). It simply proposed to divide the state lands (the possessors had almost wholly neglected to pay the rent due the state for its use) among the poor Roman citizens, and to prevent the rich from buying up the allotments by prescribing that they should be inalienable.

[5] In *contiones.*

[6] Tiberius had observed the deserted condition of Italy in his journey through Etruria to join the army in the Numantine war (B. C. 137). In the following words he recounted from the rostra his own vivid impression of the evils that beset Italy: "The wild beasts have their dens and caves, while the men who fought and died in defence of Italy enjoy indeed the light and air, but nothing else; houseless, and without a spot of land to rest upon, they wander about with their wives and children, while their commanders do but mock them when they exhort the soldiers in battle to fight for their tombs and the temples of their gods. For among so many Romans not one has a family altar or an ancestral tomb; they fight to maintain the luxury and wealth of the great, and they are called masters of the world without possessing a clod of earth that they can call their own."—*Plut. Tib. Gr.* 8.

[7] This was a violation of the *lex sacrata*: see p. 58.

[8] Consisting of Tib. Gracchus, his brother Gajus, and A. Claudius his father-in-law.

commenced its work. Now the difficulties began to multiply. The lands had remained undisturbed so many years in the hands of the possessors that it was impossible to decide which was public[1] or which was private[2] property. The question ought to have been referred to the consuls or to the senate; but instead of this Tiberius carried a law that empowered the commissioners to decide[3] which was private and which was public land. The senate refused to make the necessary appropriation for the expenses of the commissioners.[4] Still the work went on. Tiberius, when his popularity began to wane, proposed new laws[5] which embittered the senatorial party more and more. Scipio Nasica[6] and Q. Pompejus openly declared that they would impeach him as soon as his year of office expired.

6. Efforts to Re-elect Gracchus.—Tiberius saw that his only safety lay in the sanctity of the tribune's office, and thereupon determined to become a candidate for re-election. In order to gain new allies he promised the people to carry a law[7] limiting the term of military service, to confer upon the equestrian order[8] the right to furnish one-half of the jurors[9] who had hitherto been taken wholly from the senate, and it is said to extend the right of appeal even to civil cases, and to admit the Italian allies to Roman citizenship. The time of election occurred in June, when the country people were engaged in field labor and but few of them could come to the election. When the day of voting came the nobles interrupted the election by declaring that no votes could be received

[1] *Ager publicus.* [2] *Ager privatus.* [3] Liv. Ep. 58.

[4] Only 24 *asses* (about 25 cents) were allowed daily.

[5] About this time Attalus, king of Pergamus (see p. 179, § 7), bequeathed his kingdom and treasures to the Roman people. Tiberius proposed that the treasures should be divided among the people to enable them to stock their farms.

[6] P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapion. [7] *Lex militaris.* [8] See p. 210, n. 6.

[9] It was not customary for a Roman magistrate to investigate the facts in dispute in such matters as were brought before him. For this purpose he appointed a judge (*judex*); the whole civil procedure was expressed by *jus*, comprehending all that took place before the magistrate, and *judicium*, all that took place before the *judex*. The *judicia* were either to settle disputes between individuals (*privata*) or to punish crimes (*publica*). Before the *lex Valeria de provocatione* (p. 53) the king or consul presided in all cases that affected the *caput* or rights of a Roman citizen (see p. 109); after that, persons called *quæsitores* were appointed, and later permanent magistrates were appointed, called *quæstiones perpetuæ*: later still a special body of *judices* was chosen for trying these cases; these were selected from the senators, and as many of those who were tried in the *quæstiones perpetuæ* (p. 183, n.) belonged to the optimates, it often happened that they were acquitted when impartial judges would have convicted them. Hence the popular party strove either to exclude the optimates, or at least to be admitted themselves to the office of *judex*.

for Tiberius because it was illegal to re-elect a tribune.[1] A violent debate ensued, and the assembly adjourned till the following day. The next day the assembly met on the Capitoline hill,[2] in front of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. An immense concourse of friends and foes assembled, and it was evident that a conflict was imminent. The rumor spread that the senators intended to murder Tiberius. In the disturbance that followed, as Tiberius raised his hand to his head, some cried that he was asking for the diadem, others that he only wished to indicate that his life was in danger.

7. Murder of Tiberius. — In the sitting of the senate which was held close by in the temple of Fides,[3] Scipio Nasica required the consul, P. Mucius Scævola, to put down the tyrant; the consul replied, "that he would not begin to use violence, nor would he put any citizen to death who was not legally condemned; but, if Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, either by force or by fraud, should obtain a *plebiscitum* contrary to the constitution, he would not ratify it." Then Scipio Nasica started up and exclaimed: "The first[4] consul betrays the republic; let those who wish to save it follow me."[5] He then rushed from the senate-chamber, followed by a crowd of senators. The people timidly gave way as they saw the nobles rushing to the capitol. Arming themselves with staves and broken benches, they fell upon Tiberius and his attendants. The tribune fled for refuge to the temple of Jupiter, but the priests had closed the doors. He was at length overtaken and killed by one of his pursuers.[6] Three hundred of his friends fell with him, and their bodies were cast into the Tiber. This was the first time that blood had been shed in civil strife at Rome since the days of the kings.

8. The Results.—The nobles, in order to reconcile the people, allowed the agrarian law to stand,[7] and as the party favor-

[1] The re-election of a magistrate within the space of ten years was forbidden in B.C. 342. See p. 82. [2] In the *Area Capitolina*. [3] Also on the Capitoline Hill.

[4] The elder consul (*consul major*) usually presided at the meetings of the senate; the first consul (*consul prior*) was the one first declared elected.

[5] Plut. Ti. Gr. 19. [6] By P. Saturejus or L. Rufus.

[7] New difficulties arose because the "possessors" neglected to make returns of the public land in their possession. The commissioners gave notice that they would take the evidence of any person who would give them information. A great crop of difficult suits soon sprang up. Land which bordered on the public land, and had been sold or distrib-

able to reform gained the ascendancy for a time in the senate, the law was carried into execution. The popular feeling was so strong against Scipio Nasica,[1] that, fearing for his life, the senate, in order to remove him from Italy, commissioned him to go, on pretended business,[2] to Asia, where after a few years he died of vexation and despair.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The Laws of Gajus Gracchus.

1. Death of Scipio Æmilianus.—While the commissioners were engaged in their work, removing the old landmarks, confiscating land that had been secured to the Latins and the Italian allies by treaties, Scipio Æmilianus returned from Numantia. The senate was very sharply divided into two parties, and Scipio seemed disinclined to join either. He found little favor with the people, because when Carbo[3] asked him in the popular assembly what he thought of the death of Tiberius, he replied that "he was justly slain."[4] When the multitude expressed its displeasure, he boldly said: "Cease your noise, ye stepsons of Italy; do ye think by your clamor to frighten me, who am used unterrified to hear the shouts of embattled hosts?" The Latins and the allies, and all who had been deprived of their

uted among the allies, was all subjected to investigation for the purpose of ascertaining the limits of the public land, and the owners were required to show how this land had been sold and how it had been assigned. All persons could not produce the instruments of sale nor the evidence of the assignments; and when the titles were found there was matter for dispute in them. Now, when the land was surveyed anew, some were removed from land planted (with vines, olives, and the like) and with buildings on it, to land which was lying waste; and others from land under cultivation to uncultivated lands, or marshes or swamps; for neither had they originally, as we might expect in the case of land acquired by war, made any exact measurement of it, and the public notice, that any man might cultivate the land which was not assigned or distributed, had led many to till the parts (of the public land) which bordered on their own, and so to confound them together. Time also as it went on made many changes. Thus the wrong that the rich had done, though great, was difficult to ascertain exactly; and there was a general disturbance of everything, men being removed from one place and transferred to another.—*Appian*, l. c. l. 18, quoted by *Long*, l. c. p. 223.

[1] As he took one day the hardened hand of a laborer whose vote he was soliciting, he asked him "if he walked on his hands."—*Val. Max.* vii. 5.

[2] *Legatio libera.*

[3] Elected with Fulvius Flaccus to the two vacancies on the commission.

[4] When the death of Tiberius was announced to him at Numantia, he simply exclaimed in the words of Athena at the fate of Ægisthus (Od. i. 47): "So perish he, whoe'er he be, that doth such deeds again."—*Plut. Ti. Gr.* 21.

land, crowded to the capital.[1] Scipio took up their cause and induced the senate to transfer all cases of disputed boundary to the consuls for decision. The consuls, alarmed at the difficulties, left Italy, and as no one appeared before the commissioners, the distribution of the public land ceased. The hatred of the popular party burst forth against Scipio. One night after a stormy day in the senate and the forum that rang with the cry, "Down with the tyrant," he retired to his home. The next morning he was found dead in his bed. The belief was general that one of the popular party[2] had assassinated him; but according to Cicero he died a natural death.[3] Gajus Lælius, his devoted friend, composed the funeral oration, and his old opponent, Metellus Macedonicus, then censor, bade his sons pay reverence to the conqueror of Africa, Asia, and Spain.[4]

2. Party Strife. — After the death of Scipio the agitation of parties raged still more fiercely. To the old conflict between the impoverished Roman citizens on the one side, and the capitalist and senatorial classes on the other, were added now the claims of the Latins and the Italian allies to the franchise. The latter crowded more and more into the capital, introduced themselves into the tribes, and helped to add disorder to the public assemblies. The popular leaders, perceiving the mistake they had made in alienating the Latins and the Italians, now took up their cause, hoping to find in them the means of crushing the power of the senate. The nobility adopted measures

[1] When the arbitrary acts of the commissioners were unendurable, the Italians determined to adopt Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, as their protector against the manifold acts of injustice inflicted upon them. He did not refuse his aid. He proceeded to the senate, gave a long review of the difficulties, and concluded by proposing that the cognizance of the disputes should be transferred to the consul Tuditanus. The latter had scarcely entered upon his duties when, alarmed at the difficulties, he departed for Illyria. No one, however, appeared before the commissioners for settlement of claims. The state of things excited great indignation against Scipio. His enemies said that he intended to abrogate the agrarian law altogether.—*Appian* (l. c.).

[2] G. Papirius Carbo or Fulvius Flaccus.

[3] *Cic. Lael.* 3, 12. Appian (l. c.) says that Scipio had retired with his tablets to prepare a speech for the following day. In the morning he was found dead, but without any wound on his person. According to some, he was murdered by the instigation of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, who feared the repeal of the agrarian laws, and of her daughter, Sempronia, Scipio's wife, who, ugly and disagreeable, was disliked by her husband. Some say that he destroyed himself because unable to accomplish what he had undertaken. His slaves, on being put to torture, confessed that during the night some strangers had entered through the private door and strangled their master.

[4] *Ite filii, celebrate exequias, nunquam civis majoris funus videbitis.*—Plin. n. h. vii., 44, 141.

of repression. A law was carried banishing all aliens[1] from Rome (B. C. 126).

3. Revolt of Fregellæ (B. C. 125).—The next year the popular party succeeded in electing Fulvius Flaccus to the consulship. He proposed a law for granting the right of citizenship to the allies, and therefore a vote in the popular assemblies. The senate removed him from Rome by sending him on a foreign mission. G. Gracchus had already departed (B. C. 126) as proquæstor to Sardinia, so that the senate was now freed from its most troublesome opponents, and the Italians had lost their two most powerful patrons. The Italians were bitterly disappointed when Flaccus's bill was rejected. The old Latin colony, Fregellæ (*Ceprano*), rashly raised the standard of revolt. The town was taken and razed to the ground, and the inhabitants dispersed throughout Italy.[2] The vigorous policy of Rome alarmed the allies, and the revolt spread no farther.

4. G. Gracchus Elected Tribune. — Gajus Gracchus meanwhile suddenly appeared in Rome[3] and presented himself to the people as a candidate for the tribunate.[4] He was elected for the year B. C. 123 in an unusually large assembly of the people, who crowded from the colonies and municipal towns in Italy to Rome to vote for him. Still, such was the influence of the aristocracy, that Gajus was returned fourth on the list of tribunes, but his impassioned eloquence and his extraordinary abilities soon made him first in influence and power.[5]

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[1] *Perigrini.*

[2] The right of citizenship was probably granted to part of the allies; this would account for the great increase in the census from 318,823 in B. C. 132, to 394,726 in B. C. 125. Mommsen (l. c. iii., p. 107) attributes this increase to allotments made by the commissioners; see Liv. Ep., 60; also Lange, l. c. vol. iii., p. 28.

[3] He proved to the censor that his return was conformable to law, as he had served twelve years though required to serve but ten, and two years as quæstor. He also freed himself from all implication in the revolt of Fregellæ.—*Ant. Gel.* lxii., c. 15; *Plut. C. Gr.* 3.

[4] Cicero relates that when Gajus avoided all offices and had resolved to live retired from public life, his mother appeared to him in a dream and thus addressed him: "Why dost thou linger, Gajus? There is no alternative. The fates have decreed us one life and one death in defence of the people."—*Plut. C. Gr.* 2.

[5] Plutarch (in life G. Gr.) gives a vivid description of his wonderful powers as an orator. In the character and expression of his countenance, in his movements, Tiberius was mild and sedate. Gajus was animated and carried all by the impetuous torrent of his words. When Tiberius harangued the people, he stood still; but Gajus was the first Roman that moved about on the *rostra*, and pulled his toga from his shoulder while he was speaking, as Cleon the Athenian is said to have been the first popular orator who threw his cloak from him. The manner of Gajus was awe-striking and vehemently im-

5. The Sempronian Laws (B. C. 123–2).—Gajus came forward with measures of reform which were more general and more sweeping than those of his brother. His first proposal, intended to deter any tribune from repeating the opposition of Octavius, forbade a magistrate who had been deposed by the people from holding any office again.[1] He then aimed a blow against Popillius Lænas, who had procured the sentence of banishment and death against the adherents of Tiberius, by extending the Porcian law[2] so that capital punishment in case of Roman citizens was entirely abolished. After this Gajus carried a series of measures, which are known as the Sempronian laws, that were intended to destroy the power of the senate, to alleviate the condition of the poor, to extend the colonial system, and to elevate the rich capitalists to a distinct order.

1. The *first law*[3] directed that the tithes of grain which accrued to the state from the provinces should be distributed among the people at a low price. The object of this was to attract the proletarians to Rome, and render them independent of the aristocracy.[4]

2. The *second law*[5] was intended to procure the requisite means of carrying out the provisions of the first enactment. The law by which the province of Asia paid a fixed sum[6] into the Roman treasury, and thus escaped the exactions of the tax-gatherers,[7] was repealed. The province was burdened with a system of heavy taxation,[8] which was leased at Rome instead of in the province, as in Sicily and Sardinia; thus substantially excluding the provincials who often bid in and farmed the taxes themselves, and thus kept away the Roman tax-gatherers.

passioned. The manner of Tiberius was more pleasing and calculated to move the sympathies. The language of Tiberius was pure and nicely chosen; that of Gajus was persuasive and of heart-stirring power. His powerful voice filled the whole forum, and he was obliged to have a flute player behind him, the sound of whose instrument brought his voice back to its tone and moderated its force.

[1] This he withdrew at the request of his mother. [2] See p. 184, n. 1.

[3] The *lex frumentaria; ut populus pro frumento, quod sibi publice daretur, in singulos modios senos æris et trientes prælii nomine exsolveret.*—Liv. ep. 60: that five modii ($1\frac{1}{4}$ bushels) were distributed monthly at $6\frac{1}{2}$ asses (about six cents) each, rests upon Mommsen's conjectural emendation of Livy's text. Peter (*Gesch. Roms.* vol. ii., p. 32, note) shows that the price cannot be fixed with certainty.

[4] No attempt is made to distinguish between the laws carried this or the next year, as it is impossible to determine with any certainty the exact order in which the laws were enacted.

[5] *Lex de provincia Asia a censoribus locanda.* [6] *Stipendium.*

[7] *Publicani.* [8] *Decumæ, scriptura,* and *vectigalia.*

3. The *third law*[1] extended the agrarian law of his brother by planting colonies not only in Italy but in the provinces, restored the judicial power of the commissioners,[2] and authorized them to lay out streets along the new allotments.[3]

4. The *fourth law*[4] renewed the old rule that a soldier should not be enlisted before his seventeenth year,[5] and enacted that his outfit should be furnished by the state, without deducting the cost as hitherto from his pay.

5. The *fifth law*[6] enacted that the *judices* should be taken from the *equites* instead of as heretofore from the senators. This attacked directly the prerogatives of the senate, and brought the equestrian order in sharp collision with the senate, to serve as a check on its power.[7]

6. The *sixth law*[8] touched the power of the senate still more vitally. Hitherto the custom had been for the senate

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[1] *Lex agraria.* [2] G. Gracchus, Fulvius Flaccus, and Papurius Carbo.

[3] The *lex viaria;* he first had bridges constructed over marshes, erected milestones in regular order from the *miliarium* in the forum; at regular intervals square stones were erected on the side of the road for mounting and dismounting.

[4] *Lex militaria.*

[5] This prevented the young nobles from serving in the camp (*contubernio*) of the general as a kind of body-guard before the seventeenth year, and thus entitling them to apply earlier for the quæstorship.

[6] *Lex judiciaria.* In the year B. C. 149, offences against the state which had originally been tried by the whole people were transferred to special courts, the jurors (*judices*) of which were selected from the senate. The first of these laws was the *lex Calpurnia de repetundis*, which punished magistrates for extortion in the provinces. The name of equites applied originally only to the members of the eighteen centuries; these were called *equites equo publico* because their horses were assigned them by the state and they had the census of the first class (400,000 sesterces, about $16,000). Since then the equites had ceased to serve in the field, and the cavalry was supplied by the allies. In the meantime another class (*equites equo privato*) had arisen, consisting of men of wealth who did not belong to the governing senatorial families. Before the time of Gajus Gracchus, a law had been carried, compelling the *equites*, when they entered the senate, to give up their horse. This drew a line between the senators and *equites*. The law of Gracchus prescribed that the *judices* should be taken from the second class, *i. e.*, from those who possessed the equestrian census (400,000 sesterces), but were not members of the senate. Since the Claudian law had excluded the senatorial families from a business life, and the nobles excluded the rich men who did not belong to the governing senatorial families, from a political career, there were two powerful aristocracies in the state —the senatorial governing order, composed of a few aristocratic families, and the equestrian order (*ordo equestris*), the men of wealth. The aim of Gracchus was to create an antagonism between these two orders. They had often come in collision in the provinces, for the provincial magistrates came from the senatorial order, and the *publicani* from the equestrian order.

[7] His colleague Acilius Glabrio carried a law (*lex repetundarum*) by which the jurymen in civil cases must be taken from the equestrian order. The *lex Acilia* repealed the *lex Junia repetundarum*, by which all aliens were banished from Rome, and directed that these civil processes of *repetundarum* should come before the *prætor peregrinus*, and a jury of 450 *judices*, from which senators and senators' sons were excluded. The complainant in such a case, if he was an alien, was to be rewarded with citizenship, or in case that was not desired, with the right of appeal.

[8] *Lex de provinciis consularibus.*

to assign the consuls and prætors their provinces after the election. The result was that a lucrative government or the conduct of an important war was bestowed upon a favorite, while to the "new man" a disagreeable or unimportant field of action was assigned. Gajus wished to make the magistrate independent of the senate, and therefore proposed that the provinces should be determined before the election.[1] Gajus was now substantially the ruler of Rome. He carried his measures in the popular assembly without troubling himself about the prerogatives of the senate. He saw to it himself that colonies[2] were founded, roads constructed, and jurymen selected, and really exercised absolute authority in Rome.

6. Reaction against Gajus.—He was now at the height of his prosperity, and seemed to have succeeded in his object —the breaking down of the jurisdiction and administrative powers of the senate. He was re-elected for the next year,[3] and came before the people with still more radical measures of reform. He made a proposal to grant to the Latins full citizenship and to the Italian allies the rights which the Latins had hitherto enjoyed.[4] This proposal met with intense opposition, not only from the senate, but from the people, who could not endure the idea that the Latins should be admitted to full citizenship. The senate now saw that the means was given it of depriving the tribune of his popularity. A law was carried ejecting all Latins from the city, and the tribune M. Livius Drusus was won over to outbid Gajus himself for popular favor. Drusus proposed that the Latins should be exempt from capital and corporal punishment in the camp, that instead of the three or four colonies which Gajus had promised, twelve Italian colonies should be founded, and that the rent which Gajus had imposed upon the land

[1] This measure was exempt from the veto of a tribune.

[2] One was founded on the site of Carthage in B. C. 122; one at *Aquæ Sextiæ* (Aix in Provence) in B. C. 122.

[3] For B. C. 122; the law had probably been repealed prohibiting the re-election of a tribune.

[4] *Lex de sociis*; at the same time the *lex Acilia Rubria* proposed to confer upon the Latins a share in the worship of Jupiter Capitolinus. A law was also carried abrogating the old arrangement in the order of voting in the *comitia centuriata*, and it was settled that the order in which the five classes were to vote should be determined by lot.

should be remitted. The people ratified the Livian laws with the same alacrity with which they had sanctioned the Sempronian. From this time it was evident that Gajus was a doomed man. He failed to be elected to the tribunate for the third time, and saw his most bitter opponent Lucius Opimius raised to the consulship. Gajus courted the favor of the people, left his house on the Palatine and lived with the poor citizens near the forum. As soon as Opimius entered on his office he had a proposal[1] brought before the people to repeal the Sempronian law for the colonizing of Carthage, because the site had been accursed by Scipio.

7. Efforts for Peace. — Gajus sought in every way to avoid a conflict, and was not present when the tribes met. He could not, however, prevent his adherents from remembering the fate of Tiberius, and they appeared armed. When the tribes had assembled at the capitol to vote on the proposal of Opimius, it happened as the consul was offering sacrifices in the porch of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, that his herald, a certain Antyllus, a partisan of Gajus, was struck down by mistake.[2] In the midst of the confusion that followed, the assembly dissolved, and Gajus went to the forum to address the people. The nobility declared that he was calling the people from the popular assembly, and interrupting the tribune while addressing the people.[3] Gajus and Fulvius Flaccus the consul of B. C. 125 returned home accompanied by an armed retinue. The consul occupied the capitol with armed soldiers and assembled the senate the next morning, in the temple of Castor and Pollux. Martial law was declared by empowering the consul to see that the republic suffered no harm.[4]

8. Death of Gracchus. — Gajus and his adherents occupied the Aventine, the ancient Vesta of the plebeians, and their stronghold during the struggles between the orders. Civil war

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[1] By the tribune Minucius Rufus.

[2] Lange, l. c. vol. iii., p. 47. For a different account of the cause of the collision, see Mommsen, l. c. vol. iii., p. 134.

[3] See p. 59.

[4] The dictatorship had fallen into disuse after B. C. 216. The formula investing the consul with full power was: *videret ne quid republica detrimenti caperet.*

was declared. After some fruitless attempts at negotiation, the consul stormed the Aventine. He met with little resistance. Gajus escaped across the Sublician Bridge, where two of his friends checked the pursuers at the cost of their lives. He continued his flight to the grove of the Furies, where his

THE TEMPLE OF CONCORD RESTORED.

faithful slave first put him to death, and then slew himself on the corpse of his master. The head of Gajus was carried to the consul, who had promised for it its weight in gold. Flaccus was killed with three thousand of his adherents, their houses were demolished, their property confiscated, and their widows were forbidden to wear mourning. After this the city was purified by a lustration, and from the confiscated property

a temple of Concord[1] was erected[2] in memory of the great victory.[3] The nobles all tried to brand the Gracchi as seditious demagogues, but the people revered their memory, and at a later time their statues were erected in the public places, and the spots where they fell were called holy ground.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE RULE OF THE OLIGARCHY.—THE WAR WITH JUGURTHA.—THE RISE OF GAJUS MARIUS.

1. The Rule of the Oligarchy.—The death of Gracchus left the popular party without a leader. The nobility proceeded with caution. First the proviso that the allotments of land should be inalienable was abrogated. Then a law[4] was passed declaring that the assignments should cease, and that the public land should remain in the hands of the "possessors,"

[1] The remains of this temple (rebuilt by Tiberius) are directly behind the arch of S. Severus. Behind the raised superstructure was the senate house in which the senate met in the time of Cicero. There were four temples of Concord: the first was dedicated by Camillus B. C. 366 (see p. 81), near Juno Moneta's temple; the second by Flavius B. C. 305 (see Livy ix. 46), in the area of Vulcan near the Græcostasis (see p. 386); the third was erected by Manlius B. C. 216 in the citadel (Livy xxii. 23); the fourth by Opimius. Nothing remains of the first three; of the fourth, the foundation and the inscription have been preserved.

[2] The Basilica Opimia was built at the same time, but its location is not known with certainty. Appian and Festus describe it as in the forum and near the temple of Saturn. As the temples of Concord and the Basilica were both built by Opimius, he probably placed them near together. (See map, p. 416.)

[3] Plutarch (Life of G. Gracchus, 13) describes the manner in which Cornelia passed her life in cherishing the honor of her sons. Cornelia is said to have borne her misfortunes with a noble magnanimity, and to have said of the consecrated places where her sons lost their lives, "that they had tombs worthy of them." She took up her residence at Misenum, and made no alteration in her manner of life. She had many friends, and her hospitable table was always crowded with guests. Learned Greeks and the most noble men at Rome visited her, and all the kings in alliance with Rome sent and received presents from her. She made herself very agreeable to her guests by talking to them of the life and habits of her father Africanus, and what was most surprising, she spoke of her sons without a sigh or tear, relating their actions and sufferings as if she were speaking of heroes of the olden time. This made some think her understanding had been impaired by age and the greatness of her misfortunes, and that her sensibilities had grown dull and blunted by the terrible catastrophes that had swept away her children. But those who were of this opinion seemed rather themselves to be wanting in understanding, since they could not comprehend how a noble mind by liberal education could support itself against misfortune; and that in the pursuit of rectitude fortune may often triumph over virtue, yet she can never take away from virtue the power of enduring evils with fortitude.

[4] The *lex Thoria* in B. C. 118; at this time provisions were made for founding colonies in Spain at Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix in Provence); a part of Gaul was organized as a province, and a colony in honor of the god Mars, called Narbo Martius (Narbonne) was founded. (The colony Junonia at Carthage was given up; Neptunia at Tarentum was alone allowed to remain.)

but that the rent[1] of it should be distributed among the poor people. The other laws remained in force and the corn laws became the basis for all subsequent legislation on this subject. How the oligarchy, after their restoration, governed at home, was witnessed by the fact that there were not more than two thousand wealthy families among the citizens. Farms were again swallowed up in sheep-walks, and social ruin and decay spread over Italy. Servile insurrections broke out on every hand. The Mediterranean swarmed with pirates. The wealth wrung from the poor provincials was employed in bribery at home. The vices and corruptions of all classes were hurrying the state on to ruin. Wherever the eye turned throughout the vast domain of the Roman empire, corruption, mismanagement, and impotency were visible on every side. How the wretched oligarchy managed the foreign relations, the condition of the dependent states showed. Foreign princes bought their crowns of the Roman nobles, and judges and senators sold their decisions. Wealth flowed into Rome from the plunder of the provincials. The shameless and incompetent rule of the oligarchy seemed likely to endure for many years,[2] had not the revolt of Jugurtha in Africa furnished the crowning proofs of their wretched and corrupt government, and brought into prominent notice the two men who were destined to usurp despotic power; Marius in the name of the people, and Sulla in that of the oligarchy.

2. Numidia and Jugurtha.—It will be remembered that the resistance which the Carthaginians had made to the encroachments of Masinissa on their territory gave the Romans the pretext for war.[3] After the destruction of Carthage, much of the territory that had formerly belonged to the Carthaginians was bestowed upon Masinissa.[4] When Masinissa died he left three sons, Micipsa, Gulussa, and Mastanabal, among whom Scipio divided the Numidian king-

[1] *Vectigal.*

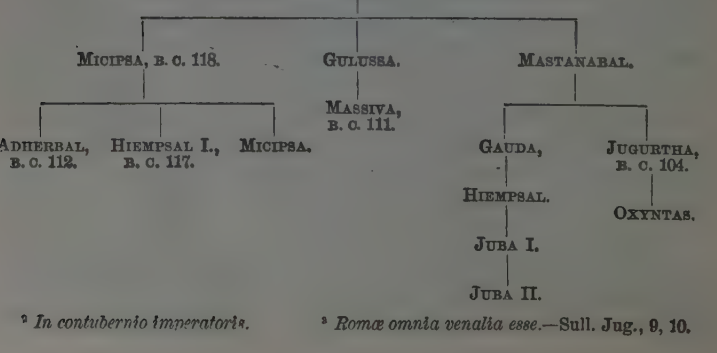
[2] The only work of improvement at home worthy of notice at this time, was the completion of the *via Æmilia* from Pisa and Luna to Sabata and Datona, and the *pons Mulvius* during the censorship of Æmilius Scaurus (B. C. 109). The *fornix Fabianus* was erected at the entrance of the *Via Sacra* into the forum by Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus.

[3] See p. 168.

[4] See p. 171, n. 3.

dom according to the directions of the last king. The death of the two last left Micipsa[1] sole king. Jugurtha was the bastard son of Mastanabal; Micipsa, however, brought him up with his own sons, Hiempsal and Adherbal. Jugurtha, when he grew up, displayed such remarkable qualities of mind and body, and his popularity among the people was so great, that the old king Micipsa, fearing that he would snatch the inheritance from his own sons, resolved to expose him to the risks of war. He placed him, therefore, in command of the Numidian contingent in the Numantine war. Here he met the young nobles who were serving in the camp[2] of the general, and lived on intimate terms with them. They encouraged him to kill Micipsa and to usurp the throne, assuring him that it would be easy to buy a pardon at Rome, where everything had its price.[3] After his return to Numidia, relying on the support of the powerful friends he had made at Numantia, he caused Hiempsal to be murdered, and procured by bribery a division of the kingdom between himself and Adherbal. Commissioners, at the head of whom was Opimius, the opponent of Gracchus, were sent to carry out the provisions of the senate, but they sold themselves to Jugurtha immediately on their arrival in Africa. The western and most fertile division was assigned to Jugurtha; the eastern, which was arid, fell to Adherbal. This, however, did not satisfy

[1] GENEALOGICAL TABLE.



[2] *In contubernio imperatoris.*

[3] *Romæ omnia venalia esse.*—Sull. Jug., 9, 10.

Jugurtha. He made war upon Adherbal, defeated him in battle, and finally besieged him in Cirta. When the town surrendered, Adherbal was put to death with tortures, as were also all the men in the garrison, not excepting even the Italians.[1] This roused the indignation of the mercantile class at Rome, and the tribune G. Memmius compelled the senate to declare war against Jugurtha.

3. Jugurthine War (B. C. 111–104).—The consul, L. Calpurnius Bestia, landed in Africa, ostensibly to carry on the war in Numidia, but really with the purpose of being bribed by Jugurtha. In order to protect himself he took with him as legates a number of influential nobles, among whom was M. Æmilius Scaurus, the president of the senate.[2] After Jugurtha had paid enough to satisfy Bestia and Scaurus, a treaty was made

[1] These were merchants doing business in Africa.

[2] *Princeps senatus.*

without the interposition of the senate or the people, granting the kingdom of Numidia to Jugurtha.

4. The Treaty with Numidia Cancelled. — When the news of this disgraceful treaty reached Rome, a storm of indignation burst forth. The tribune Memmius recounted[1] the offences of the oligarchy, and, in spite of the influence of Scaurus, carried a bill that Jugurtha, under a safe conduct, should be invited to come to Rome and give information in regard to the manner in which peace had been made. When Jugurtha appeared before the assembly of the people, and Memmius had stilled the murmurs of indignation from the multitude for him to declare who his accomplices were, the tribune, G. Bæbius, already bribed for this purpose, interposed his veto on the king's speaking. Shortly after this, Jugurtha procured, under the very eyes of the senate and people, the assassination of Massiva, the son of Gulussa, who was instigated by Albinus, the consul elect, to lay his claim before the senate for the throne. The murderer escaped, and since vengeance could not be taken on Jugurtha, he was ordered by the senate to leave Rome. When beyond the walls, he is said to have looked back in silence on the city, and at last to have exclaimed : "O venal city, about to perish if it can but find a purchaser."[2]

5. The Renewal of the War (B. C. 110).—The war was renewed by Albinus, who, however, accomplished nothing. His brother Aulus succeeded him, and penetrated into the heart of Numidia, where he was surprised and defeated, and

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[1] "It grieves me to relate how, during the last fifteen years, you have been the sport of the arrogance of the oligarchy, and how utterly unavenged your defenders have perished. After the murder of Tiberius Gracchus, whom they accused of aspiring to kingly power, persecutions were instituted against the people. After the slaughter of Gajus Gracchus and Marcus Fulvius, many of your order were put to death in prison. Let us pass over this ; let us admit that to restore the rights of the people was to aspire to royal power. You have seen how in past years the treasury has been pillaged ; you have seen kings and free people paying tribute to a small party of aristocrats, in whose hands are all the honors of the state and wealth of Italy. . . . This is not a case of peculation of the treasury, nor a forcible extortion of money from the allies. These indeed are grave offences, but we are so used to them that we consider them nothing. Now the authority of the senate and your own power have been surrendered to your greatest enemy. The public interest has been betrayed for money. If we do not investigate their misdeeds, if we do not inflict punishment on the guilty, what will remain for us except to live and obey those who have committed these crimes? For when men can do with impunity what they like, that is really kingly power."—*Sall. Jur.* 31.

[2] Jug., 35.

his army sent under the yoke. This disgrace roused the people. The conduct of the war was committed to Q. Cæcilius Metellus,[1] a capable and experienced officer. In B. C. 109 he departed for Numidia with G. Marius and P. Rectilius Rufus as legates. The discipline of the army was restored, Cirta and other towns were captured, and Jugurtha was defeated near the river Muthul, and compelled to flee for protection to Bocchus, king of Mauretania.[2]

6. Rise of Gajus Marius.—The glory of finishing the war was, however, not reserved for Metellus, but for his legate, Gajus Marius. Born (B. C. 157) in the environs[3] of Arpinum among the Latin hills, Marius was reared in the country, and his rustic manners and illiteracy clung to him through life. He had a taste for war, and his bravery at Numantia attracted the notice of Scipio Æmilianus, who, being asked one day where the Romans should find such another general when he was gone, touched Marius on the shoulder and said, "Perhaps here."[4] This raised the hopes of Marius. On his return to Rome he was elevated to the tribunate[5] (B. C. 119) and four years after to the prætorship. He was a man of iron nerve and inflexible resolution. When he accompanied Metellus to Africa

[1] GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

L. Metellus Calvus, cos. B. C. 142.

- L. Metellus Dalmaticus, cos. B. C. 119.
  - Cæcilia, m. 1. Scaurus. 2. Sulla.
- Q. Cæcilius Metellus Numidicus, cos. B. C. 109.
  - Q. Metellus Pius, cos. B. C. 80.
    - Q. Metellus Pius Scipio, cos. B. C. 52. m. Lepida.
      - Cornelia, m. 1. P. Crassus. 2. Pompejus, triumvir.
- Cæcilia, m. L. Lucullus.

[2] See map, p. 217.

[3] At Cercatæ.

[4] Plut. Mar. 3.

[5] He carried a law (*lex Maria de suffragiis ferundis*) to restrain the influence of the aristocracy at elections. The law enacted that the voting-bridges (*pontes*; these were the narrow passages that led to the different compartments into which the enclosed space [*septa*] where the assembly met was divided) should be made narrower, so that the nobles could not so easily stand by and influence their clients.

a new field was open to his ambition. He neither declined the most difficult tasks, nor thought the most servile labor beneath him. He shared the hardships of the common soldier, ate of the same dry bread, and slept on the same hard couch. He so endeared himself to all, that his name was in every one's mouth, and the letters of the soldiers carried his fame to Rome. This encouraged him to hope for the consulship.

7. Marius Elected Consul. — One day while sacrificing in the camp before Utica, the haruspex, on inspecting the victims, bade him trust in the gods, and execute whatever purpose he had in mind. He applied to Metellus for leave of absence to go to Rome and apply for the consulship. The consul tried to dissuade him from his purpose, but he repeated his request from time to time. Metellus gave vent to his scorn by saying, "You need not be in such a hurry; it will be time enough for you to apply for the consulship with my son." The son of Metellus was then only twenty, and could not therefore become a candidate for the consulship for twenty years. Marius never forgot the insult. From this time he courted the favor of the common soldiers more assiduously than ever, intrigued against the general, and boasted that if he had but one-half the army, he would soon end the war. The letters of the soldiers and of the merchants carried these sayings to Rome, and the people began to think that the only way of ending the war was to elect Marius consul. Only twelve days before the election, he obtained leave of absence and sailed to Rome. He was elected not only consul,[1] but general for the war against Jugurtha, notwithstanding the senate had designed to prorogue the command of Metellus. This was a great victory for the popular party; for it had for a long time been an unheard of thing for a "new man" to be raised to the consulship. Further, he was designated to the command,[2] not by the senate, but by the people.

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[1] For the year B. C. 107.

[2] The senate had already assigned the provinces, but Manlius Mancinus laid it before the people, who should conduct the war against Jugurtha; they decided in favor of Marius. For the changes in the military organization introduced by Marius, see p. 371.

8. The War Renewed by Marius.—After Marius had completed his preparations in Rome, he departed for Africa.[1] Here he fulfilled the popular expectation. Advancing into Numidia ravaging and plundering, he defeated Jugurtha, and Bocchus, king of Mauretania, in two bloody battles. This defeat discouraged Bocchus, and Sulla, Marius's quæstor, entered into negotiations with him, which resulted in the surrender of Jugurtha (B. C. 106). This ended the war. After remaining two years in the country, Marius returned to Rome to celebrate his triumph (B. C. 104), in which Jugurtha walked in chains. While the procession was winding up the *clivus Capitolinus*, the king turned to the right to be cast into the Mamertine prison. As he touched the cold, damp dungeon,[2] he exclaimed: "By Hercules! what a cold bath is this," and after six days died of hunger.[3] Numidia was not immediately made a Roman province, but the western part, Mauretania Cæsariensis,[4] was annexed to the kingdom of Bocchus, and the rest was bestowed upon Gauda, a descendant of Masinissa.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The War with the Cimbri and Teutones (B. C. 113–101).

1. The Relations of Rome to the North. — Before the war with Jugurtha was ended, a new danger threatened the empire from the north. It will be remembered that Rome had subdued the Gauls in the north of Italy and had founded Eporedia[5] (*Ivrea*) to command the passes of the western Alps, as Aquileja did of the eastern. The province of Narbo had been organized and communication was opened with Spain by means of the Domitian way, which extended

[1] According to Sallust (c. 73), in the summer of B. C. 107; Mommsen (l. c. vol. iii., p. 170) thinks in B. C. 106 or late in the season of B. C. 107. See Peter (*Studien zur Rom. Gesch.*, p. 96, note) for a thorough discussion of the subject.
[2] The *Tullianum*. [3] Plut. G. Mar. [4] Algiers. [5] B. C. 190.

from the Rhone to the Pyrenees. The colonies which the Gracchan party founded to alleviate the condition of the proletarians in the capital, and which soon became centres for Roman traders and settlers, have already been mentioned.[1] In most of the country beyond the Alps, however—in Spain and in Gaul, except the small tract along the coast—the native tribes still roamed in freedom and defied the incompetent government at Rome.

2. The Battle of Arausio (B. C. 105).—About this time it happened that a Germanic tribe, the Cimbri, in its wanderings from home,[2] reached Noricum,* and approached the passes of the Alps near Aquileja. The consul Papirius Carbo was defeated,[3] but instead of directing their march to Italy, the Cimbri turned to the west, crossed the Jura, and threatened the Roman territory in that quarter. Here they stimulated other tribes[4] to attack the Romans, and the consul Junius Silanus was defeated in B. C. 109, and two years after, L. Cassius Longinus suffered a terrible defeat, and his army escaped only by giving up its baggage and passing under the yoke. This encouraged Tolosa (*Toulouse*) to revolt, but the consul the next year retook the city, and plundered the rich temple there of its vast amount of treasures. The next year the Cimbri returned with the intention of invading Italy. Three powerful armies opposed their passage of the Rhone.* The battle of Arausio (*Orange*) followed, and the three armies were cut to pieces in detail. The loss was tremendous.[5] The terror of another invasion from the north spread throughout Italy, and the storm of popular indignation burst forth with terrible fury against the oligarchy.[6] The Cimbri fortunately turned towards Spain and gave the Romans a two years respite.

3. Marius Re-elected Consul (B. C. 104).—All eyes were now turned towards Marius, as the only man who could save Italy. During his absence he had been elected to the consulship,

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[1] See p. 214, n. 4; also p. 210. [2] *Chersonesus Cimbrica.* [3] Near Noreja, in B. C. 113.
[4] *Tigurini, Tougeni*, &c. [5] 80,000 soldiers and 40,000 camp followers.
[6] Cæpio, one of the commanders, was deposed from office, his property confiscated, and he, in direct violation of law, was condemned to death. * See Map No. 7.

although the law prescribed that the candidate should apply in person, and prohibited re-election until after the elapse of ten years. On the same day that he celebrated his triumph, he entered his second consulship.[1] He set out immediately for Gaul at the head of an army ardently attached to him, and commanded by the best officers, among whom was his old quæstor Sulla. The departure of the Cimbri gave him time to harden his soldiers by toil, and to complete the important canal[2] from the left bank of the Rhone to the coast, which opened communication between the sea and his camp, thus avoiding the difficult navigation of the delta of the Rhone.

4. The Battle of Aquæ Sextiæ (B. C. 102).—In the meantime the Cimbri had returned from Spain, re-united with the Teutones,[3] and, reinforced by other tribes, prepared for the invasion of Italy. The immense host, however, divided again; the Cimbri and the Tigurini crossed the Rhone, in order to enter Italy by their old route, the eastern Alps, while the Teutones and Ambrones marched toward the Rhone, where Marius was encamped, to enter Italy by the Maritime Alps, and join the Cimbri on the Po. The camp of Marius at the junction of the Rhone and Isara (*Isère*) commanded both of the western routes to Italy, the one along the coast, and the other over the Little St. Bernard. The barbarians stormed the camp, but when they found the intrenchments too strong for them, they pursued their way to Italy. For six days the vast host filed past the camp, and defied the Romans by asking if they had anything to send to their wives at home, for they should soon be in Italy. When they had advanced a short distance, Marius broke up and followed until they reached Aquæ Sextiæ[4] (*Aix*). Here Marius offered battle, and the enemy were eager for the encounter. The Teutones fought with all the energy and courage of their race, but the Roman legions stood like a wall. At length, attacked in the front and rear, for Marius had placed

[1] Jan. 1, B. C. 104.

[2] *Fossæ Marianæ*.

[3] Mommsen, following Livy, thinks that the Cimbri first united with the Teutones after their return from Spain. Vellejus Peterculus (ii., 8), Appian (*Celt.* 13), and many others make the Teutones appear with the Cimbri much earlier.

[4] That is, Baths of Sextius; see map, p. 314.

a band of Roman soldiers there in ambuscade, the mighty host of the barbarians was annihilated.[1] Just as Marius was in the act of setting fire to the vast pile of arms collected from the field of battle, it was announced to him that he had been elected to the consulship for the fifth time (B. C. 101).

5. Battle of Vercellæ (B. C. 101). — Meanwhile Q. Lutatius Catulus had engaged[2] the Cimbri as they attempted to enter Italy by the Brenner pass,[3] but being unable to hold his position, had retreated over the Adige,* thus leaving the whole valley of the Po exposed to the ravages of the barbarians. Marius, on his return to Rome, refused the triumph offered him by the senate, until the Cimbri were subdued.[4] After a brief stay in the capital, he joined Catulus. Their united armies crossed the Po and offered battle, but the barbarians declined it and sent envoys to Marius to demand lands for themselves and the Teutones. "The Teutones," replied Marius, "have got all the land they need on the other side of the Alps." The battle could no longer be delayed, and near Vercellæ, just where Hannibal had fought his first battle in Italy, the hostile armies met. As at Aquæ Sextiæ, so here, the barbarians were annihilated. Those who survived the battle were either killed or sold in the slave market at Rome.[5]

[1] 200,000 were killed and 90,000 taken prisoners.

[2] According to Livy (*Ep.* lxviii.). Plut. (*Mar.* 23) says that Catulus gave up the passes without a contest, and posted himself on the Adige. See Mommsen (l. c. vol. iii., p. 201).

[3] From Innsbruck to Trent.

[4] He was consul for B. C. 102, and his *imperium* had been prolonged; he was now acting as proconsul.

[5] The human avalanche which for thirteen years had alarmed the nations from the Danube to the Ebro, from the Seine to the Po, rested beneath the sod, or toiled under the yoke of slavery; the forlorn hope of the German migration had performed its duty; the homeless people of the Cimbri and their comrades were no more.—*Mommsen*, l. c. vol. iii., p. 203. The hypothesis that the Cimbri, as well as the similar horde of the Teutones which afterwards joined them, belonged, in the main, not to the Celtic nation, to which the Romans at first assigned them, but to the Germanic, is supported by the most definite facts: viz., by the existence of two small tribes of the same name—remnants left behind to all appearances in their primitive seats—the Cimbri in modern Denmark, the Teutones in the northeast of Germany, in the neighborhood of the Baltic, where Pytheas, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, makes mention of them thus early in connection with the amber trade; by the insertion of the Cimbri and Teutones in the list of the Germanic peoples among the Ingævones, alongside of the Chauci; by the judgment of Cæsar, who first made the Romans acquainted with the distinction between the Germans and the Celts, and who includes the Cimbri, many of whom he must himself have seen, among the Germans; and lastly, by the names of the peoples and the statements as to their physical appearance and habits in other respects, which, while applying to the men of the north generally, are especially applicable to the Germans.—*Mommsen*, l. c. p. 187.

* The Athesis: see map, p. 2.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Social Distress—Reforms of Marius—The Appuleian Laws—The Rule of the Senate Restored.

1. Necessity for Reform.—The triumph which Marius had refused was now celebrated with double splendor. The people called him the third founder of Rome,[1] and rewarded him with new honors. Marius was now the first man in the state. His services had placed him far above Metellus or Catulus or any member of the aristocracy. He had delivered the state from her foreign foes, but a severer task was before him: to cure the social and agrarian evils, to arrest the prevailing decay, and to infuse a new spirit into civil and political life. At home the allotments of land had ceased, and poverty and decay were spreading again over Italy. While the labor on the great estates was performed by vast gangs of slaves, Roman citizens wandered houseless and homeless. Repeated insurrections broke out in Italy and in Sicily. In the provinces the capitalists and the magistrates made common cause in plundering the provincials.

2. The Slave Population.—The farmers of the revenue in collecting the custom-dues and the tenths, had also prosecuted a profitable business in the provinces in kidnapping the free population and selling them to the slave dealers. This practice had been carried on to such an extent, that when Marius asked Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, for auxiliaries in the war against the Teutones, this prince replied that owing to the farmers of the revenue and slave merchants, he no longer had any subjects left in his kingdom except women, children, and old men.[2] The senate issued a decree that no

[1] The first two were Romulus and Camillus.

[2] The Roman rule had undergone everywhere a material alteration. Partly through the constant growth of oppression naturally incident to every tyrannic government, partly through the indirect operation of the Roman revolution—in the seizure, for instance, of the property of the soil in the provinces of Asia by Gajus Gracchus, in the Roman tenths and customs, and in the human hunts which the collectors of the revenue

freeman, a native of an allied country, should be detained in slavery, and directed the prætor in Sicily to announce to those who believed that they were unjustly held in captivity to appear before him. Immediately innumerable multitudes came to claim their freedom; but as most of them belonged to influential capitalists[1] who openly expressed their dissatisfaction, the magistrate was obliged to let the measure drop. The slaves deceived in their hopes for freedom and rendered furious, flew to arms in all directions. They found two able leaders, Salvius and Athenion, one of whom conducted the war in the eastern part of the island, and the other, in the western part. The insurrection soon assumed such a formidable aspect that, when the war with the Cimbri was ended, Manius Aquillius (B. C. 101), the colleague of Marius in his fifth consulship, was sent to Sicily. After two years he succeeded in subduing the insurrection (B. C. 99); the prisoners were sent to Rome to fight with wild beasts for the amusement of the people, but they disappointed the spectators by slaying each other with their own hands in the amphitheatre.

3. Marius as a Politician.—Under such circumstances, the people looked to Marius as the only man who could save the state and overthrow the rule of the oligarchy. The army which he had formed and led to victory was ardently devoted to him, and furnished the means of striking the blow against the government. The times, however, were not ripe for a military despotism, and Marius sought to accomplish his reforms in a constitutional manner. He disbanded his army after the triumph, and relying on the support of the popular party, came forward in the regular way as a candidate for the consulship. Marius, although a great warrior, was no politician. As he had no clear and definite views of his own position nor of the manner in which reform was to be accomplished, he became a

added to their other avocation there—the Roman rule, barely tolerable even from the first, pressed so heavily on Asia, that neither the crown of the king nor the hut of the peasant there was any longer safe from confiscation, that every stalk of corn seemed to grow for the Roman *decumanus* (*i. e.*, the tithe-gatherer), and every child of free parents seemed to be born for the Roman slave-driver.—*Mommsen*, l. c. vol. iii., p. 288.

[1] The capitalist belonged to the equestrian order who, as judges, could punish the magistrates on their return to Rome.

mere novice in the hands of the political intriguers of the capital.

4. Marius and the Demagogues.—The leaders of the popular party were no longer what they had been in the days of the Gracchi. They were now mere adventurers animated with intense hatred and contempt for the nobility. Marius allied himself with two of the worst of these demagogues, L. Appulejus Saturninus and G. Servilius Glaucia. The former was a candidate for the tribunate and the latter for the prætorship; by their efforts and by open violence and bribery, Marius was elected consul for the sixth time. Glaucia obtained the prætorship, but when A. Nonius was declared elected tribune in the place of Saturninus, he was set upon by a band of Marius's veterans who, for such purposes, had come to Rome in great numbers, driven from the forum, and finally killed. These were the men to whom was entrusted the task of carrying out the reforms of the Gracchi.

5. The Appuleian Laws (B. C. 100).—Saturninus, in order to conciliate the favor of the people, proposed two rogations:

1. *The first*[1] prescribed that the state should sell corn at a nominal price[2] to Roman citizens.

2. *The second*[3] directed that the land in Cisalpine Gaul[4] which the Cimbri had obtained possession of, should be divided among the Italians and the Roman citizens, thus providing relief not only for Rome but for all Italy.[5]

A provision was also made for founding in Sicily, Achaja and Macedonia colonies of veterans who had served in the army of Marius. In order to prevent amendments and delay on the part of the senate, a clause was added threatening a heavy punishment against those senators who refused to swear obedience to the laws within five days after they were enacted by the people. The laws, however, were carried only after the most

[1] *Lex frumentaria.*

[2] Instead of 6½ asses (2½ asses = 5 cents) as formerly, the price was reduced to ⅚ of an as (*semisses et trientes*) per *modius* (peck).

[3] *Lex agraria.*

[4] *Gallia transpadana.*

[5] The *aurum Tolosanum*, "the gold of Tolosa" (see p. 222), which Cæpio had stolen from the temple in Tolosa, and which fell to the state treasury after his condemnation, was to be distributed among the settlers to enable them to stock their farms.

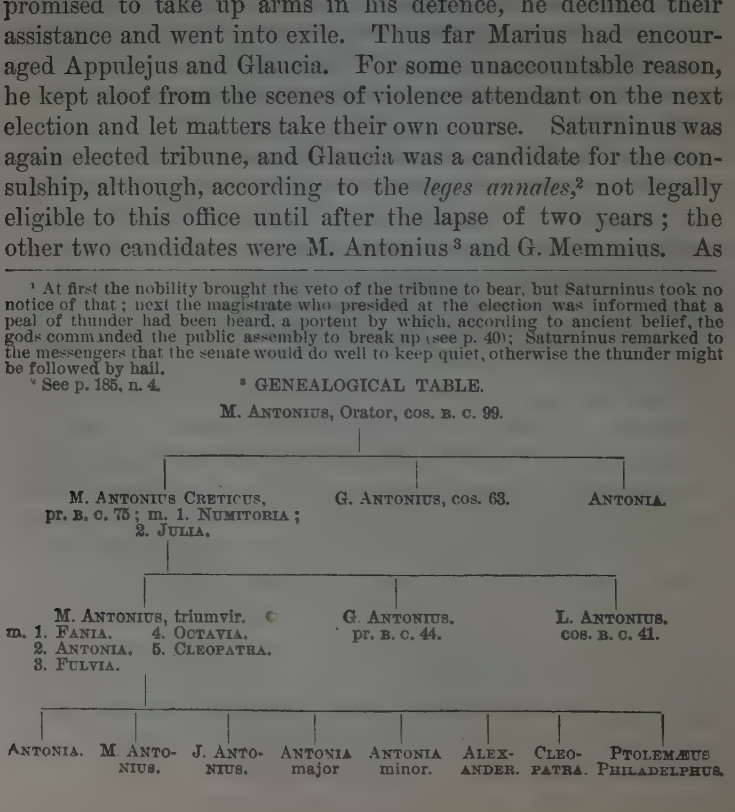
disgraceful riots and intense opposition. The partisans of the nobility dispersed the *comitia* by violence;[1] but the old soldiers of Marius, who had flocked to the city in great crowds to vote, retaliated, and the voting was finally completed and the measures were adopted.

6. Re-election of the Demagogues.—Saturninus now called up the senators to take the oath to observe the laws faithfully. The course of Marius was marked by indecision and deceit. After declaring in the senate that he would never comply with the clause, he immediately took the oath to obey the laws so far as they were valid. The other senators followed his example. Metellus alone refused, and when his friends promised to take up arms in his defence, he declined their assistance and went into exile. Thus far Marius had encouraged Appulejus and Glaucia. For some unaccountable reason, he kept aloof from the scenes of violence attendant on the next election and let matters take their own course. Saturninus was again elected tribune, and Glaucia was a candidate for the consulship, although, according to the *leges annales*,[2] not legally eligible to this office until after the lapse of two years; the other two candidates were M. Antonius[3] and G. Memmius. As

[1] At first the nobility brought the veto of the tribune to bear, but Saturninus took no notice of that; next the magistrate who presided at the election was informed that a peal of thunder had been heard, a portent by which, according to ancient belief, the gods commanded the public assembly to break up (see p. 40); Saturninus remarked to the messengers that the senate would do well to keep quiet, otherwise the thunder might be followed by hail.

[2] See p. 185, n. 4.

[3] GENEALOGICAL TABLE.


M. Antonius, Orator, cos. B. C. 99.
M. Antonius Creticus, pr. B. C. 75; m. 1. Numitoria; 2. Julia.
G. Antonius, cos. 63.
Antonia.
M. Antonius, triumvir. m. 1. Fania. 2. Antonia. 3. Fulvia. 4. Octavia. 5. Cleopatra.
G. Antonius. pr. B. C. 44.
L. Antonius. cos. B. C. 41.
Antonia.
M. Antonius.
J. Antonius.
Antonia major
Antonia minor.
Alexander.
Cleopatra.
Ptolemæus Philadelphus.

the election of Antonius, the celebrated orator, was certain, the struggle lay between Memmius and Glaucia. As Memmius seemed likely to be elected, Saturninus hired bands of ruffians to assail and kill him on the public street. This outrage alarmed all who cared for the safety of the state.

7. Reaction against Marius.—The senate saw that the time had come to act. The consul was invested with full powers,[1] the state was declared to be in danger, and Marius, as consul, was charged with its defence. At the head of bands of armed men, Marius attacked Saturninus and his followers. Glaucia was killed in a private house, and the young nobles stripped the tiles from the senate house, where Marius had confined Saturninus and the other prisoners, and stoned them to death. The violent course of Saturninus had alarmed all who had anything to lose. His laws were repealed, and the equestrian party joined in unsparing persecutions against his followers.[2] From this time the popularity of Marius declined. Odious to the senate, and hated by the people because he had deserted Saturninus, despised by all for his duplicity and indecision, he had lost the confidence of all parties. Rather than witness the return of his hated rival Metellus, he left Rome under the pretext of performing vows in Asia Minor, but really to brood over his hopes of revenge and to recover his popularity by gaining fresh victories in the East, where the daily increasing complications threatened war with Mithridates. The prediction of the Utican seer had thus far been realized, but the promise of the seventh consulship still remained unfulfilled.

8. The Increase of Superstition.—For the third time the power of the senate had been restored. Not only the character of the internal government, but even religion began to

[1] See p. 212, n. 4.

[2] An important law was carried enforcing the observance of certain formalities at elections, viz., (1) The *lex Cæcilia Didia*, in reference to the *trinundinum*, *i. e.*, that subjects to be brought before the *concilium plebis* must be announced three *nundinæ* beforehand (every eight days, reckoning from the first of January, was a *nundina*; the Romans counted both the day from which and to which they reckoned; a *novemdinæ* therefore occurred every ninth day. A similar mode of reckoning is still customary in Germany, where eight days is used for a week). (2) A legal prohibition against lumping several laws containing distinct regulations together, and carrying all at one time (*per saturam ferre*). This gave the nobility a better opportunity to discuss a law and to maintain control over legislation (B. C. 98).

feel the injurious effects of a revolutionary struggle that had now lasted for nearly fifty years. The social evils pressed heavier and heavier upon the people, while the luxury and wealth of the upper classes increased. What was still worse, the old forms of faith were dying out, and men turned from their ancestral gods and sank more and more into strange superstitions. The slaves from the east brought their forms of worship with them. During the war with the Teutones, the senate welcomed the Phrygian Battaces, the high priests of Pessimus, who promised victory, and a temple was erected to the Good Goddess. Marius took with him everywhere the Syrian prophetess Martha, consulting her before every battle. Sulla believed in omens and miracles and obeyed the Chaldean prophets. The wild orgies of the Cappadocian Ma, to whom the priests shed their own blood in sacrifice, the glowing Egyptian mysticism, and various forms of unallowed and secret worship, crept into Italy and took possession of the minds and hearts of the people.[1] In B. C. 97, the senate was obliged to forbid human sacrifices. Strange priests, religious impostors, and crowds of soothsayers swarmed in the streets and preyed upon the ignorance and fears of the superstitious mass that thronged the capital from all parts of Italy. The native gods seemed to have forsaken the people, who in utter despair turned towards strange gods and sought with religious frenzy after strange worships. As every nation in antiquity had its own special gods, who, in consideration of constant worship, granted protection to every citizen, it was therefore a sign of national decay when the people forsook their own gods and turned to foreign deities.

[1] Men had become perplexed, not merely as to their old faith, but as to their very selves; the fearful crisis of a fifty years' revolution, the instinctive feeling that the civil war was still far from being at an end, increased the anxious suspense, the gloomy perplexity of the multitude. Restless and wandering imagination climbed every height and fathomed every abyss, where it fancied that it might discover new prospects or new light amidst the fatalities impending, might gain fresh trophies in the desperate struggle against destiny, or perhaps might find merely fresh alarms. A portentous mysticism found in the general distraction—political, economic, moral, religious—the soil which was adapted for it, and grew with alarming rapidity; it was as if gigantic trees had grown by night out of the earth, none knew whence or whither, and this very marvellous rapidity of growth worked new wonders and seized like an epidemic on all minds not thoroughly fortified.—*Mommsen*, l. c. vol. iii., p. 461.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The Struggle of the Italians for the Franchise.

1. The Condition of the Subjects.—It will be recollected that Scipio was able to put an end to the execution of the agrarian law when the commissioners interfered with the land secured to the Latins and the Italian allies by treaties.[1] The state had, no doubt, legally the right to resume possession of the public land, whether occupied by Roman citizens, Latins, or allies; but while the complaints of Roman citizens could be disregarded, it became a question whether it was politic to give fresh offence to the Latins and the Italian allies, among whom already a profound dissatisfaction prevailed.[2] The leaders of the popular party proposed to remove the obstacle which the allies interposed by granting them the rights of citizenship; and from this time the agitation for land and the Italian agitation for the franchise moved along side by side in close alliance. For nearly thirty years the hope of obtaining full citizenship had been held out to the Latins, but during all of that time no measure had been carried to better their condition. On the contrary, however, their condition had changed greatly to their disadvantage. The burdens imposed[3] upon them had been unjustly increased, and Rome managed the whole administration of affairs in such a way as to make the allies feel that they were subjects without rights. The result was that the Italians, almost like the provincials, were handed over to the caprice of the Roman magistrates.

2. The Wrongs of the Subjects.—It was no uncommon thing for a Roman consul to order the magistrate of an allied town to be flogged for some trifling offence.[4] A mere citizen

[1] See p. 207. [2] See p. 184. [3] See p. 184.

[4] The consul came to Teanum Sidicinum; he said his wife wished to bathe in the men's bath. Marcus Marius confided it to the care of the quæstor of Sidicinum to see that those who were bathing should be sent away. The wife told her husband that the baths were not given up to her soon enough, nor were they sufficiently clean. Immediately a

passing through Venusia ordered a free peasant to be seized and whipped to death on account of a jest which he made on the Roman's litter.[1] During the Jugurthine war Latin officers[2] were scourged and beheaded, while the poorest Roman soldier had the right of appeal. All this produced profound discontent, and that discontent grew from year to year, as the bondage became more oppressive and the prospect of obtaining full citizenship disappeared.[3] Formerly the Latins had looked to Rome as the centre, and the full liberty of settling there and acquiring partial citizenship[4] had been accorded to them. Now this right[5] was attacked, and in the few years of tranquillity that followed the departure of Marius to Asia (in B. C. 99), the two consuls of B. C. 95, L. Licinius Crassus[6] and Q. Mucius Scævola, hoping to put an end to the agitation of the allies, carried a law[7] which forbade any who were not citizens from claiming the franchise under severe penalty. This law, framed no doubt with the best of intentions, by two of the most

post was fixed down in the market-place, and the quæstor, the most illustrious man of his city, was led to it; his garments were stripped off, and he was beaten with rods.—*Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic*, x, 3.

[1] The peasant, when he saw the Roman carried in a litter on the shoulders of slaves, asked, "Are you carrying a dead body?" The expression cost him his life.

[2] *Sall. Jug.* 69; the *rogatio Livia* (p. 211) had never become a law.

[3] There are no official figures that give the number of the Italian allies. Mommsen (l. c. vol. iii., p. 241) estimates it at 500,000 or 600,000; the number of citizens was probably about 400,000.

[4] *Civitas sine suffragio.*

[5] To escape from the tyranny of the Roman magistrates, each man tried to approach Rome and to establish himself there if possible. Thus Rome exercised upon Italy a sort of absorption, tending in a short time to make a desert of the country and overburden the city with an enormous population. (The same tendency is observed in modern times; the population flocks from the rural districts to the cities.) Such was the condition of Italy. The extremities of the body became cold and void; all was carried to the heart, which became oppressed. The senators rejected from the senate and public offices the "new men," the knights, the rich men, and gave up to them in compensation the invasion of the land of the poor. The Romans repulsed the colonists from the suffrage, the Latins from the city; the Latins in turn expelled the Italians from Latium and from the rights of the Latins. Rome had ruined independent Italy by her colonies, in which she crowded the poor; then she ruined colonized Italy by the invasion of the rich, who everywhere bought, claimed, and usurped the lands, and had them cultivated by slaves.—*Michelet*, l. c., pp. 254, 255.

[6] GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

L. Licinius Crassus, Orator.
cos. B. C. 95. m. Mucia.

Licinia, m. Scipio Nasica.	Licinia, m. G. Marius.	L. Licinius Crassus Scipio, son of Licinia, adopted by L. L. Crassus, Orator.

[7] The *lex Licinia Mucia de civibus redigundis.*

eminent statesmen of the times, so exasperated the Italians[1] that it became the proximate cause of the Social war.

3. The Equestrian Order.—During the prosecutions that followed under this law, events occurred that gave the senate new strength, and caused it to believe that the time had come to deprive the equestrian order of its judicial power. How unfit the knights were to exercise this right the unjust condemnation of P. Rutilius Rufus, one of the most eminent jurists and historians of his day, showed. He had accompanied M. Scævola as legate to Asia, and when Scævola returned to Rome, he was entrusted with the management of the province. With great impartiality he granted the provincials protection against the extortions of the tax-gatherers, the merchants, and the contractors. This so enraged the equestrian order that, on his return to Rome, a charge was trumped up against him, and being convicted, he was sentenced to pay a fine. His property was confiscated, and Rufus withdrew from Rome, and retired to the province which it was alleged he had plundered. After this prosecutions fell thick upon the senators, while every capitalist tried before members of his own order was sure to escape.[2]

4. The Laws of Drusus.—The senatorial party entrusted the tribune, M. Livius Drusus, the son of that Drusus who had rendered the oligarchy such assistance in the contest with G. Gracchus, with the attack on the jury courts. He came forward with measures of reform which he believed would satisfy all parties. He proposed that colonies should be founded in Italy and Sicily, that the senate should be increased by the addition of three hundred new senators chosen from the

[1] So long as the demands of the Italians were mixed up with those of the revolutionary party at Rome, and had, in the hands of the latter, been rejected by the folly of the masses, they might still resign themselves to the belief that the oligarchy had been hostile merely to the proposers, not to the proposal itself, and that there was still a possibility that the more intelligent senate would accept a measure which was compatible with the nature of the oligarchy and salutary to the state. But the recent years, in which the senate once more ruled almost absolutely, had shed only too disagreeable a light on the designs of the Roman oligarchy also.—*Mommsen*, l. c. vol. iii., p. 242.

[2] Every one in the government party who was still alive to the fact that governing implied not merely rights but duties, every one in fact who still felt any nobler or prouder ambition within him, could not but rise in revolt against this oppressive and disgraceful political control, which precluded any possibility of upright administration. The scandalous condemnation of Rutilius Rufus seemed a summons to begin the attack at once, and Marcus Livius Drusus, who was tribune of the people B. C. 91, regarded the summons as specially addressed to himself.—*Mommsen*, l. c. vol. iii., p. 231.

equestrian order, and that the jurymen[1] should be taken from the senate,[2] thus increased in numbers. There was neither in Italy nor in Sicily sufficient public land for this purpose, and the senators were indignant that the *equites* were to be admitted to the senate, while the *equites* had no desire to transfer to a few of their own order the share in the administration of justice which they all enjoyed. Still the most eminent men in the state favored the proposals, many of those whom Cicero in his history of Roman eloquence mentioned as the most renowned orators of their times.[3] The agitation began anew, and party spirit ran high. It soon became evident to Livius that the people did not favor his proposals. He sought to conciliate them by another agrarian law, by fresh distributions of corn, and in order to defray the expense, issued copper *denarii*, plated to resemble those of silver.[4] He even held out to the Italian allies the promise of the Roman franchise.

5. The Proposals Carried.—When Livius found that these new measures were far from being welcome to the aristocracy, and were violently opposed by the capitalists, he embraced all his proposals in one law; and as those interested in the distribution of corn and land had at the same time to vote for the clause in regard to the jurymen, the proposals were carried, although amid scenes of violence. The consul Philippus, a furious opponent of Drusus,[5] summoned the senate to

[1] The punishment of corrupt jurymen was to be entrusted to a special commission, *quæstio perpetua*.

[2] *Lex judicaria;* Livius hoped that these proposals would be acceptable to both parties, but they really satisfied none.

[3] L. Licinius Crassus, M. Antonius, Q. Mucius Scævola, Q. Lutatius Catulus, G. Aurelius Cotta, and P. Sulpicius Rufus. Cicero was in this year (B. C. 91) already fifteen years of age. He knew them personally, and had heard them with admiration.

[4] *Lex nummaria.*

[5] GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

M. Livius Drusus, trib. pl.,
Killed B. C. 91. m. Servilia.

L. Drusus Claudianus.
Adopted.

M. Liv. Drusus Libo (adopted),
cos. B. C. 15. m. Pompeja.

Livia Drusilla, afterwards named Julia
Augusta. m. 1. Tiberius. 2. Augustus.

declare the Livian laws null because they were carried in violation of a recent law.[1] After a stormy session, the senate decreed the abrogation of the laws. Drusus disdained to make use of his veto; he contented himself with remarking that it was the senate that had riveted the equestrian yoke upon its own neck.

6. The Death of Drusus.—Only about two months more remained for Drusus to perform his promise to the allies.[2] The opposition was formidable. The allies looked to him as their leader, and were ready to take up arms for their rights. The ferment soon became so great that civil war was threatened. The opposite party looked upon Drusus as a conspirator, and the very day before the assembly was to meet to vote on his proposal to grant citizenship to allies, he was assassinated in his own house. Turning to those around him, well might he ask as he was dying, "Friends and neighbors, when will the republic have another citizen like me?"[3] for he had lost his life in attempting to overthrow the power of the capitalists, to restore the state by a systematic colonization, and to avert the impending civil war. Suspicion fell upon the tribune elect, Q. Varius, and particularly upon the consul Philippus.

7. Rupture with the Allies.—Notwithstanding the death of Drusus, his colleagues in the tribunate favorable to the measure, hoped still to succeed, and the allies were summoned to Rome to assist in carrying it. Q. Pompædius Silo was already on the way with ten thousand Marsians, when one of the ambassadors who had been sent to pacify the Italians, met him and induced him to return by saying that the senate had already decided to give the allies the franchise.[4] The Italians had long been making preparations for revolt, and had secretly collected arms and made treaties. The Roman prætor, Gajus Servilius, hearing that the town of Asculum in Picenum was preparing

[1] The *lex Cæcilia Didia*, p. 229, note 2.

[2] *Lex de civitate sociis danda*; that the action of the senate had so embittered Drusus and caused him in the last two months of his tribunate to propose this law, is testified to in the most positive manner by Vellejus Paterculus (ii. 14). See *Peter*, l. c. vol. ii., p. 89, note.

[3] *Ecquandone similem mei civem habebit respublica.*—Vell. ii, 14.

[4] See Diodorus 37, 19 f.; also Lange, l. c. iii., p. 106.

for revolt, proceeded there and threatened the inhabitants in the most vehement language. The sight of the fasces and the threats of the prætor aroused the people; Servilius was seized and put to death, together with his legate and all the Romans in the place. This was the signal for a general insurrection. The Picentes, Vestinians, Marsians, Peignians, Marrucinians, Samnites, and Lucanians, were soon in arms. The communities with Latin rights, that were scattered throughout Italy, the Etruscans and the Umbrians, as well as most of the Greek cities, adhered to the fortunes of Rome.

8. The Government of the Allies.—In the meantime, the allies had prepared for war, and, with bitter hatred against their former rulers, they determined to destroy Rome. They fixed upon Corfinium in the beautiful valley of the Aternus* (*Pescara*) as the new capital of Italy. Its name was changed to Italica,[1] and citizenship was to be conferred upon all who joined the insurrection. The form of government was borrowed from that of Rome. It was to have a senate of five hundred members, which elected two consuls—the Marsian Q. Pompædius Silo, the chief instigator of the war, and the Samnite G. Papius Mutilus—who were to conduct the war, and twelve prætors. The Latin and Samnite languages were equally recognized, though the Latin was used in official intercourse. The soul of the insurrection were the brave Marsians, and from the prominent part they took in the struggle, it has frequently been called the Marsic war. They had served in the Roman armies, and were armed and disciplined like the Romans. The Romans themselves said of them, "Who could triumph over the Marsians, or without them?"[2]

9. Commencement of Hostilities.—The best officers of all parties, Gajus Marius, the democrat, a well-known sympathizer with the Italians; Lucius Sulla, the hero of the war; Publius Sulpicius Rufus, the friend of Drusus, and Pompejus Strabo, all offered their services to the consuls.[3] An army of

[1] In Oscan, Vitellia, a name found upon the coins that the confederacy issued.
[2] Appian, l. c. ii., 632.
[3] There were ten lieutenant-commanders; the two consuls were Lucius Cæsar, who gained a victory at Acerræ, and Publius Rutilius Lupus.

one hundred thousand men was placed in the field. The insurgents, however, had an army equally large, and were better prepared. Of the details of the war but little is known; it is clear, however, that the military operations were mostly confined to two districts—the northern, extending from Picenum to the borders of Campania, where the Latin language was spoken; and the southern, embracing Campania, Samnium, and the states where the Sabellian language was spoken.[1] These two districts formed throughout the war two distinct battle-fields.

10. Concessions.—The Romans fought with alternate victories and defeats until near the close of B. C. 90, when it became known that the Etruscans and the Umbrians were about to join the insurrection. The majority of the senate saw that the time had come for concessions, and the Romans were compelled to concede the very privileges that they had so long withheld:

1. *The Julian law*,[2] carried by the consul Julius Cæsar, granted the franchise to all the Latins, and to the other Italians who had remained faithful to Rome or had laid down their arms. The new citizens were to be confined to eight tribes, as the freedmen were to four.

2. The *lex Plautia Papiria*[3] prescribed that every citizen of an Italian[4] town should receive the franchise, provided that he was at that time a resident of Italy, and appeared before the Roman prætor within sixty days to register his name.

The effect of these concessions was immediately apparent. The insurrection became disorganized. Many fell away from the confederacy and hastened to avail themselves of the pardon

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[1] In the northern district, Silo commanded against the consul Publius Lupus; in the southern, Cæsar commanded against the Samnite Gajus Papius Mutilus.

[2] *Lex Julia. De civitate sociis danda:* carried near the close of B. C. 90.

[3] Proposed by the tribunes Plautius Silvanus and Papirius Carbo either in December, B. C. 90, or January, 89.

[4] The Po was reckoned as the northern boundary of Italy. According to Mommsen (vol. iii., p. 260 f.), Latin rights were conferred upon the communities between the Po and the Alps, in consequence of a law carried by the consul Strabo. Zumpt (*De Gallia Rom. provincia*), however, seems to have conclusively proved that the *jus Latii* was not bestowed upon the communities between the Po and the Alps, but that citizenship was only granted to the Latin colonies, and the *jus Latii* to some communities which seemed to deserve it. See Lange, l. c. vol. iii., p. 118.

offered by the government. The second and third campaigns[1] were decidedly favorable to the Romans, and the war seemed near its close, although Nola was still in the possession of the Samnites, and the army of the Lucanians and Samnites in southern Italy, under Pontius Telesinus, was still in arms, when extraordinary events occurred at Rome, which caused Sulla to raise the siege of Nola, march to Rome, and commence the Civil war. In order to understand these events, it is necessary to revert to the internal history during the Social war.

11. The Varian Prosecutions.—Even before hostilities had broken out, the most radical of the optimates and the capitalists mercilessly pursued the partisans of Drusus, whom they regarded as the cause of the war. At the instigation of Q. Varius, a low demagogue, an investigation was ordered against all who had directly or indirectly favored the demands of the Italians for citizenship.[2] The most eminent senators were dragged before the equestrian courts and compelled to go into exile. Even Æmilius Scaurus, the president of the senate, was compelled to appear before this tribunal. He deigned only to reply: "Varius, the Iberian, accuses Æmilius Scaurus, the prince of the senate, of exciting the Italians to revolt. Scaurus denies it. Quirites![3] which of them do you believe?" The people acquitted him with acclamation. As the war progressed, party spirit began to cool amid the disasters that befell the Romans on all sides. A reaction set in that was soon visible in Rome's policy at home and abroad. Besides measures of compromise,[4] the tribune Plautius Silvanus carried a law which deprived the knights of their control of the judicial power, and entrusted it to jurymen chosen by the tribes.[5] The convictions under the law of Varius had been the work of the knights encouraged by the extreme senatorial

[1] B. C. 89 and 88.

[2] This law, *lex de majestate; ut quæreretur de iis quorum ope consiliove socii contra populum Romanum arma sumpsissent*, was proposed soon after Varius entered the tribunate, *i. e.*, either in December, B. C. 91, or in January, B. C. 90.

[3] That is, citizens. See p. 15, n. 4.

[4] L. Calpurnius Piso carried a law (*lex Calpurnia de civitate*) which empowered a general to confer citizenship on the Italians serving in his army.

[5] The *lex Plautia judicaria;* each tribe was to choose 15 jurymen from the senators, equites, or people.

party. The passage of this law shows that the moderate party had obtained the upper hand. The ultras were in turn condemned and compelled to go into exile, among whom was Varius himself. This prosecution arrayed party against party and sowed the bitterest discord among the people.

12. The Condition of the Allies.—The results of the war had completely justified the concessions of the moderate party; but the manner in which the concessions[1] had been made produced deep discontent among the allies. The new citizens had been crowded into eight tribes, which were to vote last, and in case twenty-two out of the thirty-five old tribes agreed, the matter was already decided, and the new tribes did not come to a vote at all. Besides, the increase in the number of citizens[2] was so great that no public place in Rome was large enough to contain them. Scattered as they were all over Italy south of the Po, it was impossible for the vast multitude to come to Rome on the days when the public assemblies were held.[3] The restrictions under which they voted might have been necessary and beneficial, had the Roman citizens been

[1] Instead of granting equality of rights to all Italian communities, the Romans had only expressed the inferiority in another form. They had received a great number of Italian communities into Roman citizenship, but had attached to what they thus conferred an injurious stigma, by placing the new citizens alongside of the old on nearly the same footing as the freedmen occupied alongside of the free born. They had irritated rather than pacified the communities between the Po and the Alps by the concession of Latin rights. Lastly, they had withheld the franchise from a considerable, and that not the worst, portion of the Italians—the whole of the insurgent communities which had again submitted: and not only so, but, instead of restoring in a legal shape the former treaties annulled by the insurrection, they had at the utmost renewed them as a matter of favor and rendered them revocable at pleasure. The disability as regarded the right of voting gave the deeper offence, that it was—as the *comitia* were then constituted—politically absurd, and the hypocritical care of the government for the unstained purity of the electors appeared to every unprejudiced person ridiculous; but all these restrictions were dangerous, inasmuch as they invited every demagogue to carry his ulterior objects by taking up the more or less just demands of the new citizens and of the Italians excluded from the franchise. . . . But still deeper indignation swelled the heart of the old man (*i. e.*, Marius) who had gone forth to the Italian war with revived hopes and had come back from it reluctantly, with the consciousness of having rendered new services, and of having received in return new and most severe mortifications, with the bitter feeling of being no longer dreaded, but despised by his enemies, with that gnawing spirit of vengeance in his heart which feeds on its own poison.—*Mommsen*, l. c. vol. iii, p. 268 ff.

[2] According to Livy (epit. lxxxviii), the number of citizens for B. C. 70 was 900,000; while the last census before the war showed 394,336; see p. 232, n. 3.

[3] This Marsic war, which introduced the Italians into Rome, permanently destroyed the unity of the city (see p. 211), which had so long been maintained by the patricians. Before the old temple of Quirinus, says Pliny (xv. 36), there grew two myrtles, the one patrician, the other plebeian. The first, which had been green and vigorous up to the Marsic war, thereafter languished and withered, while the other flourished and grew strong.—*Val. Max.*, ix. 5.

what they once were; but the people long ago had lost all power, and the voters in the public assemblies were for the most part an ignoble rabble, composed of the freedmen of all nations. They took, however, the spirit of ancient Rome, believed themselves Romans, asserted their superiority over the new citizens, and defended the unity of the city. Finally, the franchise had been entirely withheld from the Samnites, who had remained in arms[1] and had not complied with the provisions of the Plautian law.

13. The Financial Crisis.—Meanwhile events had occurred in the East which rendered it imperatively necessary to declare war against Mithridates, king of Pontus, and to assign one of the consuls[2] with a new army to conduct the war there (B. C. 88). The state treasury, however, after a war of two years, was completely exhausted, and in order to equip a new army, the Romans had to raise money by selling for building lots the land in front of the capitol, which had been left vacant for the use of the pontiffs, augurs, and flamens. The distress produced by the Social war, followed by the breaking out of hostilities with Mithridates, ruined thousands. The capitalists and all who had their property invested in Asia Minor, no longer receiving returns, were compelled to suspend payments. Terrible financial distress set in at Rome, and interest rose to enormous rates. The debtors in their distress sought relief from the prætor A. Sempronius Asellio, who revived the Genucian law which authorized the debtors to sue for fourfold the amount of interest paid above the legal rate.[3] This so enraged the creditors that they assembled in the forum and attacked and killed the prætor before the eyes of the people.[4]

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[1] See p. 238. [2] Sulla was elected consul for B. C. 88. [3] See p. 82.

[4] Matters stood again exactly as they had stood during the strife of the orders; once more the capitalists in league with the prejudiced aristocracy made war against, and prosecuted, the oppressed multitude and the middle party which advised a modification of the rigid letter of the law; once more Rome stood on the verge of that abyss into which the despairing debtor drags his creditor along with him. But since that time, the simple civil and moral organization of a great agricultural city had been succeeded by the social antagonisms of a capital of many nations, and by that demoralization in which the prince and the beggar meet; now everything had come to be on a broader, more abrupt, and fearfully grander scale. When the Social war brought all the political and social elements fermenting among the citizens into collision with each other, it laid the foundation for a new revolution.—*Mommsen*, l. c. vol. iii., p. 271 f.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The First Civil War (B. C. 88–86).—The Proscription of the Senatorial Party (B. C. 87).

1. The Rise of Sulla.—Meanwhile the war in the East grew more threatening every day, and the senate was compelled to assign the management of it to one of the consuls. The lot fell upon Sulla, who was still engaged in the siege of the Samnites and the Lucanians in Nola. The selection of Sulla deeply offended Marius, who had long regarded the conduct of that war as his due. Sulla, however, during the Social war, had greatly increased his popularity. In the campaign against Jugurtha as Marius's legate, he had first displayed that bravery and audacity to which he owed his reputation. He took part in the Cimbric wars, where he displayed his remarkable talent in a still more striking manner. In B. C. 93 he was elected prætor, and, at the Apollinarian games, he exhibited for the amusement of the people a hundred African lions which were put to death in the circus by archers sent from Africa. A few years later when Bocchus had gilded figures erected in the capitol representing the surrender of Jugurtha to Sulla, the exasperation of Marius knew no bounds. In the Social war private quarrels had been hushed, and Marius and Sulla both offered their services. But Marius was so far advanced in age that he lost his renown as a soldier, and saw the laurels which he hoped to gather reaped by his opponent. Sulla's brilliant exploits established his reputation as a soldier, and raised him to the consulship; and now, entrusted by the senate with the command in the East, new fields of conquest were open to his ambition.

2. The Sulpician Laws (B. C. 88).—Marius, however, had long coveted this distinction, and determined not to yield to his rival without a struggle. He left his beautiful villa at Misenum, and appeared daily in the Campus Martius, and exercised with the young men. His enemies asked him what had become of the nervousness which had paralyzed his movements

in the Social war. In order to regain his popularity, he undertook the cause of the Italians, and induced the tribune P. Sulpicius, who had renounced his nobility[1] in order to become a candidate for the tribunate, to propose measures to conciliate the Italians and the knights, and finally to procure for him the conduct of the Asiatic war. These proposals were:

1. That the new citizens and freedmen should be distributed among all the tribes.[2]

2. That those citizens condemned under the Varian law should be recalled from exile.[3]

3. That every senator who owed more than two thousand *denarii*[4] should forfeit his seat in the senate.[5]

3. Civil War (B. C. 88).—Sulla returned to Rome to prevent the tribune from carrying these rogations, and declared all the remaining days of the year holidays;[6] during which no business could be legally transacted. This, however, made no difference to Sulpicius. With a body-guard of six hundred knights whom he called his anti-senate, and three thousand freedmen, he compelled Sulla, amid scenes of tumult and bloodshed, to withdraw the *justitium*.[7] After Sulla had left the city, Sulpicius came forward with his principal proposal: that the command in the Mithridatic war should be transferred to Marius.[8] Two military tribunes sent to the

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[1] As none but plebeians could hold this office, patricians often renounced the privileges of their rank in order to be qualified; this was called *transitio ad plebem*.

[2] *Ut novi cives libertinique in omnes tribus distribuerentur*.—Liv. Ep. 77; if the allies were admitted to all the tribes, they would outnumber the old citizens, and could easily confer the command on Marius.

[3] *Ut ei ejecti revocarentur*.—Liv. Ep. 77; *i. e.*, those equites who were condemned after the change in the popular feeling. See p. 238.

[4] About $400.

[5] This was also in the interest of the equites, as the senate, thus purified, was to be filled up from their order (*Plut. Sulla*, 8). For a different interpretation of these laws, see Mommsen, l. c. vol. iii., p. 274 f.

[6] *Feriæ imperativæ*; all days with the Romans were either *dies fasti*, when business could be transacted, or *dies nefasti*, when business was suspended. All days consecrated to the worship of the gods, to feasts or games, were *festi*, and were either *feriæ publicæ* or *privatæ*. *Feriæ publicæ* were: (1) *feriæ stativæ*, holidays observed every year on a fixed day; (2) *feriæ conceptivæ* were observed every year on days fixed by the priests; (3) *feriæ imperativæ* were extraordinary holidays for supplication or thanksgiving appointed by the magistrates.

[7] A time in which all public business was suspended. It was proclaimed by the senate and magistrates in times of public danger, and when tranquillity had been restored it was removed.

[8] *Ut Sullæ imperium abrogaretur, C. Mario privato pro consule provincia Asia et bellum decerneretur Mithridaticum*.—Liv. Ep. 77; also Plut. Mar. 34, Sull. 8.

consul's camp before Nola to take command of the army for Marius were killed by the soldiers, who, correctly interpreting the wish of their beloved leader, demanded to be led to Rome. At the head of six legions Sulla set out for the city. The resistance of Marius and Sulpicius was soon overcome, and for the first time in the annals of the city a Roman army encamped within the walls; for the first time party questions were solved by the sword. On the next day Sulla summoned the senate, which declared Marius and Sulpicius and ten others public enemies. Sulpicius was overtaken and put to death, but Marius succeeded in making his escape.

4. Legislation of Sulla.—The Sulpician laws were annulled, and such new provisions as seemed necessary for the security of the oligarchy were carried:

1. The power of the tribune was limited as it was before the Hortensian law, that is, every proposal must first be submitted to the senate and could only come before the people in case the senate approved.[1]

2. The old Servian arrangement for voting in the *comitia centuriata* was restored.[2]

3. The senate was filled up by the admission of three hundred new members selected from the party of the optimates.

To relieve the condition of the poor and of the hard-pressed debtors, colonies were founded and the old law in regard to the maximum rate of interest was restored.[3] After holding the consular elections for B.C. 87, in which Cn. Octavius, a strict optimate, and Cornelius Cinna, a member of the Marian party, were elected, Sulla, first making Cinna promise that he would not disturb the existing order of things, left Italy to commence the campaign against Mithridates.

5. The Wanderings of Marius.—Meanwhile Marius had met with the most remarkable adventures. The victor of Vercellæ had still a strong hold on the affections of the people, and all Italy was interested in his fate. He embarked from

[1] The *lex Cornelia Pompeja de tribunicia potestate.*
[2] The *lex Cornelia Pompeja de comitiis centuriatis*; see p. 22.
[3] See p. 68.

Ostia[1] in a vessel bound for Africa, but a storm compelled him to land at the Circejan promontory. Being deserted by the sailors, he took refuge at first in the hut of a poor fisherman, and then in the marsh near Minturnæ, where, in order to conceal himself he sank in the mud up to his throat. Here he was discovered and dragged before the magistrates of Minturnæ, for a proclamation had already been made in all these towns that a general search should be made for Marius, and that he should be put to death wherever he was found. The magistrates sent a slave—one of the Cimbri whom Marius had sent to Italy—to put him to death. The prison in which he lay was dark, and, to the frightened barbarian the eyes of the old general seemed to flash fire, and from the darkness a haughty voice demanded: "Durst thou kill Gajus Marius."[1]

6. Marius's Escape to Africa.—The sword fell from the hand of the barbarian, and he fled exclaiming: "I cannot kill Gajus Marius." When the magistrates heard this, they were struck with remorse at their conduct towards the preserver of Italy. "Let him go," said they; "let the exile go and await his destiny in some other land. It is time that we who have refused the poor, the naked wanderer the rights of hospitality, should deprecate the anger of the gods." They got a vessel ready, and sent him to the island of Ænaria (*Ischia*), where he was joined by many of his proscribed friends. From here he sailed for Africa; but hearing on the way that his son had taken refuge with Hiempsal, king of Numidia, he landed at the site of Carthage. He had scarcely set foot on shore when the prætor Sextilius sent an officer who said: "Marius, I come from the prætor to tell you that he forbids you to set foot in Africa. If you do not obey, he will execute the decree of the senate and treat you as a public enemy." On hearing this Marius was struck dumb with grief and astonishment. At length he said with a sigh, "Go tell the prætor that you have seen Gajus Marius a fugitive sitting amidst the ruins of Carthage." At length, being joined by his

[1] See map, p. 346-7.

[1] Plut. Mar.

son, he crossed to the island of Cercina,* where he waited for the fulfillment of the prophecy of the Utican seer, for he had not yet been consul for the seventh time.

7. The Marian Party. — Scarcely had Sulla departed, when Cinna, supported by the majority of the tribunes, proposed that the new citizens and freedmen should be enrolled in the thirty-five tribes,[1] and that the exiles should be recalled.[2] The senate, headed by Octavius, determined not to yield. Both parties appeared armed on the day of voting. Octavius, after a dreadful conflict, in which as many as ten thousand were slain, gained the victory. Cinna, being deprived of his office and driven from the city, fled to the army of Claudius, whom Sulla had left in command in Campania. Having obtained its support, and being joined by a vast number of the Italians,[3] he marched to Rome. The senate recalled the army of Pompejus Strabo from Cisalpine Gaul, and directed Metellus Pius, who had charge of the war against the Samnites, to conclude peace, and return to Rome. When Marius heard of these events, he set sail from Africa, landed at Telamon with a few followers, and occupied one place after another on the coast until Ostia fell into his hands. This cut Rome off from communication with the sea, and Marius moved rapidly up the Tiber, captured Mons Janiculus and united his forces with those of Cinna. Strabo and Octavius succeeded in retaking the Janiculus, and the senate, in order to increase the army, conferred citizenship on all the allies who had been subdued in the Social war and had not complied with the *lex Plautia Papiria*.[4] A few of the government troops arrived, not more than sixteen cohorts, not enough to supply the places of those who had fallen.

8. The Proscription of the Senatorial Party.—The government, however, did not despair. On the arrival of Metellus, it prepared to offer battle to the insurgents on the Alban Mount, but the untrustworthiness of the army compelled the senate to capitulate. Cinna was recognized as consul, and

[1] The *lex Cornelia de novorum civium et libertinorum suffragiis*, probably a re-enactment of the *lex Sulpicia;* see p. 242.
[2] The *lex Cornelia de exulibus revocandis.*
[3] As many as thirty legions.
[4] The *lex Cornelia de C. Mario et ceteris exulibus revocandis.*
* See map, p. 217.

with the sole condition to refrain from bloodshed, was admitted into the city. But Marius refused to enter the gates until the sentence of outlawry against him was recalled. The armies then marched in, and the soldiers were let loose for a massacre, which lasted five days. The most distinguished men of the state were put to death and their property was confiscated. The consul Octavius was slain while sitting in his curule chair and arrayed in his consular robes. Among the slain were L. Julius Cæsar, the hero of Acerræ,* and his brother Gajus, M. Antonius, the celebrated orator, Q. Lutatius Catulus, who had triumphed with Marius over the Cimbri, and P. Licinius Crassus Dives. Cinna was soon tired of the slaughter, but Marius required new victims every day. The bodies were refused burial, the heads of the senators were fixed to the rostra in the forum. Marius revelled in the scenes of blood, and his bodyguard of Vardæjans, as he called the band of Illyrian slaves who had escaped from the *ergastula*[1] in Etruria and fled to him, struck down every one who displeased him. Sulla was proscribed and his property confiscated.

9. The Seventh Consulship of Marius.—Without the forms of an election Cinna declared himself and Marius consuls for the next year (B.C. 86). The Utican seer was right. The gods granted Marius the seventh consulship, but fear of Sulla and pangs of conscience haunted him day and night. Hated by all parties, he sought forgetfulness in the wine-cup, and, wearied with life, he died on the thirteenth day of his consulship, in the seventy-first year of his age. Order was in some measure restored, though for two years longer Cinna disregarded all constitutional forms and exercised dictatorial powers. L. Valerius Flaccus was appointed consul in the place of Marius, and suitable laws[2] were carried by the two consuls

[1] These were slave pens. * See map No. 6.

[2] The *lex Plautia judicaria* (p. 238) was repealed and the jurymen were to be taken exclusively from the *equites*; the laws of Sulla (*leges Corneliæ*) were repealed; the provinces redistributed; a census was taken (B.C. 86) for the purpose of distributing the Italians in all the tribes according to the *lex Cornelia de novorum civium suffragiis*, but the returns gave only 463,000 (in B.C. 115, 394,336), showing that only a few of the new citizens had complied with the Plautian law; and Flaccus carried a law (*lex Valeria de ære alieno*) to secure the favor of the people, which cancelled all debts by the payment of one-fourth of the amount due—a measure that had become necessary, because such a large number of Roman citizens had lost their property invested in Asia Minor, in consequence of the Mithridatic war.

which they hoped would render their authority secure. The government of Cinna was a real tyranny. In utter disregard of the people to whom he owed his power, he had himself and Cn. Papirius Carbo declared consuls for the two following years. Meanwhile L. Valerius Flaccus had been appointed to supersede Sulla, and had departed on his perilous mission.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The First Mithridatic War (B. C. 88–84).

1. Mithridates and the East.—The arrangements which the Romans had made in Asia Minor after the subjugation of Aristonicus[1] remained unchanged, except that Phrygia had been added to the Roman province.[2] The other countries, although nominally free and governed by independent princes, had been treated more and more by Rome as dependent states. Pontus, the most remote of these kingdoms in the northeast, extending along the Euxine sea from the river Halys to the frontiers of Colchis, had, like the others, originally been a satrapy of the Persian kings. The country had, however, for many centuries been independent, and the throne had descended through eight generations to Mithridates VI., surnamed Eupator, and the Great. He was only twelve years old when his father was cut off by the dagger of an assassin (B. C. 120).

2. His Plans of Conquest.—Mithridates became a man of remarkable powers of mind and body.[3] As soon as he came

[1] See p. 179. [2] The province embraced at first Mysia, Lydia, and Caria.

[3] The armor which fitted the gigantic frame of king Mithridates excited the wonder of the Asiatics, and still more that of the Italians. As a runner, he overtook the swiftest deer; as a rider, he broke in the wild steed, and was able by changing horses to accomplish 120 miles in a day; as a charioteer, he drove sixteen in hand, and gained in competition many a prize—it was dangerous, no doubt, in such sport to carry off victory from the king. In hunting on horseback, he hit the game at full gallop, and never missed his aim. His intellectual wants he satisfied by the wildest superstition—the interpretation of dreams and the Greek mysteries occupied not a few of the king's hours—and by a rude adoption of Hellenic civilization. He was fond of Greek art and music, that is to say, he collected precious articles, rich furniture, old Persian and Greek objects of luxury—his cabinet of rings was famous: he had constantly Greek historians, philosophers, and poets in his train, and proposed prizes at his court festivals, not only for the greatest eaters and drinkers, but also for the merriest jester and the best singer. He prose-

of age (B. C. 113), he endeavored to extend his dominions as far as he could without coming in contact with the Romans. Colchis, Lesser Armenia, and the Tauric Chersonese with its capital Panticapæum (*Kertch*), were annexed to his kingdom. He formed treaties with other tribes on the Black sea, and even as far as the Danube, and in the East allied himself with Tigranes, king of Armenia, by giving him his daughter in marriage. After making these preparations, he felt himself strong enough to contend with Rome herself. In order to bring Cappadocia[1] under his sway, he attempted to place upon the throne one of his nephews. The Romans interposed, and Sulla, who was then proprætor in Cilicia, received orders to interfere. Mithridates was still anxious to avoid a collision with Rome, and therefore left the management of affairs to Tigranes. Sulla, with a small force, drove the king's auxiliaries out of the country, and permitted the people of Cappadocia to choose Ariobarzanes as their king. Sulla, however, had scarcely left the country when Tigranes fell upon Ariobarzanes and expelled him from Cappadocia (B. C. 92).

3. Mithridates' Invasion of Asia.—In the following year Mithridates interfered in Bithynia, and set up a rival claimant to the throne, although the Romans had recognized Nicomedes as king. Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes both appealed to Rome for aid. The consul Manius Aquillius was sent to Asia as

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cuted the experimental study of poisons and antidotes as an important branch of the business of government, and tried to inure his body to particular poisons.

What really distinguishes Mithridates among the multitude of similar sultans was his boundless activity. He disappeared one morning from his palace and remained unheard of for months, so that he was given up for lost. When he returned, he had wandered incognito through all Asia Minor, and reconnoitred everywhere the country and people. He was not only fluent in speech, but administered justice to each of the twenty-two nations over which he ruled, in its own language, without needing an interpreter.

Notwithstanding his Hellenic culture, which sat on him not much better than the Roman armor on his Cappadocians, he was throughout an Oriental of the ordinary stamp, coarse, full of the most sensual appetites, superstitious, cruel, perfidious, and unscrupulous; but so vigorous in organization, so powerful in physical endowments, that his defiant laying about him and his unshaken courage in resistance looked like genius. The Mithridatic war formed at once the last movement of the political opposition offered by Hellas to Rome, and the beginning of a revolt against the Roman supremacy resting on very different and far deeper grounds of antagonism—the national reaction of the Asiatics against the Occidentals.—*Mommsen*, l. c. vol. iii., p. 275 f.

[1] Cappadocia had formerly belonged to Pontus, but when the Romans gave Mithridates' father Great Phrygia (about the same as the present Phrygia, except that a portion of its territory on the west had been added to the province of Asia) as a reward for his services in the wars against Carthage and against Aristonicus, they deprived him of Cappadocia.

No. 4.

THE EAST IN THE TIME OF MITHRIDATES AND TIGRANES

The Kingdom of Mithridates
do do ,, Tigranes
The haunts of the Pirates

Fisk & Son, N.Y.

envoy to settle the difficulties. Mithridates yielded again, and the two kings ascended their thrones. At the instigation of Aquillius, Nicomedes declared war against Mithridates, closed the Bosporus to his vessels, and made predatory incursions into his territory. The king of Pontus, however, remained unshaken in his policy of peace, until he had applied to the Roman envoy either to restrain Nicomedes or to allow him to defend himself. Aquillius, who had instigated the war for his own profit, informed the king that he must refrain from war with Nicomedes. This was the old policy of Rome acted over again. Mithridates, with the courage of despair, prepared for war,[1] and ordered his generals, Neoptolemus and Archelaus to invade Bithynia. They defeated Nicomedes and drove him from his kingdom, captured Aquillius and put him to death with torture, and even invaded the Roman province. Here the extortions of the tax-gatherers, the rapacity of the Roman merchants, and the oppression of the slave speculators, had produced such deep discontent that the people everywhere hailed Mithridates as their deliverer. Civil war had broken out at Rome, and Sulla was detained at home. No sufficient force opposed the king. From Ephesus, he issued orders to put to death on the same day all the Italians with their wives and children residing in Asia Minor.[2] Taking up his winter-quarters at Pergamus, he sent Archelaus with a fleet to extend his empire to the west, while another army advanced along the Thracian coast as far as Macedonia. The most of the islands of the Grecian archipelago submitted, and even Athens and nearly all Greece declared in favor of Mithridates.

4. Sulla Lands in Epirus (B. C. 87).—In the beginning of the next year Sulla landed in Epirus with five legions.[3] Advancing directly to Athens, where Archelaus had intrenched himself, he captured the city after a stubborn resistance,[4] and gave it up to plunder and massacre. Meanwhile the second army of Mithridates under Taxiles had arrived in Greece, and

[1] His army numbered 250,000 infantry, 40,000 cavalry, and 400 ships.
[2] According to some accounts 80,000 were murdered; and to others, as many as 150,000
[3] About 30,000 men.
[4] March 1, 86 B. C.

Archelaus joined it in Bœotia. Sulla defeated both armies, first at Chæronea* (B. C. 86), and then at Orchomenus (B. C. 85). Meanwhile Flaccus,[1] who had been appointed to supersede Sulla, had arrived in Greece with two legions; but finding Sulla's soldiers deaf to all his solicitations to desert their commander, he retired to Macedonia and marched through Thrace to Asia Minor. Soon after Flaccus fell a victim to an insurrection headed by G. Flavius Fimbria, a Roman demagogue who was serving in the army as a legate. He had acquired such popularity with the soldiers that on the death of Flaccus he was raised by them to the chief command. Sulla took up his winter-quarters in Thessaly.

5. Conclusion of Peace (B. C. 84).—In the meantime affairs had changed in Asia Minor. Mithridates had shown himself in his true colors of a savage Asiatic despot. At first he had come forward as a liberator of the Hellenes, but his tyranny had alienated these, and all the provincials were ready to receive the Romans back. L. Licinius Lucullus, Sulla's legate, who afterwards commanded in the second Mithridatic war, collected a fleet, and gained two victories off the coast of Asia Minor. Just at this time Fimbria had defeated the younger Mithridates, captured Pergamus, the capital of the Pontic king, and compelled Mithridates himself to take refuge in Mitylene. These repeated disasters made Mithridates anxious for peace. The preliminaries, however, which were settled with Archelaus in Greece during the winter, were rejected by the king, who asserted that Fimbria would grant more favorable terms. Sulla broke off negotiations and crossed the Hellespont (B. C. 84). This brought Mithridates to his senses. In a personal interview with the king at Dardanus, the terms were definitely settled. Mithridates abandoned all his conquests in Asia Minor, confined himself to the dominions which he had held before the war, paid three thousand talents,[2] and surrendered eighty ships-of-war fully equipped.

6. Death of Fimbria.—Sulla was now at liberty to pro-

[1] See p. 247. [2] Nearly $4,000,000. * See map, p. 157.

ceed against Fimbria, who was at Thyatira. After vainly attempting to induce his soldiers to fight, Fimbria fled to Pergamus and put an end to his own life.[1] Sulla imposed upon the inhabitants of the province of Asia an enormous contribution of twenty thousand talents,[2] which delivered them completely into the hands of the Roman bankers and speculators, from whom they were compelled to borrow the money at an exorbitant rate of interest.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Sulla Crushes the Marian Party.

1. Sulla's Return to Italy (B. C. 83).—During Sulla's absence, the Marian government, under Cinna, had been a real despotism. It was evident, from the time that Cinna had declared him a public enemy and sent Flaccus to relieve him in command, that Sulla intended to overthrow this government by force of arms. Tidings had arrived from time to time of his success, and finally in B. C. 84 a letter came from Sulla himself to the senate, announcing the end of the war and his return to Italy. The first general of the age and at the head of a devoted army, he had little to fear from his adversaries; yet, knowing that their strength lay in the city mob and the Italians, he attempted to conciliate both of these by declaring that he would respect the rights of the new citizens, and that punishment should fall on the authors of the trouble and not on the people.

2. Civil War (B. C. 83).—The senate in alarm sent an embassy to Sulla expressing a desire for peace, and at the same time ordered the consuls Cinna and Carbo to suspend their

[1] His soldiers were not allowed to return to Rome, but were condemned to military service in Asia Minor.

[2] Nearly $25,000,000, the amount of the tribute for five years.

preparations for war. This order, however, made no difference with the consuls, who knew that a reconciliation was impossible. Cinna hastened to Ancona,* with the intention of crossing over to Greece to meet Sulla, but the soldiers mutinied and put him to death.[1] Still the Marian party continued its preparations and raised an army of nearly two hundred thousand men. There was tremendous excitement in Rome when Sulla landed, in the spring of B. C. 83, at Brundisium, with an army of forty thousand men. The senate declared the republic in danger and bestowed upon the consuls unlimited powers. Sulla, in his advance through Calabria and Apulia to Campania, was joined by Metellus Pius and M. Licinius Crassus, and many members of the optimate party. Cn. Pompejus,[2] the son of Pompejus Strabo, rendered important aid by levying three legions in Picenum at his own expense, and reinforced Sulla in Apulia.[3] In Campania, at Mount Tifata, Sulla defeated the consul Norbanus, who took refuge in Capua. An event now happened, the origin of which was never discovered, that threw the city into consternation. On the night of July 6th (B. C. 83), the temple of Jupiter, on the Capitoline hill, was burnt; even the volumes of the Sibylline oracles were destroyed. The destruction of this sanctuary, and of the sacred books that had been preserved there since the days of the kings, taken in connection with the events that were going on in Italy, produced a profound impression on the Roman people, and contributed not a little to the belief that the downfall of the state was near at hand. Sulla

[1] Lucius Scipio and Gajus Norbanus were elected consuls for B. C. 83.

[2] GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

CN. POMPEJUS STRABO, cos. B. C. 89.

CN. POMPEJUS MAGNUS, triumvir, m.
1. ANTISTIA,
2. ÆMILIA,
3. MUCIA,
4. JULIA,
5. CORNELIA.

CN. POMPEJUS MAGNUS, m. CLAUDIA; died, B. C. 45.	SEX. POMPEJUS MAGNUS, m. SCRIBONIA; died, B. C. 35.	POMPEJA, m. FAUSTUS SULLA.

[3] Sulla saluted him as *imperator*, *i. e.*, one commanding with an independent *imperium*; for the meaning of *imperium* see pp. 50 and 53, n. 1.

now turned against Scipio, and opened communications with him for peace, and concluded an armistice. By means of Sulla's emissaries, Scipio soon found himself deserted by his troops, and as no terms of peace were agreed upon, was compelled to resign his office and retire from the war. Sulla and Metellus took up their winter-quarters in Campania and maintained the blockade of Capua.

3. The Battle of Clusium (B. C. 82).—In the meantime Cn. Papirius Carbo hastened from the camp of Norbanus to Rome, had Sulla and the leaders of his party declared public enemies, and the consulship conferred upon himself and Gajus Marius, the younger, although the latter had not yet attained the legal age for that office (B. C. 82). Carbo undertook the conduct of the war in the north against Metellus, while Marius was charged with the task of holding Sulla in check in the south. At Sacriportus, between Signia and Præneste, Marius was utterly defeated and shut up in Præneste. This left the road to Rome open to Sulla,[1] but before he could arrive there, Marius found time to send orders to the prætor G. Damasippus to evacuate the city after putting to death his leading opponents. The most distinguished senators were struck down in the senate-chamber; among the distinguished men who fell were the ædiles Publius Antistius and Gajus Carbo, the two best judicial orators of the age, and the *pontifex maximus* Q. Mucius Scævola. Sulla entered the city in a few days, and after a brief stay there, marched to Etruria to join Metellus and Pompejus in the campaign against Carbo. After several trifling engagements, he so thoroughly defeated Carbo at Clusium, that the latter gave up the war and fled to Africa.

4. The Battle at the Colline Gate (B. C. 82).—Meanwhile the army of the Samnites and Lucanians under Pontius Telesinus came to the relief of Præneste, but finding his advance to that city cut off by Sulla, who had hastily come from Etruria, he advanced directly upon Rome, "For," said Pontius, "there will be no peace for Italy until the forest is

[1] He left Q. Lucretius Ofella to continue the siege of Præneste.

rooted up in which the Roman wolves have their dens."[1] Had not Sulla appeared in time, Rome would have been lost. The battle was fought before the Colline gate and was long and furious. The victory hung so long in the balance that Sulla in despair invoked the Pythian Apollo to lend his aid.[2] The Samnites fought with the courage of despair. The flower of their army was cut to pieces, and the prisoners to the number of three or four thousand were slaughtered in the Campus Martius. Their cries reached the temple of Bellona,[3] where Sulla was haranguing the senate. "It is nothing," said he; "I have only ordered some malefactors to be chastised."[4] This ended the resistance of the Marian party in Italy, and the last hope of the Samnites perished at the Colline gate.[5] In Sicily and Africa Pompejus gained an easy victory over Perpenna and Domitius Ahenobarbus, but in Spain Sertorius defied the power of Rome until B. C. 72.

5. Sulla Proscribes His Opponents.—Sulla entered the city as the head of the optimate party, and after declaring to the people[6] that he would give them a better constitution, and that he should punish the leaders of the opposite party, who had taken part in the contest since the armistice with Scipio,[7] he drew up a list[8] of those on whom he wished to take vengeance. It contained the names not only of the leaders in the late war, but of the wealthy citizens and disaffected Italians. A reward[9] was set upon the heads of the proscribed, their property was confiscated, and punishment threatened against all who sheltered or concealed them. New lists constantly appeared, and terror reigned not only at Rome but throughout Italy. The senate made no objection, and only ventured to assign the first of June, B. C. 81, as the limit for the bloody

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[1] Vell. 27. [2] Plut. Sull. 29.

[3] The temple of Bellona was in the *Campus Martius*, near the circus Flaminius. In this the senate received foreign ambassadors who were not admitted to the city, and victorious generals who claimed the honor of a triumph. It was here (after the Romans extended their dominions, so that it was not practicable to go to the enemy's frontier) that the *fetialis* made the declaration of war, for the area of the temple was regarded as foreign territory, and the pillar in front (*columna bellica*) of the temple as the frontier, and the *fetialis* hurled the spear over this pillar.

[4] Plut. Sull. 30. [5] The battle was fought Nov. 1, B. C. 82. [6] In a *contio*.

[7] See p. 253. [8] *Tabula proscriptionis*. [9] 12,000 *denarii* = about $2,600.

work. List after list appeared, and as many as forty-seven thousand are said to have perished. The confiscated property, which Sulla himself sold at public auction, was bid in by his friends and dependents at a nominal price, as no one dared to bid against them.[1] Sometimes the purchase money was not paid at all, and sometimes Sulla bestowed estates upon his favorites without the formality of a public sale. The wealth that had been wrung for many generations from the toil and blood of the slaves, from the plunder of the provinces, and from the ruined cities and people of Italy, became the spoil of the soldiers, the generals, and the nobles, so that it was a common saying: "His fine house was the death of such a one, his gardens of another, his hot-baths of a third." One day a stranger came into the forum, and reading the list out of curiosity, saw his own name among the proscribed. "Ah! unfortunate that I am," cried he, "my Alban villa has killed me." He had not gone far before he was overtaken and killed.[2] It was a fearful time; bands of soldiers traversed Italy to hunt down the proscribed.[3] Men of wealth were sometimes murdered first and then proscribed.[4] After this, Sulla celebrated his triumph, had the senate legalize all his acts while consul and proconsul, and ordered the erection of a gilded equestrian statue of himself in front of the rostra, with the inscription, "*L. Cornelio Sullæ imperatori Felici.*"

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[1] Cic. Rosc. Am. 8, 21; Plut. Cic. 3. Such creatures as P. Cornelius Chrysogonus, G. Verres, and P. Cornelius Sulla seized this opportunity to enrich themselves.

[2] Plut. Sull. 30.

[3] The victory of Sulla was the triumph of Rome over Italy; in Rome itself, that of the nobles over the rich, particularly over the knights; as for the common people, they existed only in name; 2,600 knights were proscribed, with 80 senators belonging to their party. The terrible system of confiscation was applied to all Italy. In every place the men belonging to the opposite party were put to death, banished, or plundered; and not only themselves, but their parents, their friends, those who knew them, those who had spoken to them, and even those who had accidentally traveled with them. Whole cities were proscribed, as well as men, and were plundered and depopulated to give place to the legions. Above all, the unfortunate Etruria, the only country which had still escaped the colonies and the agrarian laws, the only country in which the laborers were generally free, became the prey of the soldiers. Sulla founded a new town in the valley of the Arno, not far from Fiesole, and called it Florentia.—*Appian*, l. c.; *Michelet*, l. c.

[4] Whoever killed one of these outlaws was not only exempt from punishment like an executioner duly fulfilling his office, but also obtained for the execution a compensation of 12,000 *denarii* ($2500); any one, on the contrary, who befriended an outlaw, even the nearest relative, was liable to the severest punishment. The property of the proscribed was forfeited to the state like the spoils of the enemy; their children and grandchildren were excluded rrom a political career, and yet, so far as they were of senatorial rank, were bound to undertake senatorial burdens,

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The Sullan Constitution (B. C. 82–80).

1. The Rule of the Senate Restored.—Sulla now had time to turn his attention to the reorganization of the government, in the interest of the nobility. This party, since the time of the second Punic war, blind and obstinate, had more and more proved its unworthiness to govern the Roman state. Sulla, in this restoration of the rule of the senate, restored what was already dead, and, blind to the influence of the popular party, attempted to push the great revolution back to the point at which, in his opinion, it ought to have stopped. It was therefore only a temporary arrangement, because the nobility, thoroughly corrupt and selfish, exercised the privileges entrusted to them, not for the good of the state, but for their own aggrandizement. The people soon regained their power, and misgovernment and anarchy prepared the way for the rule of one man who restored good government and peace to the exhausted Roman world.

2. Sulla Dictator with Full Powers.—On the motion of L. Valerius Flaccus, the chief of the senate, Sulla was appointed dictator with full [1] powers to regulate the state by new laws, to confiscate property, to pronounce sentence of death, to dissolve or to establish communities in Italy, to fix its boundary, to found colonies, to confer the *imperium*, and to dispose of the provinces. Hitherto no one had held the office of dictator for more than six months; Sulla was to hold it as long as he pleased.

[1] *Dictator legibus scribendis et reipublicæ constituendæ*, i. e., *dictator for the making of laws and the regulating of the commonwealth*. Sulla in some measure observed the forms of the constitution in being appointed dictator. As a consul only could nominate a dictator and both consuls were dead, Sulla retired from Rome and the senate elected an *interrex*, who appointed Sulla dictator. The dictator was formerly appointed for a particular purpose and for a definite time; Sulla's dictatorship was unlimited in both these respects. Legally the first *interrex* could not appoint a dictator, and constitutionally the dictator was appointed under the *lex de dictatore creando;* but Sulla was appointed under the *lex Valeria*. He appeared with twice as many lictors (twenty-four) as the dictator in former times. The Valerian law was carried November, B. C. 82.

3. Changes in the Constitution.[1]—He immediately set about carrying a series of laws to reconstruct the government in the interest of his own order:

1. The tribunes were deprived of all their prerogatives except that of intercession. In order to make the office dependent on the senate, it was enacted that only senators could become tribunes, and whoever had been elected to the tribunate was ineligible to any curule office.

2. In regard to other magistrates, the regulation of the *lex annalis* was enforced, that no one should be prætor before he had been quæstor, nor consul before he had been prætor. Candidates for the quæstorship must be at least thirty years of age; the law of B. C. 151, which forbade re-election to the consulship, was repealed, and that of B. C. 342 re-enacted, by which ten years must elapse before the same office could be held a second time.

3. The number of prætors was increased from six to eight and the quæstors from twelve to twenty. It was definitely[2] settled that the consuls and prætors during the first year of office should devote themselves to civil duties in the city, but during the second year, as proconsuls and proprætors, undertake the government of one of the provinces.[3] There were at this time nine provinces: *Sicilia*,* *Sardinia*, *Hispania citerior*, *Hispania ulterior*, *Macedonia* (with *Achaja*), *Africa*, *Asia*, *Gallia Narbonensis*, *Cilicia*, and Sulla probably organized *Gallia Cisalpina* as the tenth.[4] Sulla undertook the rebuilding of the Capitoline temple, which had been burnt during Carbo's absence from Rome, July 6, B. C. 83, and the reconstruction of the senate house. It was at this time that the *pomerium*, the

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[1] *Lex Cornelia de tribunicia potestate.* The right to impeach before the people was made dependent on the will of the senate. According to Mommsen (l. c. vol. iii., p. 382) the tribunes still had the right, on the previous permission of the senate, to carry laws in the assembly of tribes. This view is contradicted in the most positive manner by the authorities, especially by Cæsar (b. c. i., 7), who expressly says that all the prerogatives of the tribunes except that of intercession were taken away.

[2] See p. 182; this, as many other provisions of the constitution, had long been the custom; now it became a legal enactment.

[3] Every magistrate was to leave his province within thirty days after the arrival of his successor. * See map, p. 486–7.

[4] See Mommsen, l. c. vol. iii., p. 387 and note. The northern boundary of Italy was changed from the Æsis to the Rubicon, and about B. C. 42, to the Alps.

dividing line between the civil and the military authority, was extended to embrace all Italy, which was henceforth to be exempt from military authority,[1] the aim being to bring about a complete separation between the civil authority which governed in districts inhabited by Roman citizens, and the military authority which governed in other districts.

4. The senate, which had been greatly reduced during the Civil war, was filled up with three hundred new members, elected by the *comitia tributa*, from the equestrian order. The revision of the roll of the senate by the censor was abolished, and all who had been quæstors were eligible to a seat in the senate. The office of jurymen was restored to the senate, and the revival of the old regulation by which the senate had the initiative in legislation, kept the public assemblies under its control.

5. The foundation of the power of the nobility had been in the priestly colleges. Sulla repealed the Domitian law of B. C. 104, which bestowed upon the people the right of electing the members of these colleges, and restored that of *co-optatio* or self-election. The number of pontiffs and augurs was increased to fifteen respectively.[2]

6. The judicial system was reorganized, and permanent courts[3] were established for the trial of criminal cases. Already as early as B. C. 149, by the Calpurnian law, a criminal court[4] had been organized for the trial of provincial governors in cases of extortion. Sulla established several new ones, and henceforth there were separate courts for exactions,[5] for murder, for high treason,[6] for adultery,[7] for forging of wills,[8] for

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[1] *Imperium militiæ.*

[2] The *lex Cornelia de proscriptione* has already been mentioned. For executing the provisions of the law more than 10,000 slaves were freed and enrolled as a body-guard. The work of confiscation was interrupted Jan. 27, B. C. 81, by the celebration of Sulla's magnificent triumph over Mithridates. His soldiers were then provided for. They were settled in all parts of Italy, whole districts were depopulated to give place for them. The towns, such as Nola and Volaterræ, that refused to receive the new settlers, were reduced and compelled to submit, and in place of citizenship received the *jus Latii*.

[3] *Quæstiones perpetuæ.*

[4] *Quæstio rerum repetundarum.*

[5] *Lex Cornelia de peculatu.*

[6] *Lex Cornelia de majestate* (*i. e.*, treason against the greatness [*majestas*] of the state) took the place of the *lex Appuleja* of B. C. 100.

[7] *De adulteriis.*

[8] *Lex Cornelia de falsis.*

injuries[1] to persons, and for the disturbance of the public peace.

7. One of the eight praetors presided in each of these courts, while the civil jurisdiction was left as before to the *prætor peregrinus* and the *prætor urbanus*. Sulla first established the distinction between the trial of civil cases before a single judge, and of criminal cases before a bench of jurymen. The jurymen were to be taken exclusively from the senators. As only the people could pronounce sentence of death or imprisonment, and as Sulla had transferred the trial of all cases of treason from the popular assembly to the courts, it followed that such cases could no longer be capitally punished. This arrangement took from the hands of the popular leaders one weapon which they had for many years wielded effectively.

The Sumptuary laws,[2] probably issued this year, were intended in place of the censors to restrain luxury by limiting the amount that could be expended at banquets.[3] A special law restrained the extravagance at funerals.

These laws were submitted to the people in due form and carried.[4]

4. Effects of His Legislation.—Sulla's work had been thorough, and he hoped that his constitution would be permanent. It was a great mistake, however, to suppose that the old soldiers whom he settled on the confiscated lands of the Italians could become industrious and sober-minded citizens. It was a still greater one, to expect that the political ferment of

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[1] *De injuriis.* It was under this last law that Cicero in B. C. 80 defended Sex. Roscius. (See p. 289.)

[2] *Lex Cornelia sumptuaria.*

[3] These laws enacted that on the *Kalendæ*, *Nonæ*, *Idæ*, and on the days of the games (*ludi*) and of certain holidays (*Feriæ*), three hundred *sesterces* could be expended upon entertainments, but upon other days only thirty. The month was divided by the Romans by the *Idæ* into two portions: the *Idæ* in March, May, July, and October fell on the fifteenth, and in the other months on the thirteenth. The eighth day before the *Idæ* was termed the *Nonæ* (the Romans included the day from which they counted). The first of each month was called *Kalendæ*.

[4] It is impossible to fix the date accurately for the legislation of Sulla. The first five laws were probably issued before Jan. 27, B. C. 81, perhaps in November, B. C. 82; the triumph was celebrated Jan. 27, B. C. 81; from that time until June 1, B. C. 81, was the time of the proscription and the settlement of the soldiers in various parts of Italy. The other laws were issued before the end of B. C. 81, and the constitution went into effect at the beginning of B. C. 80. See Appian, b. c. i. 99 ff.; Livy, ep. 89; Cic. Rosc. Am. 8, 22, 45; this case was tried in the summer of B. C. 80 (Gell. 15, 28), and was the first that came before the new jurymen.—*Lange*, l. c. 157.

the capital, for the moment hushed, would remain forever quiet. When agitation began again, party leaders found nowhere stronger adherents than in these military colonies of Sulla.

5. He Resigns the Dictatorship (B. C. 79).—For the space of nearly three years, Sulla, as dictator, had ruled the Roman world, when, to the astonishment of all, he resigned the regency and declared himself ready to render account to any one for his conduct. He retired to Puteoli that he might give himself up to that pleasure and rest which had ever been the chief aim of his life. Still he could not wholly withdraw his attention from public affairs. Only ten days before his death he reconciled the contending parties in Puteoli, and regulated their police laws. The very day before he died he had the quæstor Granius strangled by his bedside because he attempted to withhold the money due the state, hoping that Sulla's death would relieve him altogether of regulating his accounts. After a brief illness—he finished the twenty-second book of his autobiography two days before his death—he died in the sixtieth year of his age. Many of his enemies combined to prevent his having the usual honors of burial, but his name was too powerful, and the senate decreed him a public funeral, the most magnificent Rome had ever seen. His soldiers came from all parts of Italy to do honor to the old hero who had led them so often to victory. The magnificent procession, headed by the senate and the magistrates, the priests and the vestal virgins, and followed by the army, legion by legion, reached the Campus Martius, where the funeral pile was erected.[1] Here, according to the wish of Sulla himself, the body was burned and the ashes were deposited beside the tomb of the kings. His monument was erected in the Campus Martius, bearing an inscription composed by himself: "No friend ever did me a kindness, no enemy a wrong, without receiving full requital."[2]

[1] Sulla, although cruel, seems to have been a great favorite with the Roman ladies. At his funeral they attended in great numbers, bringing such a quantity of aromatics, that besides those which were contained in 210 baskets, there was enough cinnamon and other precious spices to form a statue of Sulla of the size of life and another of a lictor bearing the fasces before him.

[2] Plut. Sull. 40.

CHAPTER XL.

The Scandalous Rule of the Oligarchy.

1. The Opposition.—When Sulla delivered the Roman state over to the consuls, it was under the absolute sway of the oligarchy. Still there were many discordant elements—the jurists who resented the violation of constitutional law, the moderate aristocracy who were inclined to compromise, the offended capitalists, the relatives and friends of the proscribed, the large class of men who had been ruined by the civil war, and finally the remnant of the popular party, the *populares*, who only waited for an opportunity and a leader to overthrow the fabric which Sulla had reared.[1]

2. The Condition of Italy and the Provinces.—The condition of Italy since the Social and the Civil wars was indescribably wretched. The soldiers, too indolent to cultivate the land Sulla had given them, had squandered their fortunes and either returned to the capital or re-entered the military service. The lands were once more swallowed up in great estates, and devouring slavery made the free population disappear. Half of Italy was a desert, and in Samnium there was scarcely a town that was not in ruins. The soldiers had expelled the former population, which wandered in beggary or labored on their former farms as servants. In the provinces, all the old abuses had returned—violence, outrage, plunder, robberies, the seizing of free men as slaves—and were practiced to such a degree as no man could have conceived of, had not the prosecution of Verres unveiled the merciless rule of the oligarchy in Sicily.[2]

3. The Increase of Luxury.—The great aim of the Romans was the acquisition of vast wealth; and by systematic plunder and rapine, immense riches were accumulated and squandered on brutal pleasures. At the public festivals, animal

[1] Mommsen, vol. iv., p. 3.

[2] See p. 269.

hunts and gladiatorial combats met with enthusiastic favor. Immense sums were squandered on funeral games.[1] At this time every man of the ruling oligarchy, the *principes*, or *optimates*, or *boni viri*,[2] as they called themselves, thought it necessary to have a beautiful city house, adorned with fine gardens, ornamented within with statues, paintings, and a library, and a number of villas scattered over the most beautiful part of Italy. It was particularly at Bajæ and the district around the bay of Naples, the Baden-Baden of the ancients, that this fashionable rural life found its centre. To give some idea of the extravagance and luxury of this period among the higher classes,[3] it is only necessary to mention that Lucullus had mountains and rock cut through for the purpose of conducting salt water to the tanks at his villa near Naples and Bajæ, that he might be provided with marine fish at any time fresh for the table. When, therefore, Cicero and Atticus at one time came to supper with him, they found a meal prepared that cost one hundred and seventy thousand *sesterces*,[4] although Lucullus only had time to designate the room in which the meal should be served.[5]

4. The Insurrection of Lepidus. — The oligarchy, sunk in indolence and luxury, was powerless to maintain its position. Accordingly Sulla was scarcely dead before the con-

[1] Æmilius Lepidus ordered that not more than 1,000,000 *asses* ($20,000) should be expended on his funeral.

[2] That is, *the chiefs; the best men; the good men.*

[3] The house of Crassus, with its fine garden and trees, was valued (B. C. 91) at 6,000,000 *sesterces* ($300,000), an ordinary house was worth about one-tenth as much. The Misenian villa of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, cost 75,000 *sesterces* ($3,750), but L. Lucullus at this time paid thirty-three times as much for it. [4] $7,500.

[5] A villa with its land was sold for 40,000,000 *sesterces* ($2,000,000), on account of its fish-ponds. The plunder of Verres in Sicily is estimated at 40,000,000 *sesterces* ($2,000,000). Cæsar, when he departed for Spain as prætor, needed 25,000,000 *sesterces* to pay his debts; in B. C. 50 he bribed the consul Paullus with 30,000,000 *sesterces* ($1,500,000) and Curio the tribune with 60,000,000 *sesterces*. A moderate senatorial fortune was 3,000,000 *sesterces*, an equestrian, 2,000,000. The property of P. Crassus, consul in B. C. 131, was estimated at 100,000,000 *sesterces* ($5,000,000), and that of M. Crassus at 170,000 000 *sesterces* ($8,500,000), although he had expended enormous sums in providing free corn for the people. We must, however, remember that these are exceptional cases, that the large mass of the people were far from being rich; that many men, as Rothschild, Stewart, and others in modern times, have left at their deaths many times as much, after making due allowance for the difference of value in gold. The expenses of the banquets consisted also largely in the decorations, presents to the guests, &c.

Men like Lucullus, Cæsar, Pompejus, Crassus and others were compelled to expend enormous sums for political purposes. It is said that Scaurus exhausted his fortune in this way. Crassus, although the richest man in the time of the republic, was not so rich as many freedmen under the empire—Pallas Calistus and Narcissus, for instance.—*Pliny*, H. N. xxxiii., 134.

sul Lepidus attempted to rescind his laws; but the other consul, Catulus, was a firm friend of the oligarchy, and urged decisive measures. The senate adopted a temporizing policy, and in order to quiet the agitation in the capital, bribed the people with new distributions of corn, and when this did not satisfy, it thought that the disturbance would cease if the two consuls left Rome. The consuls were accordingly sent to their provinces,[1] bound by an oath not to turn their arms against each other. Lepidus, however, interpreting the oath as binding only for his year of office, collected an army in Etruria and marched upon Rome. The senate recalled Catulus, placed the city under his protection, and directed Pompejus to proceed against Lepidus' legate, Marcus Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul. Brutus was overpowered and killed at Mutina,* and Catulus defeated Lepidus near the Campus Martius. In his retreat Lepidus was met by Pompejus at Cosa in Etruria, and being unable to maintain his position, sailed with his army to Sardinia, where he soon after died.

5. The War with Sertorius (B. C. 79–72).—In Spain the Marian party was more successful under Sertorius, who had the address to unite his cause with that of the national independence. He obtained such influence over the natives that he found no difficulty in raising a powerful army. He defeated several Roman armies, and even Metellus Pius was unable to make head against him. In B. C. 78 he was reinforced by Perperna with a large army. This made his power so formidable that the senate feared an invasion of Italy.

6. The Rise of Pompejus.—Pompejus took advantage of the situation to compel the senate to send him to Spain, at the head of the army with which he had defeated Lepidus, to conduct the war against Sertorius. Pompejus was born in B. C. 106, in the same year as Cicero. As a young man he, like other noble Romans, took his first lessons in war in the tent of his father, Cn. Pompejus Strabo in the

[1] Mommsen (l. c. vol. iv., p. 25, note), relying on a fragment of Granius Licinianus, says that both consuls were sent to Etruria. This contradicts Appian (l. c. vol. i., 107) and Philippus (*Sull. Hist.* i., 48; iv., 5 D).—See *Peter*, l. c. vol. ii., p. 140, and *Lange*, l. c. vol. iii., p. 174.

* See map No. 6.

Social war. When Sulla returned from Asia, he raised, as we have already seen, an army at his own expense, was present at the battle of the Colline gate, and afterwards drove the remnants of the Marian party out of Sicily and Africa. On his return the dictator greeted him with the surname of Magnus, and carried a law[1] allowing him to triumph, although he had been neither consul nor prætor (B. C. 80). In B. C. 79 Pompejus exerted his influence to secure the election of Lepidus to the consulship, in opposition to the wishes of Sulla. Sulla, in his retirement, contented himself with this warning: "Young man, it is time for you not to slumber, for you have strengthened your rival against yourself."[2] In the war that followed, Pompejus did not deliberate which side he should take, but declared immediately against Lepidus. After the war was ended, as he was anxious for the command against Sertorius, he found various excuses for disobeying the order of the senate to disband his army. At length the senate was compelled to yield, and appointed Pompejus and Metellus Pius to the command in Spain.

7. The End of the War in Spain.—At the close of the year B. C. 77, Pompejus set out for his province, marching over the Alps[3] and Pyrenees. At first he was defeated at Lauron and was afterward near being annihilated on the river Sucro (*Xucar*), when Metellus, after winning the battle of Italica (*Seville*), came to his assistance. The war continued without any decided success on either side until B. C. 72, when Sertorius was assassinated by Paperna, who hoped to succeed him in command. In the first collision with Pompejus, his incompetency to succeed a soldier and general like Sertorius was evident. His army was scattered to the winds and Paperna himself was taken prisoner.

8. The War with the Gladiators (B. C. 73–71).—While the war was going on in Spain, the enemies of Rome rose everywhere. The proletarians could hardly be kept from insurrection, brigands haunted every corner of Italy, and pirates

[1] *Lex Cornelia de reditu Cn. Pompeji.*
[2] Plut. Pomp., 15.
[3] Over Mt. Genevre; see maps, p. 136; p. 175.

swarmed on all the seas. The war in Macedonia against the mountain tribes in the north was far from being ended either by C. Claudius or Scribonius Curio. The pirates became so troublesome that it was found necessary to send P. Servilius Vatia to carry on the war against the Isaurians. In the East Lucullus had been sent to conduct the war against Mithridates, who had long and eagerly been watching the course of the revolution, had promised Sertorius ships and money to wage war against Rome if in case of victory Asia should be restored to him, and now, that the favorable moment had come, had invaded the Roman province. The contest of parties in the capital, however, was hushed for a time by the bursting out of the war with the gladiators. There was no army at hand. The war in Spain was not yet ended, and Lucullus had already departed to conduct the war against Mithridates (B. C. 74). The gladiatorial shows had for a long time held the first place at the public games. During late years, whole bands had been bought by speculators from the vast supply of prisoners, and trained by proper persons[1] in the gladiatorial schools[2] for the arena. Rich men kept some of these to fight on public occasions to please the people, hired some on speculation to the ædiles to fight at the public games, and sometimes to the party leaders, who let them loose like furious bloodhounds against the opposing faction.

9. Victories of Spartacus.—In one of these schools at Capua* there was a number of gladiators, most of whom were Celts and Thracians who, under Spartacus as a leader, escaped from the town and fled to the crater of Mount Vesuvius. The slaves flocked to him from the slave-pens[3] in Campania, and he was soon at the head of an army of one hundred thousand men. A successful battle furnished the insurgents arms. The consuls of B. C. 72 were defeated, and the power of Spartacus grew daily more formidable. He, however, never overrated his own power nor hoped to conquer the Romans. He wished to cross the Alps and dismiss his troops, and let them return to their Celtic or Thracian homes. He

[1] *Lanistæ.* [2] *Ludi.* [3] *Ergastula.* * See map, pp. 246-7.

would have attained his object after defeating both consuls again, had not his followers, elated by success, refused to listen to his proposal. They preferred to traverse and plunder Italy.

10. Crassus Defeats the Gladiators.—In B. C. 71 the prætor Crassus took the command. After restoring discipline in the army by decimating the soldiers, he posted himself in Picenum, and drove the insurgents to the southern part of Italy. Here Spartacus happened to find a number of vessels belonging to the Cilician pirates. With these he resolved to escape to Sicily and rekindle the servile war there. Accordingly he entered into an agreement with the pirates, but they had no sooner taken his money than they broke their engagements and sailed away. All hope of escape in this quarter was taken away, and Spartacus intrenched himself at Rhegium. When Crassus came up, and attempted to hem him in by building an intrenched wall across the isthmus, Spartacus, in a dark, stormy night in winter, broke through the line and encamped in Lucania. Crassus overtook him on the Silarus, and after a desperate battle in which Spartacus fought with the courage of a lion, and twelve thousand of his followers fell all with their wounds in front, gained the victory.[1] Before the battle, when they brought Spartacus his horse, he drew his sword and killed him, saying: "If I am victorious, I shall have horses enough; if I am defeated, I shall have no need of this." A body of five thousand of the insurgents escaped from the battle and were cut to pieces in Cisalpine Gaul by Pompejus as he was returning from Spain. On account of this Pompejus took to himself the credit of finishing the war, and wrote to the senate, "that Crassus had defeated the enemy in battle, but that he had cut up the war by its roots."[2]

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[1] After the dearly-bought victory (B. C. 71), the troops who had achieved it, and those of Pompejus that had meanwhile, after conquering the Sertorians, arrived from Spain, instituted throughout Apulia and Lucania a man-hunt, such as there had never been before, to crush out the last sparks of the mighty conflagration. Along the road from Capua to Rome, the six thousand crosses bearing captured slaves, testified to the re-establishment of order, and to the renewed victory of acknowledged right over its living property that had rebelled.—*Mommsen*, vol iv., p. 88 f.

[2] Plut. Crass., 8-13.

CHAPTER XLI.

The Consulship of Pompejus and Crassus (B. C. 70).

1. Pompejus and the Popular Party. — Pompejus and Crassus now approached the city at the head of their armies, and claimed the consulship as the reward of their services. Neither of them was legally eligible, as Pompejus was

POMPEJUS MAGNUS.

only thirty-five years old and had never been quæstor, while Crassus was still prætor, and two years ought to elapse before be could be consul. In order to attain their end, they entered into a coalition with the popular party and promised them the restoration of the tribunitian power. Crassus, on account of his wealth, had great influence among the capitalists, and both he and Pompejus, supported by the popular party, were elected

consuls for the year B. C. 70, and after receiving permission from the people,[1] entered the city on the last day of December B. C. 71, Pompejus in triumph, while Crassus was entitled only to a lesser triumph, an ovation.

2. Fall of the Oligarchy.—Pompejus, as soon as he entered upon his consulship, carried his promised law restoring the power of the tribunes.[2] This struck away one of the chief foundations of the Sullan constitution. The other, the election of jurymen, Pompejus did not venture himself to attack, but hoped by a purification of the senate to relieve the courts of the distrust which the corruption of the jurymen had created. But before the censors who were elected for this purpose could enter upon their duty, the wanton outrages and cruelty of Verres, the governor of Sicily, who openly boasted that should he devote two-thirds of his plunder to bribe his powerful friends at Rome and the judges, he would still have enough left for his own desires,[3] aroused the indignation of the people against the courts. In order to understand how a provincial governor could so abuse his power, it is necessary to review briefly the manner in which the Romans managed the provinces.

3. The Administration in the Provinces.—In the provinces the Roman government had taken the place of the former rulers, and for many centuries it was so mild and equable, and the Roman governors performed their duties with so much honesty and frugality, that the change was felt to be a real gain. The Romans imposed taxes not to enrich themselves, but simply to cover the cost of administration and defence. The governor himself served without pay, and the state defrayed from the taxes collected the cost of maintaining the army,[4] and provided the governor with the means of transport and all other requisites. The provincials had to furnish, free of cost, a house for the governor, shelter for the army, wood, hay, and similar articles. If at any time the governor needed for the defence of the province, grain, ships,

[1] That is, they were exempted from the *lex annalis* and from the *lex Cornelia de magistratibus*; see pp. 185, n. 4; 257, § 2.
[2] *Lex Pompeja Licinia de tribunicia potesta.* [3] Cic. in Verr. accus., i., 14.
[4] The provincials in the Roman armies were paid and equipped by their own state.

slaves to man the ships, or aught else, he had the right to demand them from his province at a fair price.

4. The Abuses in the Provinces.—At first this was managed with great justice, and the governor even restrained the cupidity of the Roman contractors who farmed the taxes. But gradually the Roman rule relaxed, and it had already become a rare thing for a Roman governor to return home from his province with clean hands. Soon it became the custom for the governor to determine the value of the supplies in a manner to suit his own interest, and to impose exactions whenever he pleased. Sulla compelled the provincials in Asia Minor to furnish every common soldier quartered among them fortyfold pay.[1] Soon the governors were not satisfied with these exactions, but seized with cruel rapacity objects of art, as statues, pictures, marble columns, gold and silver gems, and whatever else pleased their fancy, from the houses and temples, and carried them off to Rome. In time this became so scandalous that courts were organized to punish the plundering official on his return to Rome. But unless the misgovernment had been glaring and infamous there was but little prospect of conviction, for the case came before judges and jurymen often involved in similar guilt and belonging to the same order as the accused.

5. The Scandalous Abuses of Verres.—In Cicero's orations[2] against Verres, the shameless rule of a provincial governor is pictured in graphic colors. For three years Verres had been governor of Sicily, and his career there furnished the most astounding proofs of the corruption of the governing class. His sole aim was to make money, and he was determined to rob enough to secure his acquittal. In fact, he boasted before leaving the province that he had not robbed for himself alone; that he should be very well contented to retain one year's gain for himself;[3] that he had intended another for his advocates and defenders, and reserved the third, which was the richest, for his judges.[4] During these three years he disregarded the

[1] Per day 16 *denarii* = about 25 cents.

[2] See Hist. of Lit., p. —.

[3] Cic. in Verr. accus., i., 14.

[4] All the cities in Sicily except Syracuse, the place of his residence, and Messana, the repository of his plunder, concurred in the impeachment.

laws, sold his decisions, sold every office at his disposal to the highest bidder, exacted enormous contributions, and set at naught the religion, fortunes and lives of the subjects..

6. His Exactions.—His exactions[1] of grain were most ruinous. He issued an edict that the farmers should pay whatever the collector demanded; but if he exacted more than his due, that he should be liable to a fine of eight times its value. Under this edict Verres's minions seized the whole crop of every town and compelled the owners to give whatever share of it they thought fit, or a composition in money, on pain of being plundered of all their goods. When this grain was collected, Verres sold it and put the whole money into his own pocket, and bragged that he had got enough from this single article to screen him from justice. The result was that the poor husbandmen deserted their farms and refused to till the soil when Verres alone reaped the harvest.[2] Verres had a taste for pictures, fine tapestry and statuary, and kept with him all the time a painter and a sculptor on whose judgments he relied in his choice of pictures and statues. Wherever he travelled through the island he plundered the temples, carried away the statues of the gods—the Juno of Samos, the Ceres of Enna, the Hercules of Agrigentum—and whatever else pleased his fancy. He employed his emissaries to hunt out everything that was curious or valuable in the island—pictures, tapestry, vases, trinkets, antiques, gems, ornaments in gold or silver—all these he seized and sent away to Italy to adorn his villa. Antiochus,[3] the king of Syria, while on his way through Sicily, was robbed of a magnificent candelabrum intended as an offering to Jupiter Capitolinus, of goblets of gold, studded with precious jewels, and of a sacrificial ladle hollowed out from one single precious stone. When any vessel richly laden happened to arrive in the ports of Sicily, it was seized and the goods were confiscated. He crowned his iniquities by imprisoning Roman citizens, and finally by crucifying a

[1] Cicero estimated the damages of the Sicilians at $2,000,000.—*Cicero Cæc.*, i., 18.
[2] Of the 778 farms 445 were deserted.
[3] Cic. in Verr. accus., iv., 28.

Roman trader[1] in sight of the shores of Italy, in sight of its laws and liberty, that he might address to them the ineffectual cry: "I am a Roman citizen."

7. Verres Brought to Trial.—To the rapacity of this provincial tyrant must be added the financial oppression exercised by the Italian merchants and brokers. As the farmers of the revenue showed no mercy in levying taxes, whole cities were sometimes compelled to pledge their revenues to the Roman money-lenders, who often collected their dues by the severest processes.[2] Cicero painted in glowing colors the mismanagement and robberies of the provincial governors. "There is no place," said he, "this side of the ocean so remote or retired where the caprice and oppression of the Romans have not entered." The mass of testimony was so overwhelming against Verres, that he went into voluntary exile before the trial was ended. Similar prosecutions were brought against other members of the aristocracy by popular leaders and orators who desired to imitate Cicero in winning the favor of the people, but they generally produced no result. The discontent of the people increased, and they openly demanded the restoration of the tribunitian power, and, on account of the scandalous behavior of the judges, the transferrence of the judicature to the equestrian order.

8. The Aurelian Law.—In answer to the demand of the people the prætor, L. Aurelius Cotta, carried a law[3] enacting that the jurymen should be selected equally from the senators, knights, and *tribuni ærarii*.[4] When these measures were carried Pompejus and Crassus in no way intermitted their efforts to win the popular favor. It had long been the custom for the censors, after discharging their duty,[5] to hold a *lustrum*, where it was usual for the Roman knight to appear before the censors leading his horse, and, after giving an account of the generals under whom he had served his campaigns, and of his own exploits, to deliver up his horse. When Pompejus appeared

[1] Cic. in Verr. accus., v., 56. [2] See p. 225. [3] *Lex Aurelia judicaria.*
[4] The wealthiest class of citizens below the equestrian rank; see also p. 58, n. 1.
[5] They purified the senate by expelling sixty-four members.

leading his horse, decorated with the insignia of his office, and ordered his lictors to make room for him to advance to the tribunal, the people were struck with admiration. "Have you"—so the censor addressed him, amid the profound silence—"have you, Pompejus the Great, served all the campaigns required by law?" "Yes," said he, "I have served them all, and all under myself as general." This answer charmed the people, and there was no end of their acclamation.[1]

9. The Popularity of Pompejus and Crassus.—Pompejus retired from the consulship in great favor with the people, and without completely breaking with the aristocracy. He declined to accept a consular province, and declared that he wished to live only as a quiet citizen. The extraordinary liberality of Crassus—he dedicated a tenth of his colossal fortune to Hercules, and spread a feast for the people on ten thousand tables and distributed corn enough to supply their families for three months—had won for him also the good will of the people, and his influence with the senate was unshaken.

CHAPTER XLII.

Pompejus Clears the Sea of Pirates.

1. The Wretched State of Roman Affairs.—The Romans had let the navy which they had created during the wars with Carthage go to decay, and had not even retained a sufficient number of vessels to protect their commerce on the Mediterranean. The measures taken against the pirates by M. Antonius, the celebrated orator, in B. C. 103, and in B. C. 78 by P. Servilius Vatia,[2] in a three years' war in Isauria, had produced no permanent effect. During the Social, Mithridatic, and Civil wars the corsairs had become masters of the whole

[1] Plut. Pomp., 22. [2] On his return he triumphed as P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

Mediterranean, from the coast of Syria to the pillars of Hercules.[1]

2. The Empire of the Pirates.—Even the coast of Italy was not safe from the incursions of the pirates; they infested the great roads, plundered the villas on the coast, and even seized on the Appian Way and carried off two prætors with their lictors. Distinguished men, as Cæsar and Claudius, were captured and compelled to pay large ransoms. They possessed a regularly organized government, and are said to have had more than one thousand ships and four hundred fortified places in their possession. They were refugees from many nations, and the seat of their power was in Cilicia. It was a vengeance and a reaction of the East, which had been devastated by the soldiers of Italy, by her usurers and publicans, and by her slave-merchants. But the most contemptuous circumstance of all was, that when the pirates had taken a prisoner, and he had cried that he was a Roman citizen and told his name, they pretended to be struck with terror, and fell upon their knees to ask his pardon. The poor man thought that they were in earnest, and said that he would forgive them. Some put on his shoes and others helped him on with his toga, that his rank might no longer be mistaken. When they had carried on this farce and enjoyed it for some time, they let a ladder down into the sea and bade him go in peace; if he refused they pushed him from the deck and drowned him.[2]

3. The Gabinian Law.—The Romans found that their trade and navigation were cut off, and famine began to threaten the city. Just at this time news of the disasters which had overtaken Lucullus in the East[3] reached Rome. The price of corn rose enormously, and once more the course of events brought the power into the hands of Pompejus. For more than two years he had lived as a private citizen. He seldom

[1] All the enemies of the empire—Sertorius, Mithridates, and Spartacus, the proscribed Romans, the dispossessed Italians, insurgent provincials, men reduced to slavery—could all communicate by medium of the fugitives, who were spread on all the seas, and who infested them with their piracies. Liberty had erected against the tyranny of the Roman empire another empire on the water—a wandering Carthage, which no one knew where to seize, and which floated from Spain to Asia.—*Michelet*, p. 303.

[2] Plut. Pomp., 24.

[3] See p. 279.

appeared in public, and when he did a great train of friends and attendants accompanied him. The tribune Gabinius carried a law for the recall of Lucullus, and proposed [1] that a general should be named by the senate from the consulars, and invested with proconsular power to have command for three years over the whole Mediterranean Sea and the adjacent coasts for fifty Roman miles inland. He was to have a staff of twenty-four legates,[2] five hundred ships, a military chest of six thousand talents,[3] and as many soldiers as he might require.[4] Pompejus' name was not mentioned in the bill, but in the scarcity of great men all eyes were turned to him. When the tribune in due form brought the proposal before the senate for discussion, the indignation was so great that he was near being killed in the senate-chamber. When it came before the people it was received with great delight.

4. The Law Carried (B. C. 67).—Gajus Julius Cæsar, who was now the leader of the democratic party and had just returned from Spain as quæstor, warmly supported the measure. It was exactly in accordance with his ambitious plans to alienate Pompejus, whose relative he had married, from the senatorial party and to weaken the republican organization. Catulus, and Hortensius the celebrated orator, spoke against the bill with great power and effect. When Catulus rose to speak the murmurs of the multitude, in reverence for the man, ceased. After bestowing due praise upon Pompejus, he advised the people not to expose him to so many dangers; "for where will you find another," said he, "if you lose him?" They answered with one voice, "Yourself." When one of the consuls, Calpurnius Piso, attacked Pompejus and charged him with aiming at royal power, "If you emulate Romulus you will not escape the end of Romulus,"[5] he was in danger of being torn to pieces by the populace. The law was passed, and on the same day the price of corn fell so much that the people said, "The very name of Pompejus has terminated the war."[6]

[1] *Lex Gabinia de uno imperatore contra prædones constituendo.*—*Cic. Man.* xvii., 52.
[2] As amended in the senate after its adoption by the people.
[3] $7,000,000.
[4] He raised 120,000 infantry and 7000 cavalry.
[5] According to a legend Romulus was torn to pieces by the senators.
[6] Plut. Pomp. 25-27.

5. War with the Pirates (B. C. 66).—In the execution of his task Pompejus more than fulfilled the popular expectation. He divided the whole Mediterranean Sea into thirteen parts, each under a legate who had charge of hunting the pirates out of their chief haunts, while he swept the western part of the Mediterranean with the main fleet. In forty days he cleared the sea west of Italy, opened communication with Sicily, Africa, and Sardinia, and re-established the supply of corn. He then proceeded with sixty of his vessels from Brundisium to the original seat of piracy, the Cilician waters. He destroyed the fleet of the pirates in a great battle,[1] hunted them in creeks, captured their castles, and took more than twenty thousand of them prisoners, many of whom he settled in the depopulated cities of Cilicia, on the deserted lands in Achaja, and especially at Soli,[2] which henceforth was called Pompejopolis. This part of the campaign was finished in forty-nine days, but Pompejus remained during the rest of the year in the East, settling the affairs of Cilicia and Pamphylia.[3] So rapid had been the subjugation of the pirates, that Cicero summed up the campaign by saying "that Pompejus had made his preparations for the war at the end of winter, began it at the commencement of spring, and finished it in the middle of summer."[4]

CHAPTER XLIII.

Pompejus Conquers the East (B. C. 74–61).

1. Roman Power in the East.—The war with Mithridates had been renewed by Murena,[5] whom Sulla had left as proprætor in Asia with the two legions of Fimbria. On the

[1] Off Coracesium.

[2] Our word solecism comes from Soli.

[3] Crete, which next to Cilicia was the greatest resort of the pirates, had been assigned to Metellus as his province. Metellus had nearly subdued the island, when the Cretans, preferring to surrender to Pompejus, addressed themselves to him as suppliants, and invited him, since Crete lay within the limits of his command, to take possession of the island. Pompejus sent letters ordering Metellus to desist from the siege, and when he failed to obey, even sent troops to fight against him. Metellus, however, persevered, took the pirates, and put them to death. See map No. 4.

[4] Cic. Man. 12, 35.

[5] See pp. 250 and 251.

pretext that Mithridates was tardy in evacuating Cappadocia, Murena crossed the Halys and ravaged Cappadocia, where Mithridates met him with a large army and routed his forces in battle. Sulla interfered, renewed the peace, and ended what is sometimes called the *Second Mithridatic War* (B. C. 83–82).

2. Preparations of Mithridates.—After this the Romans took various measures to strengthen their power in the East. An expedition was sent against the pirates, and when Nicomedes (B. C. 75), who had bequeathed his kingdom, consisting of Bithynia and Paphlagonia, to the Romans, died, they immediately took possession of it and made it a Roman province. About the same time Cyrene* was converted into a province and a governor sent there. These measures excited the apprehension of Mithridates, who had all the time been aware that the peace was only a suspension of hostilities, that the fire was not extinguished, it only slept in embers,[1] and hence had directed his efforts to strengthen his army and to prepare in every way for the final conflict. Aided by the Roman refugees and the officers whom Sertorius sent him,[2] he introduced the Roman arms and discipline. When the Romans converted Bithynia into a province it seemed a favorable moment to strike. His army[3] was powerful and well disciplined. The pirates, who had created an empire on the sea, sent assistance, and Sertorius, with whom he had formed a treaty, seemed on the point of invading Italy from Spain. The king therefore took the initiative, and advanced, in B. C. 74, into Paphlagonia and Bithynia with his army, supported by a powerful fleet.

3. Defeat of Mithridates (B. C. 73).—Of the two Roman consuls L. Licinius Lucullus and M. Aurelius Cotta who were selected for the conduct of the war, the latter was already in Asia, but on the approach of Mithridates retreated to Chalcedon, where he was defeated both by land and sea. Mithridates now proceeded to invest Cyzicus† with his army and fleet, and, as in B. C. 88, hoped to make himself master of all Asia, where the outrage, violence, and extortion of the tax-gatherers and

[1] Plut. Lucull. * See map No. 7. [2] Lucius Magius and Lucius Fannius.
[3] His army consisted of 120,000 foot and 16,000 horse, and a fleet of 400 sail.
† See map No. 4.

the Roman merchants had produced the deepest discontent, before the Romans could send sufficient force to oppose him. This place offered a stubborn resistance, and while Mithridates was detained here Lucullus advanced from Phrygia with only five legions to its relief. Early in B. C. 73 Mithridates was compelled to raise the siege, on account of the difficulty of supplying his army. In the retreat he was attacked by the Romans between the Æsepus and Granicus, and defeated, while his fleet was destroyed, partly by the Romans at Tenedos, and partly by a storm which overtook it on its return. The king arrived almost alone at his capital, Sinope, his army of nearly 200,000 men having been annihilated. While Mithridates was collecting a fresh army, Lucullus sent his legate through Bithynia and Paphlagonia to Heraclea, to which Cotta had already laid siege with the fleet.

4. Mithridates Retires to Armenia.—Lucullus himself entered Pontus, followed Mithridates, who had collected an army of over forty thousand men, from Sinope to Amisus, and thence to Cabira on the Lycus. Mithridates drew Lucullus on farther and farther, until finally a superstitious dread came over his soldiers, and they murmured at their long and tedious marches. "You leave," said they, "the rich and flourishing city of Amisus, which might be easily taken, to drag us away to Chaldæa."[1] At Cabira the army of the king was again defeated, and the king himself would have been captured had the Roman soldiers been able to restrain their eagerness for spoil. Despairing of successfully opposing the Romans, Mithridates fled with a few attendants to Armenia to take refuge with Tigranes, his son-in-law. Lucullus sent Appius Claudius to Tigranes to demand the surrender of Mithridates, while he returned himself to besiege Amisus. Tigranes was at this time one of the most powerful monarchs in the East,[2] but still he seemed inclined to avoid a contest with Rome. He granted his father-in-law a refuge, but refused to receive him at court until the arrogance of Lucullus' envoy drove

[1] Plut. Lucull.
[2] His empire embraced Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, a part of Cilicia, and Cappadocia.

him to adopt a different policy. He not only refused to surrender Mithridates, but prepared for war.

5. The Unpopularity of Lucullus.—Lucullus in the meantime had returned to the province of Asia, where he devoted himself to restoring order and dispensing justice. Desolated and enslaved by the tax-gatherers and usurers, unspeakable misfortunes had overwhelmed the unhappy country. To satisfy their creditors, the inhabitants were forced to sell their children, their ornaments and offerings in the temples, their fine paintings and statues of the gods, and finally, when these failed, to serve their creditors as slaves. Lucullus relieved the people by regulating the rate of interest, by abolishing that which exceeded the principal,[1] and by compelling the creditors to leave a small proportion of the debtor's income for his support. The popular orators and friends of the tax-collectors and merchants at Rome raised a storm of indignation against Lucullus, and their influence was felt in the action of the government. When the time came to open the next campaign, Lucullus' army of thirty thousand men was far from sufficient to conduct the war against the Armenian and Pontic kings. The government at Rome left Lucullus to manage the war as he could, without troubling itself about sending reinforcements. Lucullus was a strict disciplinarian, and far from popular with his soldiers, whom he restrained from pillage, while appropriating a liberal share of the spoils for himself.

6. The Battle of Tigranocerta (B. C. 69).—To undertake a war in a distant and unknown land with an army of only twelve thousand men—for this was all he could muster after protecting his communications with Pontus—and almost in direct opposition to the government at Rome, was far from wise. Still Lucullus, in the hopes of anticipating Tigranes, set out in B. C. 69 from Sinope, crossed the Euphrates at Melite, and advanced directly towards the capital, Tigranocerta, where he defeated the vast host of the Armenian king.[2]

7. Mithridates Returns to Pontus.—During the win-

[1] The fine which Sulla had imposed had been twice paid in interest, and yet by interest on interest still amounted to four times the original principal.

[2] Tigranes had an army of 150,000 foot and 55,000 horse,

ter Tigranes collected another formidable army, and as the last defeat had been exactly in accordance with what Mithridates had predicted, Tigranes committed the entire management of the war to him. The next spring (B. C. 68) Lucullus, in hopes of ending the war, crossed the Taurus and, pressing forward to the high lands of Armenia, gained a victory over the enemy's cavalry on the Arsanias. But long before he could reach Artaxata, the capital, the mutiny of his soldiers compelled him to retreat. He turned aside to Nisibis, the Mesopotamian capital, captured the city by storm and took up his winter quarters there. In the meantime Mithridates had collected a large force, and penetrated into his own kingdom, defeated Lucullus' two lieutenants, Fannius and Triarius, one at Cabira, and the other at Zela. When this news reached Lucullus, he hastened back to Pontus, but Mithridates avoided a battle and withdrew to Lesser Armenia to await the approach of Tigranes. Lucullus, hoping to engage the Armenian king before he united his forces with Mithridates, hastened to seek him, but the soldiers rose in mutiny, and checked his farther advance. The Romans were now exactly where they were in B. C. 75, Pontus and Cappadocia were overrun by Mithridates, and the results of eight years' warfare were lost.

8. Insubordination in the Army.—The opposition to Lucullus in the capital had reached the soldiers. He was accused of protracting the war from the love of command and the wealth it procured him. The opposition in his camp was led by P. Clodius Pulcher,[1] whose sister Lucullus had married. He insinuated himself into favor with the Fimbrian troops,[2] who had been in Asia ten years and had continually demanded their discharge.[3] "Were they to wear out their lives in wandering over the world in wars and toils? Was there no other reward for them than to guard the wagons and camels of Lucullus, loaded with the spoils of war? If they must forever wage war, let them reserve their swords for a general who thinks that the enriching of his soldiers is his greatest pleasure."

[1] The brother of A. Claudius, the envoy to Tigranes.
[2] See page 250.
[3] Their twenty years military service had nearly expired.

With such complaints Clodius stirred up the soldiers against Lucullus, and as, just at this time, news arrived that the people at Rome had granted a discharge to the soldiers whose term of service had expired, and that M' Acilius Glabrio,[1] Lucullus' successor, had arrived in Asia, the Fimbrians rose in mutiny and deserted the standard. This was the situation of affairs when ten commissioners arrived to settle the condition of Asia and reduce Pontus to a Roman province. Glabrio was utterly incompetent for the difficult and hazardous task before him, and therefore never attempted to assume command.

9. The Manilian Law (B. C. 66).—It was plain that the war must be undertaken again from the beginning, under a capable leader. Who else could this be but Pompejus, who had just at this time won new laurels by quickly and successfully ending the war with the pirates? The tribune, G. Manilius, had lost favor with both parties by proposing to allow the freedmen to vote in all the tribes. He sought to regain it by moving a rogation to entrust Pompejus with the provinces of Asia, Bithynia, and Cilicia, with the sole charge of the war in the East, and with full authority to conclude peace and alliance. The optimates objected to this, as to the Gabinian law, because it had not first received the approval of the senate. Catulus and Hortentius opposed it vehemently, declaring it unconstitutional, and aptly characterizing the situation by saying that it was time for the optimates to secede to the Sacred Mount. It was supported by the moderate party of the optimates, by Cæsar and particularly by Cicero, who, by his successful prosecution of Verres, by the manner in which he had discharged his duties while curule ædile, and by the frequency with which his voice had been heard in defence of the oppressed, had raised his popularity to equal that of Crassus or of Pompejus. In a masterly oration[2] which has been preserved to us, he now brought all the force of his eloquence to the support of Pompejus. The law was carried, and Pompejus was invested with powers such as no one before him ever had.

[1] By the lex Gabinia.

[2] *De imperio Gnæi Pompeji.*

10. Pompejus takes Command against Mithridates.—When Pompejus received the letters notifying him of his appointment, he is said to have expressed his displeasure to his friends, and to have said that he was wearied by the weight of power. "Is there no end of my conflicts?" exclaimed he. "How much better would it be to live and die as a quiet citizen in the enjoyment of domestic happiness!" Even his friends were unable to bear the dissimulation of this speech, for they knew his unbounded ambition and love of power.[1] Immediately on receiving the news of his appointment, Pompejus crossed from Cilicia and assumed command of Lucullus' army.[2] On his way he annulled the acts of Lucullus, and thus re-established the financial tyranny of the capitalists and tax-gatherers. One of his first acts was to form a treaty of friendship and alliance with Phraates, the Parthian king, whom he encouraged to make incursions into the territory of Tigranes. This compelled Tigranes to look to the safety of his own frontier.

11. Battle at Nicopolis (B. C. 66).—When Pompejus had completed his preparations, he set out to seek Mithridates in his own kingdom. Deserted by his ally Tigranes, Mithridates at first attempted to procure peace, but as Pompejus would hear of nothing but unqualified submission, he broke off the negotiations. The Pontic king retired slowly, followed by the Romans, until he was overtaken in a narrow pass on the Lycus, where the city of Nicopolis was afterward built, and most of his army cut to pieces. Mithridates himself escaped with a few horsemen; but as Tigranes refused to receive him, there was no alternative left but to take refuge in his kingdom on the Cimmerian Bosporus.[3] Pompejus gave up the pursuit and turned against Tigranes, whose son had already revolted and had entered into communication with the Romans. As Pompejus approached Artaxata, the king rode out to meet him and threw himself before him as a suppliant. Pompejus received him

[1] Plut. Pomp., 30.
[2] He met Lucullus in Galatia and allowed him to retain 1600 men for his triumph.
[3] See colored map No. 7.

kindly, restored to him his kingdom, except Syria, Phœnicia, Galatia, Cappadocia, and a part of Cilicia, which Lucullus had taken from him, on condition that he should pay six thousand talents.[1] His son was made king of Sophene.

12. Pompejus Pursues Mithridates. — After settling the affairs of Armenia, Pompejus advanced in pursuit of Mithridates northward as far as the river Cyrus (*Kour*), where he took up his winter quarters. Early the next spring (B. C. 65) he resumed his march through the mountains of Iberia and Albania, fighting his way at every step with the native tribes, as far as the river Phasis, which he followed down to its mouth, to meet the fleet which he had ordered to await him there. The difficulties of the pursuit, the constant contests with the native tribes, and the impossibility of crossing the Caucasus, which, in former times, had set an impassable bound to the Persian and Hellenic conquests, caused him to turn back to Pontus, where he passed the winter in organizing it as a Roman province.

13. He Subdues Syria, Phœnicia and Palestine.—In the summer of B. C. 64, he departed for Syria, and without recognizing the claim of Antiochus, the former king, to the country, he took possession of it and constituted it as a Roman province. After settling the condition of the country and regulating the relation of the princes who were to remain independent, he pursued his march southward (B. C. 63), and annexed Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria to the new Syrian province. In Palestine he met with a desperate resistance on account of the civil war that was raging between the two princes, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. Both appealed to Pompejus, but he refused to decide between them until he reached Jerusalem. Aristobulus seemed at one time inclined to submit to Pompejus; at another, he seemed on the point of taking arms and opposing the advance of the Romans. He succeeded in capturing Jerusalem, but when Pompejus came up, the city, after a siege of three months, was compelled to surrender. Hyrcanus was restored without the royal title to the high-priesthood, under condition of paying an annual tribute to Rome.

[1] $7,000,000.

13. Death of Mithridates (B. C. 63).—In the meantime Mithridates had been making great preparations to renew the war with Rome. He even thought of invading Italy with an army of Scythians; but before he could carry this plan into execution his fate had been sealed by the revolt of his son Pharnaces, who had been proclaimed king at Panticapæum. The only escape of the old king from being delivered up to the Romans was suicide. He tried poison, but according to the popular account his frame was so inured to this, that he was obliged to call in the sword of one of his Gallic mercenaries. Thus perished in the year B. C. 63, after a reign of fifty-seven years, the giant monarch of the East, over whose death the Romans rejoiced as if ten thousand of their enemies had been slain.[1]

14. Settlement of the East.—Pompejus entrusted Æmilius Scaurus, the son of the president of the senate, with the government of Syria, recognized Pharnaces as king of Bosporus, and then returned from Palestine to Pontus. After regulating the relations of the kings[2] and tetrarchs[3] on the west of the Euphrates and rewarding his army, he set out on his return by the way of Lesbus, Ephesus, Rhodes and Athens, to Rome, where he arrived January 1, B. C. 61.

CHAPTER XLIV.

The Internal History During Pompejus' Absence.

1. Condition of Italy.—After the departure of Pompejus to assume command of the army in the East, great confusion reigned at Rome. Every one expected a general insurrection. Liberty had perished long ago; property was now thought to

[1] Plut. Pomp., 42.

[2] He founded or peopled 39 cities.

[3] The new provinces were that of Cilicia, which, enlarged by Pamphylia and Isauria, was reorganized; that of Pontus to which Bithynia was united; that of Syria, and that of Crete. Dejotarus still occupied as a vassal the throne of Galatia; Ariobarzanes ruled in Cappadocia, which was enlarged by Lesser Armenia; and Attalus ruled in Paphlagonia.

be in danger. The old soldiers of Sulla had squandered their possessions and only waited the signal for civil war. The lands in Italy had once more been converted into pasturage; Etruria, which had long escaped the scourge of the Roman speculator, had in late years suffered this cruel transformation. In every part of Italy wandered bands of proletarians—the dispossessed land-holders, the soldiers of Sulla, the impoverished Italians, the ambitious and ruined Roman nobles—all waiting for an opportunity to restore their own fortunes, even if it cost the ruin of the state. The equestrian party, disarmed by the absence of their general, had nothing to oppose to the storm that menaced the state. The senate, weak and powerless, carried on a desultory warfare against the varied elements of opposition.

2. The Contest of Parties.—The tribunes renewed their attacks with all their old fierceness. The nobility replied with all the means at their disposal. They impeached tribunes after the expiration of their term of office; the consuls, as presiding officers in the *comitia*, prevented the election of dangerous candidates by refusing to announce the election; the senate even ventured to annul certain laws. There were, as Catiline said, two states in Rome, the nobility, weak and powerless, yet proud and arrogant as ever, and the people, rising into power, but destitute of a leader, without plan or purpose and swayed by the most diverse impulses. Laws were carried to check the corruption of the senate by forbidding loans from foreign ambassadors; the penalties were strengthened against bribery at elections; and finally the right of the senate to grant dispensation in certain cases from the laws[1] was restricted.[2] This was merely an aimless agitation. Parties at Rome were watching the movements of Pompejus, and waiting with anxiety or dread the return of the victorious general. The democrats hoped before

[1] *Rogatio, ne quis nisi per populum legibus solveretur;* the law was amended and passed. *Ne quis in senatu legibus solveretur, nisi C C affuissent; neve quis, cum solutus esset, intercederet, cum de ea re ad populum ferretur.*

[2] The influence of the equestrian order was manifested in the law carried by the tribune Roscius Otho, which gave to the *equites* the fourteen rows of seats in the orchestra next to the senators.

the decisive day came, to strengthen their power, and perhaps gain control of the government. In that case they could entrust one of their leaders with an extraordinary command, and find in him a counterpoise to the power of Pompejus. It was for this object that they unveiled the scandalous rule of the senate, and proposed laws to overthrow its power.

3. The History of Catiline.—In the meantime an insurrection, instigated by one of the most daring profligates, had nearly subverted the government. The condition of society furnished ample materials for such an effort. There were too many who sighed for the times of Cinna, with its proscriptions and cancelling of debtors' claims. They waited only for a leader to fall upon society like a gang of robbers. That leader was found in L. Sergius Catilina, who possessed all the qualities necessary to make him a great man in such a time. He was descended from a patrician family,[1] and was a man of great courage and gigantic strength of mind and body. He had proved his courage in the wars of Marius and Sulla. His ferocity was displayed in hunting down and killing the proscribed. He is said to have killed his brother-in-law with his own hands. These crimes, however, did not prevent his promotion. He was elected prætor for B. C. 68, and obtained Africa the following year as his province. Here he spent two years in the practice, it is said, of every crime imputed to the provincial governors of that period. He returned in B. C. 66, to sue for the consulship. A charge of extortion was raised against him which disqualified him to appear as a candidate.[2]

4. First Conspiracy of Catiline (B. C. 65).—Stung by disappointment[3] he determined to get possession of the government by force. All the needy Romans, the dispossessed Italians, all who were lost in misery and crime, flocked to Catiline. He entered into a conspiracy with Autronius Pætus,

[1] Sallust Cat. c. 5.

[2] The consul Volcatius Tullus, who presided at the *comitia*, refused to receive votes for him.

[3] P. Autronius Pætus and P. Cornelius Sulla were declared elected, but they were set aside on account of bribery, and L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus were elected in their place. A law was carried at this time (*lex Fabia de numero sectatorum*) to limit the number in the retinue of the candidates.

the late rejected consul, and Cn. Calpurnius Piso, a profligate young noble, to murder the new consuls on the first day of their office, and seize the government. The plot, however, became known and its execution was postponed until the ides of February; on this day it failed also, because Catiline gave the signal before a sufficient number of the conspirators had assembled. Catiline plunged still deeper into crime. His guilty mind, at peace with neither gods nor men, found no rest by night nor day. His countenance was pale and disquieted, his eyes were haggard, his step was sometimes quick, sometimes slow; and distraction was written in every feature and look, so effectually did conscience desolate his tortured mind.

5. Catiline Matures His Plot.—The government took no active measures to crush the conspiracy. When the trial for extortion came on, Catiline was acquitted through the influence of the consul, L. Manlius Torquatus,[1] and by means of the most shameless bribery of the judges. From this time he arranged his plans more systematically, and enlisted a numerous body of adherents, among whom were the senators G. Lentulus Sura and G. Cornelius Cethegus. In the summer of B. C. 64 he summoned his followers, all who were ruined in fortune or lost in misery and crime, all the depraved and audacious, to a nocturnal meeting. After comparing their own degraded and infamous life with that of the favored few who were in possession of the government and of all the wealth, he promised his confederates, as consul, abolition of debts,[2] new proscriptions, and, finally, all the license and gratification which war and plunder bring. Some say that at this meeting the conspirators confirmed their oaths by drinking blood mixed with wine.[3]

6. The Second Conspiracy.—When the time for the consular elections of B. C. 63 approached, the conspirators set up as candidates Catiline and G. Antonius, a plebeian noble, a man without character and ruined in fortune. Meanwhile rumors concerning the conspiracy got abroad among the people, while more accurate and definite information was obtained from

[1] Cic. Sull. 29. [2] *Tabulæ novæ.* [3] Sall. Cat. 20 ff.

Fulvia, the mistress of Q. Curius, one of Catiline's intimate associates. Catiline, it was said, intended to murder the senators, and to set fire to the four corners of the city. The public terror compelled the senators to overcome their scruples against "new men"[1] and cast their votes and influence for Marcus Tullius Cicero, who, supported by the nobility, the friends of Pompejus, and the large number of persons in the capital and country towns to whom he was favorably known, on account of his services as an advocate, was elected instead of Catiline, with G. Antonius as his colleague. Cicero detached Antonius from the conspiracy by voluntarily resigning to him the lucrative province of Macedonia, which had fallen to himself by lot. While the intrigues of Catiline are ripening, we must turn to trace the career of Cicero, because it is so intimately connected with this period of our history.

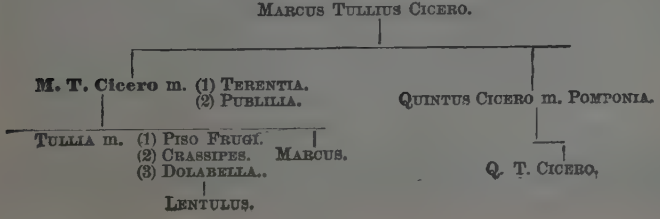
CHAPTER XLV.

The Consulship of M. Tullius Cicero (B. C. 63).

1. His Birth and Education.—Cicero[2] had now attained the summit of his ambition; he was consul at Rome. Through him the senate had triumphed once more, and this was wholly due to Cicero's great popularity and splendid oratorical powers. As Cicero now steps on the stage on which he is to act a promi-

[1] Since the time of G. Marius only two new men (*homines novi*), T. Didius, B. C. 98 and G. Cælius, 94, had attained to the consulship.

[2] GENEALOGICAL TABLE.



nent part, it is necessary to preface the history of his consulship with a short account of his life. He was born among the Volscian hills at Arpinum, from a plebeian family, on the third of January in the year B. C. 106. Quintus, his brother, was four years younger. Both brothers gave such early promise of great ability that their father sent them to Rome, that they might have all the opportunities for an education which the capital could afford. Crassus, the great orator, superintended their education; and their first and chief instructor was the poet Archias, in whose

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.[1]

defence Cicero afterwards pronounced that oration which so nobly defends the liberal studies. From the time he had assumed the *toga virilis*[2] he lost no opportunity of hearing the most famous orators in the forum, and he was in constant attendance on the greatest master of jurisprudence, Mucius Scævola, the celebrated lawyer and president of the senate, and also he watched eagerly the gestures of Æsopus and Roscius,

[1] From a bronze medal struck by the town of Magnesia, in Lydia.

[2] It was customary for a Roman youth, when about 16 years of age, to appear before the prætor in the forum and lay aside the *toga prætexta*, the dress of boys, and assume the *toga pura* or *virilis*, which indicated that he had reached the age when he might engage in the active business of life; see p. 404.

the great actors. At the age of nineteen he served his first campaign[1] in the Social war, under Pompejus Strabo.

3. His First Appearance at the Bar.— In the troubled times that followed, during the coalition between Marius and Cinna, Cicero not only devoted himself with energy and zeal to the study of law, but also became acquainted with the principles of the three great schools of Grecian philosophy, from their most eminent leaders who were then at Rome: Phædrus the Epicurean, Diodorus the Stoic, and Philo the chief of the New Academy. By constant practice in declamation, by thorough study of Roman jurisprudence, added to his love for Greek literature and philosophy, he sought, with indefatigable zeal, to lay the foundation for his future success as a lawyer and orator. When quieter times returned he undertook, at the age of twenty-six (B. C. 81), his first case, a civil suit for P. Quintius. His first appearance at a criminal trial was the next year, in defence of Sextius Roscius of Ameria, accused of parricide by Chrysogonus, one of Sulla's freedmen, who was himself implicated in the murder.[3] Cicero's courage in undertaking this case against the favorite freedman of Sulla was applauded by the whole city, and secured him the reputation of a fearless and zealous advocate.

4. Student at Athens.—After this he took a journey to Greece, not, as Plutarch[4] asserts, from fear of Sulla, for his defence of Roscius is proof against that, but in order to perfect himself in his art and to strengthen his constitution. He devoted himself with renewed zeal and energy at Athens, then the great university of the world, to the study of philosophy under the most eminent teachers, in company with his brother and cousin Titus Pomponius, whom the civil discords at Rome had caused to retire to his estate[5] in Epirus, that he might, unhindered, devote himself there and at Athens to those

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[1] Tirocinium.

[2] *Causa privata:* these were tried either before the prætor or before the centumviral court.

[3] It was a *Causa publica* to be tried in the court for murder (*quæstio inter sicarios*), before the prætor M. Fannius, established by the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis*. The jurymen were selected from the senators. See p. 258.

[4] Plut. Cic., 3. [5] Near Buthrotum.

literary pursuits in which his proficiency gained for him the surname of Atticus. It was to this intimacy that we owe those letters[1] so charming and interesting in style, which Cicero addressed to his friend Atticus, and of which, in regard to their record of contemporary events, Nepos says that he who reads them will hardly require a regular history of these times.[2] After studying for six months at Athens under Antiochus, the most eminent teacher of the old Academy, and at the same time practicing oratory under Syrius, he repaired to Asia Minor, to hear the famous rhetoricians[3] in the chief Greek cities. After two years of study and travel he returned to Rome, completely changed, physically as well as mentally, and prepared to devote himself to the duties of an advocate, for which the state of society furnished ample opportunity. At this time Cotta and Hortensius were the great orators and undisputed leaders of the bar at Rome. Cicero delivered several orations, one of which—his defence of Roscius the comedian, from whom he had taken lessons—is still extant.

5. Impeachment of Verres.—In the year B. C. 75 Cicero was elected quæstor. Lot assigned to him Lilybæum (*Marsala*), one of the two provinces into which Sicily was divided. His equitable administration, his upright and honorable conduct—qualities in those days very rare in a Roman official—won for him the favor of the Sicilians, and laid the foundation for that great forensic success which he achieved five years after, when his popularity had raised him to the curule ædileship. Shortly after his return an opportunity occurred for him to undertake a case which attracted the eyes of all classes to him. Sulla had restored to the senate the judicial power which assured the nobility impunity in their provincial administration. The plunder, robbery and desolation of the provinces would hardly be believed, had not the prosecution of Verres brought them to light. During his administration of three years Verres had

[1] There were only eleven letters written before Cicero's consulship. The first one was written B. C. 68.

[2] Nepos Att., 16.

[3] Merippus of Stratonice, Dionysius at Magnesia, Æschylus at Cnidus, Molo and Posidonius at Rhodes.

desolated the island of Sicily more than both Servile wars. As soon as he left the island the provincials determined to bring him to justice,[1] and applied to Cicero to conduct the prosecution. Verres had noble friends at Rome—the Metelli, the Scipios, and Hortensius, the master of the forum, who undertook his defence. Bribes, threats, devices for delay[2] were devised, but all were of no avail. The jurors condemned Verres, and the eloquent invectives which Cicero had prepared, although not delivered, were published and circulated, and read with great avidity.

6. Cicero's Political Consistency.— Cicero was now the undisputed leader in his profession. In B. C. 66 he was elected prætor,[3] and earnestly co-operated in the popular movement that invested Pompejus with the extraordinary command in the East. The action which Cicero had taken in the condemnation of Verres, which was really that of the nobility, and his ardent support of the Manilian law, have generally been considered sufficient evidence that he had deserted the senatorial and joined the popular party. It must be remembered that Cicero had grown up under the instructions of such great statesmen as Crassus and the Scævolas, whose aim had been to conciliate the people and to restore the good old time when unity prevailed in the state. There was still a strong conservative party in the senate that wished to restore that time; with this party Cicero acted, and hence his sympathy with Pompejus, who still counted himself a member of the conservative party, and hence the support of the senate, which raised him to the consulship.

7. Cicero as Consul.— On the 1st of January, B. C. 63, Cicero entered upon his duties as consul, and one of his first

[1] The trial was in the permanent jury court for exactions (*quæstio perpetua de repetundis*), before the prætor M'Acilius Glabrio. See p. 258.

[2] An attempt was made to take the case out of Cicero's hands by setting up a sham prosecutor in Q. Cæcilius Niger, Verres's quæstor. A preliminary trial (*divinatio*) was necessary to decide whether he or Cicero should be the accuser. The oration that Cicero delivered on this occasion is also called *divinatio*. Cicero was allowed 115 days to collect evidence in Sicily: he returned in 50, contenting himself with a brief outline of the case. Cicero called the witnesses at once; their testimony was overwhelming. Hortentius gave up the case, and Verres went into exile. The following is a list of the orations: I. (1) *Divinatio in Cæcilium*; (2) *actio prima in Verrem*; II *Actio secunda*; (3) *de prætura urbana*; (4) *de judiciis sive de prætura Siciliensi*; (5) *oratio frumentaria*; (6) *de signis*; (7) *de suppliciis*.

acts was to oppose and defeat the agrarian law of the tribune Servilius Rullus, which was the most sweeping measure that had yet been proposed for dividing the public land, and which was intended, no doubt, to give one of the popular leaders an extraordinary command, like that of Pompejus.[1]

8. Defence of Rabirius.— The next opportunity that Cicero had to display his abilities was when Cæsar induced the tribune Labienus to accuse an aged senator, Rabirius, of the murder[2] of Saturninus, a popular leader in the tumult in the year B. C. 100.[3] This was an attack upon the prerogatives of the senate—their right to invest the consul with supreme power. If Rabirius was condemned, the people then had the right to nullify the action of the senate, and no tribune need in future fear the fate of Saturninus. Cicero no doubt looked forward to the day when he should need a similar decree against Catiline, and therefore defended Rabirius with all his energy and power.[4] In the meantime Cicero had defeated another scheme—the repeal of the law of Roscius Otho, which gave to the equites and all those who possessed the equestrian census the fourteen rows of seats in the orchestra, behind the senators—proposed by Cæsar, to still further widen the breach between the senatorial and equestrian parties. When Otho entered the theatre he was received with a storm of hisses from the people; the knights applauded; a fearful riot ensued, and Cicero was summoned. He invited the people to meet in the temple of Bellona, and addressed them in such a manner that he completely restored their good humor.[5] When Cæsar, shortly after, proposed that civil rights should be restored to those who had been proscribed by Sulla — a measure eminently just in itself, but not considered at this time expedient, the eloquence of Cicero persuaded[6] the tribunes

[1] (1) *Oratio in senatu Kal. Jan. de lege agraria*; (2) *ad Quirites contra P. Rullum.*
[2] See p. 229.
[3] *Reus perduellionis* (*i. e.*, accused of high-treason).
[4] The trial came first before the *Duumviri*. G. Cæsar and the consular L. Cæsar. Rabirius was convicted and appealed to the people. It is uncertain what the result was. Dio Cassius relates that Rabirius would have been condemned had not Metellus Celer, during the voting, lowered the flag which always waved upon the Janiculus. This broke up the *comitia*. See p. 40.
[5] *Pro Roscio Othone* has been lost.
[6] *De proscriptorum filiis* also lost.

to abandon the measure before it came before the senate. Cæsar saw that the revolution was not ripe, and waited in silence.

9. Catiline Prepares for War.— These skirmishes were, however, merely preliminary to the great contest with Catiline which was approaching. Catiline, while waiting for the consular elections for the next year, at which he himself was to be a candidate, was secretly laying his plans for civil war, and had selected Fæsulæ as his headquarters. Cicero contented himself with keeping a constant watch on the progress of the conspiracy, as he received accurate information from Fulvia and Curius. The time for holding the *comitia* was postponed, on account of fear of Catiline, and the laws against bribery at elections were strengthened.[1] In the meantime Cicero received definite information in regard to the plans of the conspirators,[2] and assembled the senators on the 21st of September and laid before them an account of the conspiracy, how imminent the danger was, that arms were collected, preparations completed, and the day fixed for the rising. Catiline himself was present and engaged in the debate; and believing that there were many in the senate who wanted a change, he boldly avowed his design, and added to his expression in regard to the senate without power and the people without a head,[3] that he would be the head that was wanting. A few days before he had said to Cato,[4] who threatened him with a prosecution, that if a fire were kindled against him he would extinguish it, not with water, but by the general ruin. The election was held soon after,[5] and Cicero, in a breastplate of glittering steel under his toga and with a body of armed attendants, went to the Campus Martius. Junius Silanus and Licinius Murena were elected consuls.

10. The Consuls Invested with Dictatorial Powers.— This repulse made Catiline furious. He planned the destruction of the city, the murder of the consuls, and as the preparations of G. Manlius at Fæsulæ were completed, the

[1] *Lex Tullia de ambitu* threatened punishment against the *divisores* (the ward-distributors of bribes to voters); forbade a candidate to give gladiatorial shows for two years before election, &c.

[2] See Suet. Aug., 94; Lange l. c. vol. iii., p. 247.

[3] See p. 284.

28th[1] of October was set for the insurrection. Cicero, informed of all his plans, summoned the senate October 21st, which now, thoroughly alarmed, invested the consuls with dictatorial power.[2] In the meantime, letters from Fæsulæ said that Manlius had collected a formidable army, and that an insurrection was threatened in Capua and Apulia. By good fortune the two proconsuls, Marcius Rex and Metellus Creticus, were waiting at the gates for the triumph which they demanded. The senate sent the former to Fæsulæ, and Metellus was ordered to proceed against the insurgents in Apulia. The gladiators were removed from Capua and rewards were proclaimed for information concerning the conspiracy. In Rome, citizens were enrolled, guards posted at the gates, and watches patrolled the streets.

11. The First Catilinarian Oration.—At this juncture, Catiline called a meeting[3] of the conspirators at the house of M. Porcius Læca, and told them that he was ready to depart to the army if Cicero was first disposed of. A knight, G. Cornelius, and a senator, L. Varguntejus, undertook to assassinate the consul in his own house the next morning. A timely warning caused Cicero to close his doors to visitors, and on the same day he summoned the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator.[4] Catiline was present, but his fellow-senators shrank from him, and left the benches vacant where he sat. Then Cicero arose and poured forth the first of the four celebrated Catilinarian orations, which begins with the well-known words: "How long, Catiline, will you abuse our patience?" He showed him that he knew what he had done, what he intended, that he was informed of all his plans, and called upon him to relieve the city of his hated presence, and to take his companions in crime with him. Catiline, with

[1] The second day of the *ludi victoriæ Sullanæ*, a day on which the *comitia* could not be held; it could not, therefore, have been postponed until this day, as is usually supposed to have been the case.

[2] *Videant consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat.*

[3] The conspirators assembled on the ides of November, and the murder of Cicero was to take place on the next day, the 6th of November; but as the assembly broke up too late for that, it was deferred until the morning of the 7th.

[4] For position of this temple see colored map No. 2.

downcast eyes and faltering voice, begged the senate not to judge him harshly, nor to think that he, a patrician, would attempt to ruin the republic that a man like Cicero, sprung from the dregs of the people, might save it. Here his voice was drowned with the cry, "Traitor!" "Parricide!" He rushed from the senate chamber, and after conferring with the leaders of the conspiracy and assuring them that he would soon return with an army, he left the city at nightfall, accompanied by a few associates, and hastened to the camp of Manlius. He left instructions for Lentulus and Cethegus and others in the city not to quit their posts, but to take measures to assassinate the consul and to prepare for an outbreak as soon as he should appear with an army.

12. The Conspirators Betrayed and Arrested.—On the next day, Nov. 8, Cicero addressed the second Catilinarian oration to the people in the forum. He defended himself from the charge of acting harshly against Catiline, denied that he had driven him into banishment, prophesied that Catiline would put himself at the head of the army in Etruria, and finally declared that the consul and senate were prepared to crush his nefarious schemes. The senate declared Catiline and Manlius public enemies, and ordered Antonius to proceed against them with an army, while Cicero remained to guard the city. No steps were taken against the conspirators who remained in the city, from lack of sufficient legal proof to convict them. This, however, their own imprudence furnished. They ventured to tamper with the envoys of the Allobroges, who had come from Gaul to petition the senate against the tyranny of the Roman governors. The envoys had met with no success, and were returning home in ill-humor at their reception. The adherents of Catiline thought it a favorable time to kindle the flames of civil war in Gaul and to create a diversion there in their favor. The Allobroges, however, revealed the plot to their patron,[1] Q. Fabius Sanga, who communicated it to Cicero. At Cicero's directions the envoys feigned great zeal in the

[1] Whole communities were often clients of some distinguished man.

undertaking and obtained letters from the chief conspirators as credentials to their nation. As the envoys were leaving Rome by the Milvian bridge[1] they were arrested by persons who had been stationed there in ambush for that purpose and taken to Cicero's house. The next morning Cicero sent for the chief conspirators. Ignorant of what had happened, they came and were immediately arrested and led before the senate. The letters were opened; the conspirators acknowledged their guilt. Lentulus was compelled to resign the prætorship, and was delivered with four of his associates to the custody of certain senators, who were made answerable for their appearance.

13. Effort to Implicate Crassus.—Cicero related these events to the people the same evening, December 3d, in the third Catilinarian oration. He urged them to return thanks with the senate to Jupiter Capitolinus, whose statue by a singular coincidence had been erected in the capitol that morning, and looking down upon his people in the forum, had granted them favor and protection. An effort was made to implicate Crassus as well as Cæsar in the conspiracy, in the hope that either their great influence with the senate would screen the culprits from justice or if they defended the conspirators they would criminate themselves. The senators refused unanimously to believe the insinuations, and decreed that the informer should be imprisoned until he disclosed the name of the person who had instigated him to give such evidence.

14. The Conspirators Condemned by the Senate.—On the 5th day of December, Cicero convened the senate to decide on the fate of the conspirators. The question was one of great difficulty. The senate had invested the consuls with dictatorial power, but this the people maintained did not give them authority to inflict capital punishment. So far Cicero had proceeded strictly according to the forms of law. The conspirators had been declared public enemies in order that they might be deprived of citizenship. He now brought the matter before the senate, and, according to the usual custom,

[1] *Ponte Molle*, see map, p. 4.

called on Silanus, the consul-elect, for his opinion first. Silanus declared that the conspirators should suffer the extreme penalty of the law, and all the consulars agreed with him. When the turn came to Cæsar, who was prætor-elect, he recommended that their goods be confiscated and that they be imprisoned for life in different Italian cities. With this opinion, Quintus, Cicero's brother, agreed, and a large number of senators, from fear of the people, inclined to the same opinion. Even Silanus retracted and explained his opinion by declaring that imprisonment was the extreme penalty that a citizen could suffer at Rome. When the turn came to Marcus Portius Cato, he rose and in tones of deep conviction and unflinching courage demanded the execution of the criminals; he attacked Cæsar and charged him with attempting to rescue from justice the enemies of the state. This decided the question. Cicero in the fourth Catilinarian oration[1] summed up the arguments on both sides, and called upon the senators to have no regard for his personal safety; that whatever happened to himself he cared not, he would execute the decree of the senate whatever it might be.

15. The Execution of the Conspirators.—The senate voted for the death of the conspirators. The charge raised against Cæsar by Piso and Catulus had been industriously circulated, and the knights who guarded the doors of the temple of Concord, where the senate sat, and were impatiently awaiting the result, threatened Cæsar with their swords as he came out. Cicero took care to have the sentence executed at once. Lentulus with four others[2] was strangled in the vault of the Tullianum. The people thronged round Cicero as he descended to the forum, and hailed him the savior and second founder of Rome. The streets were illuminated, and each in the train of citizens that accompanied

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Plut. Cat. Min., 23; this speech was reported by the stenographers and published. The following are the usual dates of the four Catilinarian orations with the corrections, on account of the disorder of the calendar:

I. *Ad Senatum*, a. d. VI., Id. Nov. = Nov. 8, B. C. 63 = Jan. 12, B. C. 62.
II. *Ad Populum*, a. d. V., Id. Nov. = Nov. 9, " " = Jan. 13, " "
III. *Ad Populum*, a. d. III., Non. Dec. = Dec. 3, " " = Feb. 5, " "
IIII. *Ad Senatum*, Nonis Dec. = Dec. 5, " " = Feb. 7, " "

[2] The other four had escaped.

Cicero home, acknowledged that Rome owed its safety to Cicero alone.[1]

16. Defeat and Death of Catiline.—While these events were going on in the city, Catiline and Manlius had collected two legions, mostly from the veterans of Sulla. When news reached them that the plot had failed at Rome, many of the soldiers deserted, and Catiline endeavored to retreat into Cisalpine Gaul. But Metellus Celer occupied the passes of the Apennines, while Catiline was closely followed by Antonius. Catiline, hemmed in between the two armies, turned upon Antonius, who, ashamed to fight against his old friend, feigned sickness. The command fell into the hands of Petrejus, an old and skillful soldier. The armies met near Pistoria (Pistoja); the struggle was desperate and bloody. Catiline fell in the thick of the Roman army, to which he had cut his way, sword in hand. His two lieutenants were killed. Not a single freeman was taken prisoner; they covered with their bodies the places where they fought.[2]

17. The Position of Cicero.—The conspiracy had been crushed and the republic saved from great danger, yet there was a deep undercurrent of discontent, and Cæsar's warning against trifling with the constitutional sacredness of a Roman citizen's life, began to be felt. At the head of this faction were the magistrates of the following year, L. Cæsar, and the tribunes Metellus and Bestia. When Cicero, according to custom, ascended the *rostra* on the last day of the year, to give an account to the people of the events of his consulship, Metellus forbade him to speak. "The man," said he, "who

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[1] Mommsen (l. c. vol. iii., p. 188 f.) considers the execution as unconstitutional. There can, however, be no doubt, that from the patrician standpoint, the law of the republic invested the consuls with the power of life and death as soon as the senate had issued its final decree. In support of this view we have the opinion of Cæsar (B. C. 7) and of Sallust (Cat. 29), both of the popular party, who recognize it as an existing right of the senate. *Ea potestas*, says Sallust, *per senatum more Romano magistratui maxima permittitur, exercitum parari, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque civis domi militiæque imperium atque judicium summum habere; aliter sine populi jussu nullius earum rerum consuli jus est.* Cæsar admits it; with certain limitations, it is true, but still he recognizes the right as belonging to the senate. The people had often questioned this prerogative, and *plebiscita* had declared it null and void; but the nobility by no means recognized the validity of these enactments.

[2] The battle took place in March B. C. 62.

condemned our fellow-citizens unheard, shall not himself be listened to." Then Cicero raised his voice and said, "I swear that I have saved the republic and the city from ruin." The people applauded, and with one voice responded that he had spoken the truth.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Return of Pompejus from the East—Cæsar Proprætor in Spain.

1. The Position of Parties.—The attempt of the insurgents to get control of the government had failed. The efforts to incriminate the leaders of the democratic party in the conspiracy, although they may have watched its progress with satisfaction, were futile. Even the people had been alarmed and alienated by the incendiary schemes of the conspirators, and the optimates were able to resume in a measure their old position at the head of the government. Their recent success encouraged them in their opposition to Pompejus, and in the belief that the old powers of the senate could be restored. The day, however, was drawing near when Pompejus would return. He had already sent his legate Metellus Nepos to be elected tribune for the purpose of procuring for him the consulship and the conduct of the war against Catiline.[1] To combat these proposals, Cato, the leader of the radical senatorial party, declared himself a candidate for the tribunate. There was also an influential party in the senate headed by Lucullus, Metellus Creticus, and M. Crassus, who were opposed to Pompejus, from personal motives.[2] The consequence was that when Nepos found the whole strength

[1] When Nepos proposed these rogations, a terrible tumult ensued. Nepos fled to Pompejus; the senate suspended Cæsar from his prætorship; his firmness compelled the senate to recall the penalty; the senate declared all who questioned the justice of the executions of the conspirators, public enemies.

[2] See pp. 275, n. 3; 281.

of the senatorial party arrayed against him, he made advances to the democrats, who, yielding to necessity, conceded the demands of Pompejus. Nepos in return accepted the democratic view of the execution of the conspirators. Cæsar sought in various ways to conciliate the favor of Pompejus

TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS.[1]
(Restored by Canina.)

and to bring him in collision with the aristocracy. He proposed to have the superintendence of rebuilding the Capitoline temple transferred from Catulus to Pompejus.

2. Triumph of Pompejus.—In B. C. 62, Pompejus reached Italy, and instead of marching with his army to Rome as Crassus had expected,[2] immediately dismissed his soldiers until

[1] The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was built by Tarquinius Superbus in B. C. 535. It was nearly square, being 200 Roman feet in length, and 185 in width (Vitr. iv., 7, 1). The figure of Jupiter was the most prominent object within the temple. In his right hand was a thunderbolt, and in his left a spear. The gates were of gilt bronze, and the pavement of mosaic. It was burned in B. C. 83 but soon rebuilt and adorned with columns of Pentelic marble taken from the temple of Jupiter Olympus at Athens. This temple (see p. 18, n. 4,) lasted until it was burnt by the soldiers of Vitellius in A. D. 69. The temple was rebuilt by Vespasian in exact likeness of its predecessor, only higher, because the haruspices said the gods would not allow the plan to be altered (Tac. Hist., iv., 53). It was finally, in A. D. 455, plundered by the Vandals and the works of art carried off to Africa.

[2] Plut. Pomp., 43.

it was time for them to attend his triumph. He set out himself for Rome, and asked permission of the senate to enter the city without forfeiting his claim to a triumph. Cato opposed the request, and it was refused. He remained outside the walls until his triumph took place. It lasted two days and was the most splendid that Rome had ever seen. He had conquered fifteen nations, and three hundred and twenty-four princes walked before his triumphal car. Pompejus acted with great moderation; he simply demanded of the senate allotments of

GAJUS JULIUS CÆSAR.

land for his soldiers, and confirmation of his acts in the East. The senate, influenced by Lucullus and Cato, refused these requests, and Pompejus had no alternative but to fall back on the popular party.

3. The Rise of Cæsar.—Just at this time Cæsar returned from Spain, where he had achieved brilliant success and laid the foundation of his military career. From this time the power fell more and more into the hands of prominent men. Fortune had given Pompejus power which he did not know how

to use. It was snatched from him by a man who was worthy of it. Gajus Julius Cæsar was born July 12, B. C. 100,[1] and therefore was six years younger than Pompejus or Cicero. He sprang from an old patrician family, but the circumstances of his early life brought him in close connection with the Marian party. His aunt had married Marius, and he himself, when seventeen years old, had taken the daughter of Cinna, one of the Marian leaders, for his wife. He refused, at the bidding of Sulla when dictator, to divorce his wife, as Pompejus had done. His name was placed on the list of the proscribed; but he concealed himself among the Sabine hills until the intercession of the vestal virgins and nobility obtained his pardon. "You wish it," said Sulla; "I grant it; but in this boy there are more than one Marius." Cæsar, however, would not accept pardon, but so long as Sulla lived he avoided the capital. He went to Asia Minor, and in the siege of Mitylene he won the civic crown for saving the life of a citizen. On his return to Rome he took advantage of the popular dissatisfaction with Sulla's arrangements to win the favor of the people. He impeached Cn. Dolabella and G. Antonius for extortion in their provinces. Although they were acquitted by the senatorial judges, still his success was such as to stimulate his ambition. To render himself still more proficient he determined to retire to Rhodes, then celebrated for its rhetoricians. At this time Servilius Isauricus was conducting the war against the pirates, and Cæsar, while on his way to Rhodes, was taken prisoner by the pirates. They demanded twenty talents for his ransom. "It is too little," said he; "you shall have fifty; but once free, I will crucify you." And he kept his word.

4. He Restores the Trophies of Marius.—In B. C. 70 he supported the claims of Pompejus for the consulship and the laws he proposed, because they admirably accorded with his own plans. In B. C. 69 Cæsar was quæstor. In this year his aunt

[1] Mommsen set the date B. C. 102, because he obtained the ædileship in B. C. 65, prætorship B. C. 62, and consulship 59, while according to the *leges annales* these offices could not be held before the 37–38th, 40–41st and 43–44th years of age. Cæsar was no doubt exempted, by a special law, like Pompejus and many others, from the law, though this is nowhere mentioned in our authorities.

Julia, and wife Cornelia, died. In pronouncing, according to custom, their eulogy, he said: "My aunt Julia derived her descent by her mother from a race of kings, and by her father from the immortal gods. In our family are the sacred majesty of kings, who are masters of the world, and the divine majesty of gods, who are the masters of kings."[1] Three years later he dared to restore the trophies of Marius. When these glittered once more in gold and marble in their old place, the veterans crowded round the statue of their beloved leader, with tears in their eyes. As ædile he not only embellished the *comitium* and the rest of the forum, and exhibited three hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators equipped in silver, but in the diversions of the theatre, in the processions and public tables, he far outshone the most ambitious of his predecessors.[2] His prodigality was frightful; his debts enormous. He owed one hundred million sesterces.[3] His liberality, his magnanimity, made him the favorite of the people. Even his vices endeared him to them. Cicero[4] says that genius, method, memory, literature, prudence, deliberation and industry were combined in him. When the chief pontiff died, the most illustrious men of the State solicited the office. Cæsar, however, did not give place to them. On the morning of the election he said: "I shall this day be either chief pontiff or an exile."

5. Cæsar the Greatest Man of Antiquity.—Until Cæsar was forty years of age his military experience was of the most limited kind. Then he became the greatest general of his age. It must have been a strange sight to see that profligate spendthrift, that elegant debauchee, his countenance pale and white, withered before its time by the excesses of the capital, that delicate and epileptic man, walking at the head of his legions under the rains of Gaul, swimming its rivers, climbing its mountains on foot, and making his bed among rains and snows in its forests and morasses.[5] When carried in his litter he read and wrote, and dictated to four and sometimes to seven amanuenses at once. He could be reading, writing, dictating and listen-

[1] Suet., 6.
[2] Plut. Cæs.
[3] $5,000,000
[4] 2 Phil., 45.
[5] Michelet, p. 336; Suetonius Cæs.; Plut. Cæs.

ing all at the same time. At the most perilous moments he knew how to seize a shield and fight in the ranks of his soldiers. "He was," says Drumann, "great in everything he undertook; as a captain, a statesman, a lawgiver, a jurist, an orator, a poet, an historian, a grammarian, a mathematician, and an architect.[1]"

6. The First Triumvirate (B. C. 60).—As proprætor he received the province of Spain. Even before his departure his old friend Crassus had to relieve him of a portion of his debt. He returned to Rome before the consular elections of B. C. 60, and found Pompejus at variance with the senate. Cæsar made overtures to him, and promised to secure the ratification of his acts in the East and the assignment of lands for his soldiers. In return Pompejus was to support Cæsar for the consulship. The success of the coalition[2] was secured by Cæsar's gaining over Crassus, whose great wealth gave him prominent influence in the senate. This was the master stroke of Cæsar's policy; to overcome the bitter jealousy between Pompejus and Crassus, and effect a reconciliation.

7. The First Consulship of Cæsar (B. C. 59).—Cæsar was elected consul with M. Bibulus, a narrow minded optimate, as his colleague. He immediately brought forward his proposals —the agrarian law,[3] the ratification of Pompejus' acts[4] in the East, and a bill for granting the petition of the knights[5] to be relieved from the terms on which they had agreed to farm the taxes in Asia. After the most obstinate resistance on the part of the optimates the laws were carried. Twenty commissioners, with Pompejus and Crassus at their head, were appointed to superintend the distribution of the land. At the close of his consulship Cæsar was invested[6] with the government of Cisal-

[1] *Geschichte Roms*, vol. iii., p. 746.

[2] This private league was afterwards known as the *First Triumvirate*.

[3] *The lex Julia agraria* proposed the division of the *ager publicus* in Italy. The second *lex agraria* included the *ager Campanus* and the *campus Stellatis*, which were to be divided among the poor citizens.

[4] The *lex Julia de actis Pompeji*.

[5] The *lex Julia de publicanis*, to conciliate Crassus. Cato's severity in refusing to release the lessees of the taxes in Asia Minor from the terms on which they had agreed to farm the revenue there, alienated the equestrian order, and made them eager to transfer their allegiance to the triumvirs, who promised to procure for them the remission of one-third of the sum they had promised to pay.

[6] The *lex Vatinia de provincia Cæsaris*; in connection with this was the *lex Vatinia de colonia Latina Comum deducenda*. Cæsar had already advocated the granting of citizenship to the Transpadane Gauls. This was a step in that direction, and the 5000 colonists assured him of their fidelity. Comum from this time was called Novum Comum.

pine and Transalpine Gaul and Illyricum, with eight legions, for the space of five years.[1] The main object of his consulship had been attained. He had bound Pompejus and Crassus to himself and to the popular party more closely, and as proconsul of Cisalpine Gaul, he could watch the progress of affairs in the capital. The threatening movements of the tribes in Transalpine Gaul opened to him a wide field for the exercise of his military genius, and gave him time to form a powerful army devoted to his interests. Pompejus undertook, in the meantime, to watch over Italy and carry into execution the agrarian law.

8. Publius Clodius.—The success of the triumvirs seemed complete, and the power of the senate completely broken. Still the people were fickle, and there were symptoms of discontent. Some of the optimates were rash enough to propose the annulling of the Julian laws. It was evident that the senate bore with inward rage the yoke which Cæsar had laid upon it. Even Pompejus felt that his present position hardly accorded with his aristocratic notions, and he repented of the step he had taken.[2] There was danger then that during Cæsar's absence a reconciliation would take place between him and the senate, and that he would succeed once more in winning the support of the popular party. To prevent this, Cæsar made use of Publius Clodius Pulcher, who had for a long time been attempting to procure his adoption into a plebeian house, that he might be elected to the tribunate. Clodius procured his adoption[3] with the aid of Cæsar, who henceforth found in him an apt instrument for humbling the power of the senate, and, in case of need, to act against Pompejus. Clodius was exasperated against the senatorial party, and particularly against Cicero. The consuls for the following year were L. Calpurnius Piso, Cæsar's father-in-

[1] *Gallia Transalpina* was added by the senate and no time mentioned. The *Gallia Cisalpina* was conferred until March 1st, B. C. 54, instead of January 1st, on which day, according to the *lex Cornelia de provinciis*, the consuls and prætors were accustomed to enter on their provinces.

[2] Cic. ad Atticum ii., 232. (written Aug., B. C. 59): "In the first place, then, I would have you know that our friend Sampsiceramus (*i. e.*, Pompejus) is heartily sick of his situation, and wishes he could be restored to that place from which he has fallen."

[3] The *lex curiata de arrogatione:* Cæsar, as *pontifex maximus*, managed the affair for Clodius.

law, and A. Gabinius, an adherent of Pompejus, while P. Clodius[1] was elected tribune of the people. The personal bonds between Cæsar and Pompejus were drawn still more closely by the marriage of Pompejus with Julia, Cæsar's only daughter, then twenty years of age.

9. Clodius' Legislation.— Cæsar still lay with his legions before the walls of Rome, ready to support his party, if necessary. Clodius, agreeably to his instructions, immediately on entering the tribunate proposed and carried four rogations at the same time.

The first[2] was intended to secure the favor of the people by providing that they should be supplied with corn gratuitously.

The second[3] was directed against the very citadel of the senatorial power; it forbade the consuls to hinder legislation under pretence of observing the heavens.[4]

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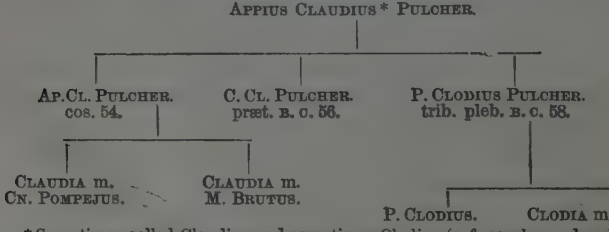
[1] This was the same Clodius who had attempted to incite an insurrection in the army of Lucullus, in B. C. 67. In B. C. 62, while the Roman matrons were met in Cæsar's house to celebrate, according to custom, the mysteries of the Good Goddess (Bona Dea), in which it was considered the greatest profanation for any male creature to be present, Clodius entered, disguised as a female musician. He was detected and the mysteries hastily veiled, but Clodius made his escape. The scandal created great excitement. Cæsar was compromised. He divorced his wife Pompeja. The case was brought before the senate. The trial lasted through B. C. 62 and 61. Clodius bribed the judges and procured his acquittal. He was deeply embittered against the senate, and particularly against Cicero, who had appeared against him as a witness. He vowed vengeance, and for this purpose procured his adoption into a plebeian family, and became a candidate for the tribunate. Cæsar found in him a suitable instrument for accomplishing his designs against Cicero and the senatorial party.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.


Appius Claudius * Pulcher.
Ap. Cl. Pulcher. cos. 54.
C. Cl. Pulcher. præt. B. C. 56.
P. Clodius Pulcher. trib. pleb. B. C. 58.
Claudia m. Cn. Pompejus.
Claudia m. M. Brutus.
P. Clodius.
Clodia m. Octavius.

* Sometimes called Claudius and sometimes Clodius (c. f. *caudex* and *codex*, *claustrum* and *clostrum*); it became the custom, in later times of the republic, for several of the Claudii to call themselves Clodii.

[2] The *lex frumentaria*.

[3] The *lex Clodia de jure et tempore legum rogandarum*, *i. e.*, that it should be legal to propose rogations to the people on all *dies fasti*, that is, on all *dies fasti non comitiales*.

[4] See page 40.

The third re-established the ancient guilds,[1] which the senate had recently suppressed.

The fourth[2] annulled the most despotic prerogative of the censors, by forbidding them to deny admittance to any magistrate to the senate who was legally entitled to a seat there.

10. The Banishment of Cicero.—The next and most important service which Clodius performed for the triumvirs was to deprive the senate of its two ablest and most influential members. Although Clodius was a bitter enemy of Cicero, and would gladly have driven him from the state, yet he could do nothing without the consent of the triumvirs. Agreeably to his instructions, he proposed a bill to entrust Cato with the government of Cyprus, which was to be converted into a province, and to interdict from fire and water any magistrate who had put Roman citizens to death without a trial. Cicero's name was not mentioned. He, however, saw his peril, dressed himself in mourning, and went round the forum soliciting the compassion of the people. The senators and knights assembled on the capitol to consult concerning the threatened danger. A deputation, headed by Hortensius and Scribonius Curio, was sent to implore the assistance of the consuls.[3] Deputations from the Italian towns flocked to Rome to offer their sympathy. Cicero appealed personally to Pompejus, and prostrated himself before him as a suppliant. Pompejus repelled him coldly, with the answer that he could do nothing without Cæsar's consent. As for Cæsar, he expressed his opinion plainly in an assembly[4] of the people convened by Clodius[5] in the circus of Flaminius, beyond the walls. Here Cæsar could be present, for as proconsul at the head of the legions it was not lawful for him to enter the city. The two consuls spoke against Cicero, and Cæsar repeated the opinion which he had maintained from the first in the senate—that the execution of the conspirators was illegal, but that, in a

[1] These associations (*collegia compitalicia*) were originally organized to conduct the sacred rites of the *compita* (*cross-roads*). Although nominally religious, they had been turned into "street-clubs," controlled by ward politicians, and on that account had been suppressed by the senate in B. C. 64; they were now revived by Clodius (*lex Clodia de collegiis*).

[2] The *lex Clodia de censoria notione*.

[3] They dared not offend Clodius, for as tribune he could procure for them a rich province.

[4] Contio.

[5] Clodius openly boasted that he acted in understanding with Cæsar, Pompejus and Crassus. Cic. Sest. 17, 39 f.; Har. Resp. 22, 47.

matter so long passed, he deprecated severe measures. All availed nothing. The armed bands of Clodius kept possession of the forum. Cicero thought it best to yield to the storm, and after dedicating in the capitol a small statue of Minerva, the tutelary deity of Rome as well as of Athens, withdrew from the city.[1] Clodius then carried a bill interdicting Cicero by name from fire and water within 400 miles of Rome. His property was confiscated, and his house on the Palatine was burnt. Cæsar's measures in the capital had been satisfactorily accomplished, and he was now ready to set out for his province.[2] It was time, for the threatening movements of the Celtic tribes demanded his presence.

CHAPTER XLVII.

The Conquest of the West (B. C. 58–51).

1. The Condition of Gaul.—The Romans had already come in contact with the Celts in Gaul, and had converted the strip of land on the seaboard between the Alps and Pyrenees into a Roman province (B. C. 118). The Romans had for a long time regarded the Celtic province as very important, still they had made no systematic effort to extend their dominion in that quarter. The climate was healthy, the soil rich and fertile, and the intercourse with Italy, by land and sea, easy. Roman merchants and farmers had already resorted in great numbers to Gaul, and had disseminated there Roman civilization. The centre of this civilization was the old Greek city, Massilia, from which articles of luxury found their way up the Rhone and Soane, and thence, by land, to the Seine and Loire, in exchange for the products of Gaul.

[1] Cato left Rome about the same time.

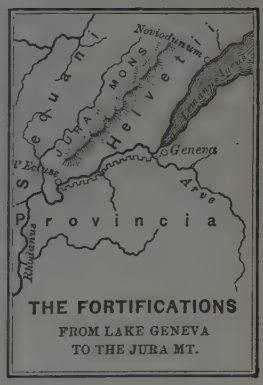
[2] Towards the end of March, B. C. 58.

No. 5.

Britannia
Cassivellauni, oppidum
Trinobantes
Londinium
Tamesis Fl.
cantium
Rhenus F.
Batavi
Vahalis F.
Usipetes et Tencteri
Sigambri
Cherusci
Suevi
Ubii
Menapii
Morini
Calais
Boulogne
Scaldis Fl.
Mosa Fl.
Eburones
Aduatuca
Nervi
Sabis Fl.
Atuatici
Ambivariti
Ambiani
Caleri
Veromandui
Nemetacum
Arduenna Silva
TREVERI
Bellovaci
Sueßiones
Bibrax
Durocortorum
Remi
Atrebates
Lutetia
Parisii
Meldi
Meldunum
Mediomatrici
Mosella F.
Leuci
Tricasses
Agedincum
Vadicasses
Alesia
Lingones
Sequani
Latobrigi
Tulingi
Helvetii
Rauraci
Germani Cisrhenani
Hercynia Silva
Caletes
Veliocasses
Lexovii
Aulerci Eburovices
Essuvii
Aulerci Diablintes
Cenomani
Redones
Veneti
Curiosolites
Osismi
Venellocasses
Vellaunodunum
Genabum
Ligeris F.
Aquitani
Carnutes
Senones
Biturges
Nouiodunum
Avaricum
Neuernum
Armorica

Belgae
Celtae
Aquitani
Territory of Massilia
Germani
Free Tribes of the Alpes
COLONIES FOUNDED BY CAESAR
Noviodunum (Lulia equestris)
Arausio Secundanorum
Aretate Sextanarum
Narbo Decimanorum
Baeterrae Septimanorum
For. Julii Octavanorum
Ruscino
GAUL
IN THE TIME OF
CAESAR.
Fisk & Sec. N. Y.

2. Defeat of the Helvetians (B. C. 58).—About this time the Helvetians, a Celtic tribe, becoming restless in their narrow territories, hemmed in as they were between the Jura, the Rhine and the Alps, on account of their scanty means of subsistence, determined to abandon their territories and seek larger and more fertile abodes to the west of the Jura mountains. As Cæsar was waiting before the gates of Rome, in the beginning of B. C. 58, he heard that the Helvetians had already assembled on the Rhone for the purpose of crossing and settling in the West. Thinking that this would endanger the safety of the province he hastened to Gaul, reached the Rhone in eight days, and by skillful negotiations delayed the advance of the Helvetians until he had constructed a line of intrenchments from the lake of Geneva to the Jura mountains. This defeated the attempt of the Helvetians to cross the river in this direction, and they were compelled to take their way along its right bank, and thus make their journey westward by a more northerly route.[1] Cæsar hastily collected his forces,[2] followed up the left bank of the Soane, cut to pieces a part of the Helvetian army and pursued the remainder to Bibracte,[3] where he defeated them[4] in a terrible battle and compelled them to return to their own country.



THE FORTIFICATIONS FROM LAKE GENEVA TO THE JURA MT.

3. War with Ariovistus (B. C. 58).—Next, Cæsar advanced northward to Vesontio (Besançon), drove[5] back the Suevi, who had crossed the Rhine in great numbers[6] under their chief Ariovistus, for the purpose of reconciling the contending factions

[1] Through the pass de l'Ecluse.
[2] He went to his other province and brought up the three legions there, as well as the two of newly enrolled recruits. He had in all 6 legions and 4000 Gallic horsemen.
[3] Bibracte was, according to Göler, on the site of the modern Autun; according to Napoleon, some distance from Autun, on Mt. Beuvray.
[4] The Helvetians had set out with 368,000, their whole population, of which 92,000 were armed; only 110,000 returned.
[5] The battle was fought near Czernay and Lower Aspach.
[6] 120,000 had already crossed.

and forming alliances in Gaul. The next year (B. C. 57) Cæsar conquered the Belgic tribes, one of the three great nations that occupied Gaul. It was in this campaign that, the Romans being surprised by the Nervii, while pitching their camp, the line was restored by Cæsar's seizing a shield and fighting in the ranks. During this year, Cæsar's lieutenant, P. Crassus, subjugated the tribes in Brittany and Normandy, so that at the end of the second year two of the three great divisions of Gaul were in the power of the Romans. In the third year Cæsar advanced against the Veneti, who had revolted, and succeeded in capturing their towns and defeating their fleet in the first great naval battle fought in the Atlantic ocean. The Morini and Menapii submitted, and Cæsar seemed to have fully attained one of the great objects which he set out to accomplish—the subjugation of Gaul.

4. The Invasion of Germany and Britain (B. C. 55).—The other half of his work—to compel the Germans to recognize the Rhine as their boundary on the west—still remained before him. Two tribes had already been driven over the Rhine in the pressure of the Germanic tribes towards the West, but Cæsar resolved to prevent them from settling in Gaul. They were defeated with tremendous slaughter, and Cæsar determined to bridge the Rhine[1] and cross himself, in order to inspire the other German tribes with terror. In the autumn of the same year he crossed for a reconnaissance to Britain,[2] but his fleet was disabled by a storm, and he was content to withdraw, after a fortnight, to Gaul, for the winter. The next year he crossed again[3] with a large fleet, defeated the Britains under their leader Cassivellaunus, and compelled them to pay tribute and furnish hostages.

5. Cæsar's Victories Honored in Rome.—When the news of these prodigious marches and wonderful victories

[1] This was B. C. 55. The bridge was erected, according to Napoleon, at Bonn; according to Göler, between Bonn and Coblentz.

[2] According to Napoleon, he sailed from the harbor of the modern Boulogne, both this and the next year; according to Göler, he embarked this year from Wissant, and the next year from Calais.

[3] He embarked from Portus Itius (probably Witsand, between Calais and Boulogne).

reached Rome, a cry of admiration arose from all sides. The senate voted thanksgivings, in spite of the opposition of Cato. "Compared to the exploits of Cæsar," said Cicero, "what has Marius done? He arrested the deluge of Gauls into Italy; but he never penetrated into their abodes, he never subdued their cities. Cæsar has not only repulsed the Gauls, but he has subdued them. The Alps were once the barriers between Italy and the barbarians. The gods had placed the mountains there to shelter Rome in her weakness. Now let them sink and welcome. From the Alps to the ocean she has no enemy to fear." During the winter Cæsar held his court, as usual, at Lucca, the most convenient point within his province, where he could watch the political complications in the capital and receive his numerous partisans and consult with them. Here consulars, senators and officials of all ranks crowded to his receptions, and all returned delighted with the courtesy and generosity of the conqueror.

6. Revolt in Gaul.—Hitherto the Gauls had offered no united resistance, but in the winter of B. C. 54 they thought a favorable opportunity was offered for them to combine their forces, destroy their conqueror, and recover their independence, as Cæsar was compelled to disperse his troops, on account of the scarcity of provisions. The corps among the Eburones, near Aduatica, was attacked, and on its retreat totally annihilated. The insurrection spread among the other tribes, and soon the insurgents, to the number of sixty thousand, laid siege to the camp of Q. Cicero, in the territory of the Nervii. Cæsar, fortunately, was still in Gaul. He hastened, with great speed, to Cicero's relief, raised the siege, and the insurgents dispersed. Cæsar exacted terrible vengeance[1] from the revolted tribes, and in order to strike terror to the Germans, whom the Gauls had once more invited to their assistance, he crossed the Rhine again. In the following year (B. C. 53) he advanced to the north and exacted bloody vengeance on the Eburones, the leaders of the insurrection. The next year (B. C. 52) Cæsar found

[1] For this campaign he raised three legions (two were borrowed from Pompejus). He had previously 8½ legions; 1½ was lost in the attack; he now had 10.

all Gaul again arrayed against him in a general insurrection. The last attempt had failed because the proconsul had appeared unexpectedly on the scene of action. Now he was at a distance, detained on the Po by the imminence of civil war. This, then, was the time to strike. The Roman army could be annihilated and the province overrun before Cæsar could reappear. The Carnutes offered to take the lead. Genabum[1] was attacked and the Roman settlers were put to death. The cry of war, repeated by men through the fields and villages, reached the Arverni the same evening, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles.[2]

7. Gallant Defence of Vercingetorix.—Vercingetorix, the chief of the Arverni, joined the insurrection and called upon all to fight for the liberty of their country. Just at this time Cæsar crossed the Alps, took measures to protect the province, forced his way across the Cevennes through the deep snow, and appeared unexpectedly to all in the land of the Arverni. After collecting his legions he marched directly upon Genabum, which had given the signal for revolt. It was pillaged and laid in ashes. Vercingetorix urged his countrymen to change the plan of the war, and instead of resisting the Romans in the open field or in their fortified towns, to burn their towns, cut off the supplies and lay the country waste far and wide. The plan worked admirably. Cæsar's foraging parties found it difficult to obtain supplies, and the army began to be pinched by hunger. In the general destruction Avaricum (*Bourges*) had been spared. Hither Cæsar hastened with all speed, and pressed the siege with energy. The town surrendered and its abundant stores relieved the wants of the army. Cæsar was enabled once more to show a bold front to the enemy, and he entered the territories of the Arverni and laid siege to their capital, Gergovia.[3] Here he met with his first defeat in Gaul, and was compelled to retreat. This was a critical moment for Cæsar. His enemies in Rome were eagerly scanning the news, hoping that some disaster would befall him, while his position in Gaul depended on the halo of victory that surrounded him. His

[1] According to Napoleon, the modern Gien. [2] Cæs. bel. Gal. vii., 3. [3] Near Clermont.

retreat was the signal for the Ædui to revolt, and the whole Celtic nation, with the single exception of the Remi, were in arms, and the warriors swore not to revisit their homes until they had crossed at least twice the ranks of the enemy.[1] Cæsar, however, was undismayed. He called out the levy to protect the province, and advanced himself towards Agedincum to join Labienus. After the junction of the two armies Cæsar turned to the south, in order to protect the province from invasion.

8. Siege of Alesia (B. C. 52).—On his way was Alesia,[2] where Vercingetorix had intrenched himself with 80,000 men. The city was situated upon a hill, in what was supposed to be an impregnable position. Here the Celts had taken final refuge, and Vercingetorix had dispatched his cavalry to summon all Gaul to his relief. The Romans had hardly invested the place when they were surrounded by a tremendous army[3] which had assembled to relieve it. Cæsar was in great peril, still he would not raise the siege, but by a masterly disposition of his forces he prevented Vercingetorix from breaking through the lines, defeated the Celtic army without, and compelled Alesia to surrender. The people were reduced to slavery, and the number was so great that each soldier had one slave. Vercingetorix, the noble representative of all that was brave and generous in his nation, was reserved to grace his captor's triumph and to perish in the dungeons of the capitol. The fall of Alesia ended the war. What followed[4] was only like the swell of the ocean after a mighty storm. A general insurrection was impossible. The other tribes soon submitted, and after eight years the subjugation of the region between the Alps, the Rhine and the ocean was complete.

9. Cæsar's Organization of Gaul.—During the winter Cæsar travelled through Gaul, settled the condition of the country, and conciliated the favor of the people. Honors and privileges were bestowed upon the chiefs and the cities, and even the franchise was granted to a number of noble Celts, several of

[1] Bell. Gal., vii., 15. [2] Situated between Chatillon and Dijon, on Mt. Auxois.
[3] 250,000 infantry and 8000 cavalry. [4] In B. C. 51.

whom were admitted to the senate. The territory was united to the province of Narbo until B. C. 44, when two provinces[1] were formed from it—Gallia and Belgica. The taxes[2] imposed were light, and the levying of them was intrusted to each community. Cæsar left the Gauls their land, their laws and their

religion; and in a great measure their self-government was undisturbed. In fact, he spared everything that did not interfere with his fundamental idea—the Romanizing of Gaul. In order to turn their eyes toward Rome, the Roman monetary system was introduced, and the Latin language was made the language

[1] In A. D. 17, Lugdunensis and Aquitania were formed from Gallia.

[2] Forty million *sesterces* (about $2,000,000) were levied annually. The gold collected in the temples and by the nobles was confiscated, and this brought so much into the market that gold fell, as compared with silver, 25 per cent.

of official intercourse. By these wise and judicious measures the country became thoroughly Romanized, and the laws and institutions of Rome formed the basis of its social and political life.[1]

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Anarchy in the Capital—Rupture between Cæsar and the Senate.

1. Political Agitation in the Capital.—During Cæsar's absence Pompejus had been appointed by the triumvirs to rule the capital. In this he had undertaken a task far beyond his ability. To rule the waves of political agitation in the capital that swelled with past and future revolutions, required a greater magician than he. After Cæsar's departure to Gaul, Clodius gave free reins to his audacity. Bands of gladiators roamed the streets and dispersed the rabble that represented the Roman people. It soon began to be felt that the throne was vacant, and that the master was in Gaul. Clodius was emboldened to commence a violent attack even on Pompejus. The restoration of the clubs had given Clodius an opportunity to organize the whole free and slave proletariate of the capital. Utterly helpless to quell the disorder, and intimidated into the belief that a plot was formed against his life, Pompejus retired from the contest and shut himself up in his house. Cæsar came to his rescue, and the next election freed him from his petty

[1] In these eight campaigns Cæsar had taken more than 800 cities, defeated 300 tribes or nearly three million of men, one million of whom he had slain, and made an equal number prisoners. When Cæsar took command in Gaul, he had four legions, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th; the 11th and 12th, Cæsar enrolled for the campaign against the Helvetii; the 13th and 14th for the Belgian campaign. The 14th was cut to pieces by the Eburones, but another 14th and also 15th were afterwards levied in Gaul. Cæsar enlisted Gauls and one legion, the *Alauda* (so-called because the helmets of the soldiers were distinguished by a lark) was composed wholly of Gauls. The results that sprang from Cæsar's wars in Gaul, had a momentous influence on the destinies of the world; for Cæsar first taught the Romans to protect the frontiers of their empire by means of rivers or artificial ramparts, to colonize the nearest tribes along the frontier, and to recruit the Roman army from the enemy's country. By these means the migrations of the Germanic tribes were checked, and the necessary interval for Italian civilization to become established in Gaul, on the Danube, in Africa, and in Spain was gained.—See *Mommsen*, vol. iv., p. 301.

persecution. The new consuls[1] were favorable to Cicero, and on the first day of their office, proposed a bill to recall him from exile. One of the tribunes interposed his veto, and prevented the bill from being carried in the senate. Pompejus proposed to bring it before the people, but a terrible fray ensued in which, according to Cicero, the Tiber and the sewers were filled with bodies, and the forum swam in blood.[2]

2. Cicero's Recall from Exile (B. C. 57).—Finally, in July, the nobles armed a party of swordsmen under T. Annius Milo to encounter Clodius. Desperate fights occurred in the streets, and at last the senate, in concert with Pompejus, determined to invite the voters from all Italy to repair to Rome and assist in carrying a law for Cicero's recall. On the 4th of August the bill was carried, and on the next day Cicero landed in Brundisium, where he expected to meet his family. All Italy came out to meet him, and so great was the public joy that he declared that all Italy carried him back to Rome on her shoulders.[3] On the 4th day of September he re-entered the city. All the streets and temples were filled with the vast multitude, so that no triumph had ever been equal to his return from exile.[4] Clodius in the meantime continued his agitation. He drove off the workmen who were rebuilding Cicero's house, and even attacked Cicero himself in the open streets. As the drilled bands of Clodius filed through the public squares, no one dared attack him. He was a victim reserved for the sword of Milo.

3. The Renewal of the Triumvirate (B. C. 56).—Pompejus yielded in various ways to the wishes of the senate and hoped to effect a reconciliation with the senatorial party. Cicero co-operated with Pompejus, and proposed that he should be invested with extraordinary powers for the purpose of supplying Rome with provisions. The senate, however,

[1] P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther and Metellus Nepos.
[2] Pro Sest., 35, 38.
[3] Plut. Cic., 33.
[4] The *lex Cornelia* granted him indemnification—2,000,000 sesterces ($85,000) for his house on the Palatine; he had bought the house of Crassus for 3½ million sesterces ($150,000); this left 1½ million for the land; his villas at Tusculum ($20,000) and Formiæ ($10,000). After his return he delivered four orations: *Post reditum:* (1) *Oratio cum senatui gratias egit;* (2) *cum populo gratias egit;* (3) *de domo sua ad pontifices;* (4) *ad haruspices.*

was not yet quite ready to receive Pompejus as dictator, and Crassus, who was ardently attached to Cæsar, openly opposed the bill. The discord between Pompejus and Crassus increased daily. The senate refused Pompejus the commission to restore the expelled king of Egypt, and finally dared to attack the law carried by Cæsar in regard to the Campanian land. The senate began to feel that the hour had come to begin the struggle against the triumvirs. When the consular elections came the senate put forward L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who threatened to propose a law for Cæsar's recall. The nobility had thrown down the gauntlet to Cæsar. It was time for him to act. In April B. C. 56, he invited Pompejus and Crassus to an interview at Luca[1] (*Lucca*), reconciled them to each other, and arranged a plan for the following year. Pompejus and Crassus were to be elected consuls, and to obtain proconsular commands, the one in Spain, the other in Syria. Cæsar's province was to be granted to him for another term of five years. Crassus promised to keep P. Clodius and his gang quiet, while Cicero was to be reminded of the promise he had made, before his return from exile,[2] through his brother, in regard to his conduct towards Cæsar.

4. The Second Consulship of Pompejus and Crassus (B. C. 55).—It was impossible to carry the election of Pompejus and Crassus in opposition to the two consuls. Two tribunes were therefore employed to adjourn the *comitia* during the year, to prevent at least the election of others. A great number of soldiers were dismissed on furloughs from Cæsar's army to take part in voting. Even P. Crassus, the son of the triumvir, appeared with a detachment of troops. In the beginning of B. C. 55 the elections were held; the armed bands of the triumvirs having driven their opponents from the Campus Martius.

[1] There were, according to Appian (b. c. ii., 17), 200 senators and so many magistrates present at Luca that there were 120 lictors; see also Plut. Cæs., 21.

[2] Cic. ad. fam. i., 9, 9 f.; and Q. fr. 2. 6. 2. From the 11th of April to May 6, Cicero received no letter from his brother. On the 15th of May when the question came up in the senate in reference to the Campanian land, Cicero had received the warning from his brother (ad fam. i., 9, 10), and was not present. Cicero gave evidence of his resumed allegiance to Cæsar by supporting the bill to give him ten legates, and to pay his soldiers from the public treasury (Cic. Prov. Cons., 11, 28); see Mommsen, l. c. vol. iv., p. 326, n.

The arrangements made at Luca were carried out. Cæsar's command was prolonged[1] for another five years; the two Spains were assigned to Pompejus, and Syria to Crassus.

5. Pompejus and the Senate.—Pompejus rejoiced to find himself once more at the head of an army; but contrary to the expectations of all, he remained at the capital under the pretext of supplying it with provisions, while his lieutenants, Afranius and Petrejus, were entrusted with the command in Spain. Once more he adopted his old policy, and encouraged secretly the disorder in Rome, hoping that the senate would be compelled to nominate him dictator. The turbulence of the mob was worse than ever. Many began to foresee the approaching end of the republic. Pompejus sought to ingratiate himself with the people. He built a magnificent stone theatre[2] on the Campus Martius, the first of its kind in Rome, capable of holding forty thousand spectators. At the dedication, plays[3] of Attius and of Livius Andronicus were presented, and five hundred lions and eighteen elephants were hunted in the arena by trained bands of gladiators.

6. Crassus Departs for Syria (B. C. 55).—Crassus, although he was already sixty and had not entered a camp for sixteen years, was impatient to depart to his province and seize the riches of the East. From his province of Syria, he could conduct the war against the Parthians and penetrate into the distant regions of the East. The Parthians, however, had long been at peace with Rome, and the treaty of Sulla had been renewed by Pompejus. The senate refused to declare war, and the nobles sought by means of the tribune Atejus, to excite the religious scruples of the people against an invasion into the territory of a people at peace with Rome. As Crassus was making the usual sacrifices in the capitol for the successful result of his expedition, the tribune announced the appearance of unfavorable omens. The senate refused to declare war. When Crassus was hastening from the city to

[1] Cæsar's command was extended until March 1, B. C. 49, which was equivalent to extending it until January 1, B. C. 48, as the senate generally took action on the provinces at the beginning of the year

[2] See p. 418.

[3] Clytæmnestra and Trojan Horse.

take command of the army, the tribune met him at the gate and kindled a fire in a censer, and with incense and libations devoted Crassus with terrible imprecations to the infernal gods.[1] Other strange omens followed him and dispirited his soldiers. His mind, however, was filled with glorious visions of conquest. He hoped to surpass the fame and exploits of Cæsar and Pompejus, and to penetrate into the unknown regions of the East.[2] He passed the winter in Syria, where, instead of exercising his soldiers and preparing for war, he plundered the temples and confiscated the revenues of the cities.

7. Crassus Crosses the Euphrates.—In the spring of B. C. 53, he prepared to set out on his expedition.[3] He crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma, but instead of following the course of this river, as his quæstor G. Cassius advised him to do, so that his ships could reach him with supplies, and so that the advance to Ctesiphon and Seleucia would be comparatively easy, he trusted to the guidance of an Arabian chief who promised to lead him by the nearest way to the enemy. This man had already served under Pompejus and was supposed to be friendly to the Romans. When he had led the Romans from the river into the sandy desert, he rode off under a frivolous pretext and left them. The rolling columns of sand soon announced the approach of the enemy. The air was filled with a horrid din, the deep and dismal sound of the kettle-drums struck terror to the Roman soldiers. When the Parthian line appeared, it gleamed like battalions of fire, for their polished breastplates and helmets were of Margian steel. The cavalry poured in their long arrows with fearful effect, and the Roman line was crowded together. The soldiers fell thickly on every side. Crassus ordered his son—the same who had served under Cæsar in Gaul, and led the Gallic cavalry—to charge on the assailants. The youth pushed eagerly forward, but was soon surrounded, overpowered and slain. The soldiers, worn out with the

[1] Plut. Crass., 21. [2] Ibid.
[3] He had seven legions: 4000 cavalry and 1000 Gallic cavalry; map No. 7.

heat and the dust, and blinded by the sand, were cut to pieces. Night put an end to the slaughter.

8. Battle of Carrhæ (B. C. 53).—The enemy galloped away, jeeringly shouting to the Romans that they would give the general a night to bewail his son. Crassus, prostrated with fatigue and disappointed in his hopes for fame and gold, proved utterly helpless. Octavius and Cassius withdrew the army to Carrhæ, abandoning the camp as well as the dead and wounded. The Parthian cavalry followed in pursuit, but the garrison of Carrhæ came out to assist Crassus, and the army took refuge within its walls. Deeming the place indefensible, the Romans set out the next day on their retreat; but Surenas, the vizier of the Parthian king, fearing that they would escape, proposed an interview and invited Crassus to capitulate on favorable terms. The mutinous soldiers clamored for submission, and Crassus was compelled to yield to the outcry. The proconsul and his officers were treacherously seized and slain. A small remnant of the army, under Cassius, escaped to the hills and made their way back to Syria. Twenty thousand Romans had been slain and ten thousand taken prisoners.[1]

9. Clodius and Milo.—Meanwhile at Rome matters had been daily growing worse. The disaster at Carrhæ produced but a faint impression upon the politicians of the capital. Disorder and confusion had made such rapid strides that the best men began to contemplate the necessity of a dictatorship. It was evident that the rupture between the triumvirs was approaching. In B. C. 54, Julia died, to whom Pompejus was ardently attached. This broke one link that bound the triumvirs together. Cæsar attempted to re-establish the ties of affinity, but Pompejus drew back and finally married the daughter of Q. Metellus Scipio. The death of Crassus, however, was the severest blow, for Cæsar always felt that whatever else might happen, he could rely on Crassus. Pompejus made use of the tribunes to prevent the consular elections, and the year B. C. 53

[1] According to Appian, 90,000 were slain and taken prisoners; the prisoners were kindly treated and allowed to settle in the country.

opened with an interregnum. The city was a prey to the riotous bands of Clodius and Milo, and in B. C. 54 they were both candidates for office, the former for the prætorship, and the latter for the consulship. Their hired bands of gladiators fought in the public streets, and postponed the elections. Riots were of frequent occurrence and blood flowed in the forum and public squares.

10. Death of Clodius.—It happened that Milo was traveling on the Appian way in a carriage, accompanied by his wife, and attended by a retinue of servants, and, as usual, a band of armed gladiators. Near Bovillae,* Clodius met him, and as the story goes, an affray ensued between their gladiators, in which Clodius was wounded. He took refuge in a tavern near by, but Milo gave way to his fury, attacked the house, and caused Clodius to be dragged forth and slain. When the body of Clodius, which was left in the street, was found by a senator, Sex. Tedius, and carried to Rome, a tremendous excitement ensued. The multitude streamed towards the Palatine hill, where the body was exposed to public gaze. On the following morning, excited by the harangues of the tribunes, the people bore the corpse to the *curia Hostilia*, and having made a funeral pile of the benches, tables, books and papers, set fire to it so that not only the senate-house but many of the adjoining buildings were burned. The only refuge from this state of anarchy was in Pompejus and his army. A few honest statesmen were left, but the great parties had degenerated into factions and cabals. Even Cato said "that it was better to choose a master, than to wait for the tyrant that anarchy will impose upon us." On the 25th of February, B. C. 52, Pompejus was elected 'consul without a colleague,'[1]—a title that sounded a little less harsh than dictator.

11. Pompejus' Third Consulship (B. C. 52).—From this time Pompejus threw off all pretence of an alliance with Cæsar and devoted himself to the cause of the senate. Order was restored, the armed bands were dispersed, and Pompejus, in order

[1] *Consul sine collega*; this was illegal, because the requisite ten years since his second consulship had not elapsed.

* See map, p. 4.

to soothe the anxiety of the senate, declared that he would rule the state in the interest of freedom. Pompejus carried two[1] laws against violence and bribery at elections, also measures to secure a speedy trial of those engaged in the murder of Clodius, and in the burning of the senate-house. Condemnation fell especially on the friends of Cæsar. The jury ventured to acquit most of the partisans of the senate except Milo. Cicero prepared an oration in Milo's defence; but such disturbance arose during the trial that Pompejus stationed guards in the city, surrounded the court, and occupied all the approaches to the forum with armed soldiers, and sat himself in front of the treasury, to watch the proceedings. When Cicero arose to speak, the sight of the soldiery and the hostility of the people robbed him in a measure of that eloquence and wit which, on so many occasions, had been so effective. Milo was condemned, and went into exile at Massilia, where Cicero sent him a copy of the splendid oration which he intended to have delivered. Milo sarcastically remarked that it was fortunate that it had never been spoken. "Else," said he, "I should not be enjoying the delicious mullets of this place."

12. The Measures of Pompejus.—Pompejus sided more and more with the optimates, and admitted Cato into his counsels. He carried a law that no magistrate should have a province till five years after the expiration of his term of office. From this measure, Pompejus considered himself exempt, for he immediately caused his own command to be prolonged for another five years. The next law was aimed directly against Cæsar. It provided that no one could be a candidate for a public office in his absence. It was very important for Cæsar when his proconsular government expired, to return to Rome protected by the consular office. His personal safety required that he should be exempted from the law. His friends saw this, and they declared Cæsar's desire for a second consulship, and demanded that he should be exempt from the law. Cæsar's name was still powerful among the people. His brilliant suc-

[1] *De vi* and *de ambitu*. The first provided that the trial should last only four days; that the advocates should speak only two or three hours each; eulogies (*laudationes*) from distinguished men for the accused were forbidden.

cesses in Gaul had produced a profound impression. Besides, his gold flowed in streams to the capital. Opposite the magnificent basilica erected by Æmilius Paullus, near the spot where the senate-house had stood, rose the Julian basilica, while a space was cleared for the Julian forum. Pompejus thought it best to yield, and Cæsar was specially exempted.

13. Cæsar's Position. — During the next two years events followed their course. The mere force of circumstances urged on the crisis. It was plain that civil war was impending. In B. C. 51, the consul M. Marcellus, a strict aristocrat, proposed that Cæsar should be recalled March 1, B. C. 49. Cæsar sought in every way to preserve his relations with Pompejus, and attain, peaceably if possible, the consulship for B. C. 48, already promised him at Luca.[1] He sought in every way to postpone the catastrophe which all saw was inevitable, overlooked whatever he could ; but still adhered to this demand, that when his time expired in Gaul, he should have the second consulship promised to him by his colleagues, and admissible by law. If Cæsar was compelled to resign his office without immediately entering upon the consulship, that is, if there was an interval when he was out of office and consequently liable to impeachment, all knew what his fate would be, for Cato had already given notice that he would impeach him. While the coalition between Pompejus and the senate was forming, Cæsar adopted every means to strengthen his power. He conciliated the Gauls, granted citizenship to Novum Comum, promised it to the inhabitants of Gallia Transpadana, increased the pay of his soldiers, and lavished untold sums of money on the people at home by rearing splendid structures and by celebrating magnificent

[1] Cæsar's province was conferred on him from March 1, B. C. 59. According to the Cornelian law, by which a proconsul entered upon his province immediately after the termination of his first year of office, Cæsar's successor ought to be nominated from the magistrates of B. C. 49, and could not, therefore, enter the province before Jan. 1st, B. C. 48. Cæsar therefore had ten extra months, on the ground that a magistrate continued until his successor arrived. According, however, to the law carried by Pompejus, that the magistrate did not enter upon the government of a province till five years after the expiration of his civil office, there was no difficulty in immediately filling any governorship from the magistrates who had gone out five years before.—*Mommsen, die Rechtsfrage z. Cæsar, &c.* According to Zumpt (Stud. Rom., p. 81 ff), Cæsar could be recalled Nov. 13, B. C. 50 ; the chief passages for fixing the time for the expiration of his term of office are : Cic. ad At., vii., 9, 4 ; De. p. Cons., 37 ; Sueton. Cæs., 261.

games.[1] Meanwhile the elections for B. C. 50 had taken place, and Æmilius Paullus and G. Marcellus were elected consuls. To watch his interests in the capital and manage the discussion with the senate, Cæsar had bribed[2] one of the consuls and the able and eloquent but profligate and unprincipled Gajus Trebonius Curio, one of the tribunes, and when Marcellus proposed[3] that Cæsar should be required to resign his command, Curio approved of the motion, but demanded that it should extend to Pompejus also, for in this way only could a constitutional state of things be restored. Cæsar declared his consent to the proposal, and offered to resign at once if Pompejus would do the same. The only man who could possibly have effected a reconciliation and given voice to the conservative element in the senate had been removed from the scene of action. Cicero had been sent (B. C. 52) to govern Cilicia, according to the provisions of Pompejus' law, which required the governors of provinces to be selected from those who had held five years before an urban magistracy.

14. The Pompeians Defeated in the Senate.—Meanwhile the senate tried to strengthen the military force by decreeing that Cæsar and Pompejus each should furnish one legion for the Parthian war. Pompejus demanded back the legion which he had lent during the Gallic war. Cæsar complied, and had therefore to give up both legions, not for the Parthian war, for they were at once sent to winter at Capua.[4] Toward the end of the year Curio's proposal came up in the senate, and by 370 votes against 20 the senate resolved that both Pompejus and Cæsar should resign their commands. Marcellus refused to announce the decree of the senate, and circulated a report that Cæsar was marching on the city with four legions. He requested Pompejus, without being authorized by the senate, to summon the two legions from Capua for the defence of the city, and to call out the Italian militia. Curio condemned these proceedings, and at the expiration of his tribunate[5] hastened to Cæsar at Ravenna.

[1] *Ludi funebres*, in honor of his daughter.
[2] He is said to have paid Paullus 1500 talents=$1,500,000.
[3] Mar., 50.
[4] Before their departure Cæsar gave each soldier 250 drachma.
[5] Dec. 10, B. C. 50.

14. Cæsar's Ultimatum.—Cæsar dispatched orders to his whole force in Gaul to set out for Ravenna, meanwhile sending a letter by Curio to Rome, in which, after briefly stating his exploits and public services, and reminding the senate of his right to stand for the consulship, he promised to resign his command at the bidding of the senate if Pompejus would do the same.[1] Curio arrived in Rome Jan. 1, B. C. 49, the day on which the new consuls G. Marcellus and G. Lentulus, both bitter opponents of Cæsar, entered upon their office. The two tribunes, M. Antonius and Q. Cassius Longinus,[2] devoted friends of Cæsar, were hardly able to obtain a hearing for Cæsar's letter. A violent debate followed, and finally the motion of Scipio, Pompejus' father-in-law, was carried, that Cæsar should disband his army and give up his province to his successors by a fixed day,[3] on pain of being declared a public enemy. The intercession of the tribunes availed nothing; and threatened, as they declared they were, by Pompejus' soldiers, they fled in disguise to Cæsar. On the 7th of January the senate invested the consuls with dictatorial power, and called upon all to take up arms for the republic. This was the crisis. Civil war was inevitable. The senate intrusted the command to Pompejus. Cæsar, on receiving news of the senate's vote, harangued[4] his soldiers, the one[5] legion that was at Ravenna, and being assured of their support, crossed the Rubicon,[6] which separated his province from Italy, and entered Ariminum. "The die is cast," said he; "let us go where the gods and the injustice of our enemies call us."

CHAPTER XLIX.

The Great Civil War (B. C. 49–46).

1. The Legality of Cæsar's Course.—In regard to the legality of Cæsar's course, it has generally been said that law

[1] Cæsar, Civ. Bel.
[2] The cousin of G. Cassius, Crassus' legate in the Parthian war.
[3] July 1st.
[4] Cæs., b. c. vii.
[5] The thirteenth.
[6] Some time in Jan. = Nov. B. C. 50.

was technically on his side. That the senate had an undoubted right to appoint a governor to succeed Cæsar March 1, B. C. 49, is unmistakable.[1] By skillful management Cæsar had brought about a condition of things in which it was impossible for the senate to follow strictly the law. The situation of affairs then that preceded the actual outbreak of hostilities, must be attributed to Cæsar's inordinate ambition. The causes of the civil war and the tendency towards monarchy must be sought in the decay of the republican spirit, and in the increasing disorganized condition of the government produced by the long years of revolution that had preceded. This, Cæsar, as a statesman, saw, and his greatest claim rested in the fact that he was a statesman. He knew well that the fires of the revolution had burned out. Cato might dream of the possibility of reviving the republic, but Cæsar knew that the time had gone by. He saw distinctly that anarchy at home and abroad could be suppressed only by a permanent supreme ruler. It was plain to him that the throne was vacant. The only question was, who should be the monarch. True to his nature he seized opportunities. Events placed him where he stood, and the tide of events carried him on.

2. Cicero's Efforts for Peace.—Cicero, who had returned from his province in November, B. C. 50, where he had won the title of imperator in a petty warfare against the native tribes, was waiting before the city with his lictors, hoping that he would be permitted to celebrate a triumph. In the meantime he had tried in every way, by writing to Cæsar and entreating Pompejus, to effect a reconciliation. He saw plainly that whichever side was victorious the republic must perish. He fluctuated for a long time in his opinion, uncertain which way to turn. "For," says he, "Pompejus has the more honorable cause, but Cæsar manages his with more address; in short, I know whom to avoid, but not whom to seek." Cæsar knew

[1] Mommsen admits that Cæsar's term expired March 1, B. C. 49, but thinks, relying upon Cic. de Prov. Cons., that this was not a suitable time for Cæsar's successor to enter upon his duties, since he must remain idle during January and February. But according to Pompejus' law of B. C. 52, five years were to elapse between a civil and military command, and the retiring consul must be idle not only two months, but five years. Cicero, for instance, entered upon his duties as proconsul in the middle of B. C. 51.

well the influence of his name with the foreign subjects of the republic, and sought to win him to his side. Finally, still cherishing the hope of effecting a reconciliation, Cicero decided for Pompejus. In an interview[1] with him he made one more effort for peace, by trying to induce him to accept Cæsar's proposals. Pompejus even sent private friends to Cæsar at Ariminum to explain his motives, and Cæsar took one more opportunity to offer such terms of accommodation that their rejection would place his opponents in the wrong.[2] When the answer came, requiring him to retire from Ariminum and dismiss his army, Cæsar saw that all efforts for a peaceable solution of the troubles were in vain, and realizing how much was to be lost by delay, advanced on the road to Rome, ordering his other legions to follow him.

3. Brundisium (B. C. 49).—The celerity of his marches was well known. Rumors came that he had occupied Pisaurum, then Ancona and Arretium, and then that his cavalry was before the gates of Rome. Consternation seized the people, and even Pompejus fled in such haste that his adherents accused him of not taking sufficient precaution for their defence, and of exposing them, as they wildly imagined, to the onslaught of Cæsar's Gallic barbarians. Cæsar continued his march and arrived, February 14, at Corfinium. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Cæsar's designated successor in the governorship of Transalpine Gaul, held the place with a strong army. Cæsar had only two legions. Still Domitius considered all as lost, unless Pompejus should come to his assistance. The whole garrison surrendered, but Domitius and a few nobles made their escape by night. Pompejus had already given up Italy as lost, and hastened to

MAP OF BRUNDISIUM.
(Showing the shape of the harbor and the location of the town.)

[1] December 10 and 25. Cic. Att. vii., 4, 2; 8, 4.
[2] Cæsar promised to disband his army if Pompejus would depart to his province (Spain), and if the levies ceased in Italy.

Brundisium with all his troops, followed by a train of senators and nobles, to embark to Greece. When Cæsar[1] arrived and began to besiege Brundisium, with great skill Pompejus withdrew[2] his army unharmed and landed it in Greece. Pompejus' followers openly expressed their dissatisfaction. Some hated his arrogance, others hoped to return and wage war in Italy. "We will starve Rome into submission," said they, "and not leave one tile upon the roof throughout the country." "He left the city," said Cicero, "not because he could not defend it, but because this was his design from the first: to call to arms the barbarians and to lead savage nations into Italy, not as captives, but as conquerors. He determined to reign like Sulla—as a king over his subjects. There were many who applauded this atrocious design." Cæsar tried to induce Cicero to return to Rome, but he preferred to remain in Campania, and Cæsar respected his scruples.

4. Ilerda (B. C. 49).—Cæsar was unable to follow Pompejus from want of ships, and therefore returned to Rome to arrange matters there. A campaign of sixty days without a single serious engagement had made him master of Italy. Cæsar entered the city and demanded the treasure hoarded in the temple of Saturn,[3] which was popularly believed to be the gold that Camillus had taken from Brennus. A curse was pronounced against any one who used it except to repel a Gallic invasion. The tribune interceded, but Cæsar pushed him aside. "The fear of a Gallic invasion is past," said he. "I have subdued the Gauls." After arranging for garrisons to protect Italy[4] and taking measures to supply the city with corn, he prepared for the next campaign. Curio was sent with four legions to Sicily, and Valerius with one to Sardinia. Cæsar, after first ordering the forces which he had assembled on the Rhone to proceed directly to Spain, set out himself about the middle of April. "I go," said he, "to engage an army without

[1] Cæsar's army consisted of only nine legions of about 50,000 men; he had set out with one legion and 330 cavalry. Pompejus was the recognized chief of the Roman state, and had all its revenues and provinces at his disposal. His army consisted of the seven Spanish legions, and ten legions in Italy; eminent men of his party set out to raise recruits. [2] March 17. [3] *Ærarium Sanctius.*

[4] Italy was left under command of Antonius; Rome under that of Lepidus.

a general; I shall return to attack a general without an army." On his way thither, the old Greek city Massilia[1] shut its gates against him, and he left G. Trebonius and Decimus Brutus to press the siege, while he proceeded directly to Spain to conduct the war against Pompejus' lieutenants, Afranius and Petrejus. At first he met with a serious reverse at Ilerda (Lerida), but he soon succeeded in compelling the Pompeians to surrender, dismissed them unharmed, and enrolled most of their soldiers into his own army.[2] On his return he received the surrender of Massilia. Meanwhile his lieutenants had been successful in Sardinia and Sicily. Curio passed over to Africa, which had been put in a state of defence by Atius Varus and by Juba, king of Numidia, who had sided with the Pompeians. Curio was slain in a battle on the Bagradas, which he had rashly hazarded, losing nearly the whole of his army. The death of Curio was an irreparable loss to Cæsar, for he was a brave and skillful officer. The conquest of Sicily had thwarted Pompejus' attempt to starve Italy, while his general plan of the campaign—to have his Spanish and Macedonian armies meet on the Po and invade Italy—had been completely frustrated by the destruction of the Spanish army.

5. Pompejus' Resources. — The great rendezvous of Pompejus' adherents was Macedonia. Thither came Cato, indignant that he had been left unsupported in Sicily; Domitius from Massilia also came, and a large number of soldiers from the Spanish armies. From Italy emigration became quite popular among the aristocrats.[3] Pompejus had by no means been idle. He had the whole resources of the East at his disposal. Ships had been collected, his army had been increased to nine legions, and a cavalry force of seven thousand had been raised. Corn had been stored up to supply the army, and the fleet under Bibulus commanded the sea. Meanwhile Cæsar was exerting every nerve to restore order in the capital and

[1] Domitius Ahenobarbus was in command, but he escaped.
[2] M. Varro, who also commanded in Spain, was deserted by his troops and compelled to surrender.
[3] Cicero left Italy June 7; Cic. ad Fam. xiv., 7.

throughout Italy. During his absence in Spain, he had been appointed dictator, on the motion of Lepidus, whom he had left in charge of the city. During the eleven days that he held the dictatorship, he carried laws to restore those condemned for civil offences, while Pompejus was in command of the city;[1] for the restoration of private credit, by which all fear of cancelling debts was removed,[2] and finally for the extension of full citizenship to the inhabitants of Gallia Transpadana.[3]

6. Battle of Dyrrhachium (B. C. 48).—Cæsar had already ordered his troops to assemble at Brundisium. From here, on the 4th of January B. C. 48, he prepared to embark with six legions, greatly thinned by toil and sickness, and six hundred horsemen for the coast of Epirus. Cæsar himself crossed with the first division, but when his fleet returned for the rest of the army, it was attacked by Bibulus; nearly thirty transports were captured and the rest shut up in the harbor of Brundisium. Cæsar's position was critical, so much so that he determined to cross alone in a fisherman's boat to Brundisium and bring his fleet and army over. This, however, proved not to be necessary, for M. Antonius made every effort to relieve him, and soon succeeded in landing some troops. Pompejus hesitated to give battle to Cæsar's veteran army, and retired to the high ground near Dyrrhachium.[4] Cæsar proceeded at once to invest his position with works sixteen miles long, but famine began to be felt in his camp, and as the siege continued, his soldiers were obliged to make bread of grass. This did not discourage them. "We will eat the bark of trees," said they, "rather than allow Pompejus to escape us." Pompejus, however, forced a passage through the lines, and Cæsar was compelled to retire to Thessaly.

7. Battle of Pharsalus (B. C. 48).—The Pompejans regarded this as completely deciding the contest. The noble Romans threw off their reserve; some advised Pompejus to re-enter Italy, others to reconquer Spain. The vast retinue of

[1] Those condemned under the *lex Pompeja de ambitu.*
[2] *Lex Julia de pecuniis mutuis.*
[3] *Lex Julia de civitate Transpadanis danda.*
[4] See map. p. 157.

consulars, senators and generals were a great hindrance to any energetic and active operations. Some accused Pompejus of not wishing to conquer, and Domitius asked how long Agamemnon, the king of kings, intended the war to last. The most insolent was Labienus, Cæsar's old lieutenant, the only one who had deserted him. He swore that he would conquer his old general. The prisoners taken at Dyrrhachium he ordered to be put to death. "We will have no peace," said he, "until you bring us Cæsar's head." The noble senators were so sure of victory that they began to dispute about the consulates and prætorships, and some even sent to take houses in the capital in the great squares, in sight of the people, for the next canvass. The tents of the grandees were strewn with leaves, silver plate stood on the table and the wine-cup circulated. These fashionable warriors formed a great contrast to Cæsar's veterans.[1] At length Pompejus was impelled by the taunts of his noble warriors to follow Cæsar. He moved southward from Larissa and pitched his camp on the Enipeus, not far from that of Cæsar. When Pompejus hesitated to cross the stream and engage Cæsar,[2] this excited great indignation among the aristocrats in his camp. Pompejus had to yield, and about noon on the 9th of August,[3] led down his army into the plains of Pharsalus (Fersala). The battle resulted in the complete annihilation of his army. The victory was so decisive, that the kings, cities and peoples, which had hitherto acted with Pompejus, joined Cæsar. Pompejus fled in the beginning of the engagement with a few followers to Lesbos and thence to Egypt, where he met a speedy and sad fate. He was landing in the harbor of Pelusium,[4] when he was assassinated by order

[1] Cicero (ad Fam. vii., 3, written B. C. 46), aptly sums up the situation: "I no sooner arrived in this army than I repented of what I had done, not so much from the danger to which I was exposed, as from the many faults which I discovered among them. First, the forces were neither large nor warlike; then, except the general and a few others, they carried on the war with such a rapacious spirit, and breathed such principles of cruelty, that I could not even think upon our success without horror. To this I must add that some of our most distinguished officers were deeply involved in debt. In short, there was nothing good but the cause. Despairing of success, I advised (what I had always recommended), that proposals of accommodation should be offered. Failing in this, I endeavored to persuade Pompejus at least to avoid a general engagement."

[2] Cæsar had about 22,000 men; Pompejus had 47,000 and 7,000 horse

[3] June 6, of the Julian calendar.

[4] See map No. 7.

of the Egyptian court, which hoped in this way to win Cæsar's favor.[1] Many of the conservative party, among whom was Cicero, made peace with the new monarch. The ultras, however, would hear of no compromise. They knew that the republic had perished, but they could never be reconciled to the monarchy.

8. The Alexandrine War (B. C. 48–47).—Cæsar never failed to follow up his successes. He left a few soldiers to watch Cato in Illyricum and hastened himself in pursuit of Pompejus. When he reached Alexandria the head of Pompejus was presented to him. He turned from it in horror, and ordered the remains of his great rival to be honorably buried. Cæsar, true to his plan of settling the condition of affairs in whatever part of the empire he happened to be, divided the Egyptian kingdom, agreeably to the will of the last king Auletes, between his two children, Cleopatra and her brother Ptolemy. This decision was opposed by the guardians of the young king, and Cæsar was involved in a war which detained him nine months at Alexandria. His position for a time was very critical, but soon reinforcements[2] arrived, Ptolemy was defeated,[3] and the kingdom of Egypt was restored to Cleopatra and a younger brother, also named Ptolemy.

9. Battle of Zela (B. C. 47).—During Cæsar's stay at Alexandria strange rumors of his fate spread, and the wildest confusion prevailed throughout the empire. Italy greatly needed the monarch, but before returning to Rome he crossed to Asia Minor and crushed the rebellion which Pharnaces, the son of

[1] In Egypt the line of the Ptolemies became extinct with the death of Alexander. The eldest son of Lathyrus was proclaimed king under the title of Ptolemy XI., surnamed Auletes. This was ratified by Rome B. C. 59. His arbitrary measures caused his expulsion, and he fled to Rome B. C. 58. He was restored by Gabinius, the proconsul of Syria, and reigned until B. C. 51. He left a daughter, the celebrated Cleopatra, and two sons. His will directed that the throne should be shared by Cleopatra and her eldest brother Ptolemy XII. The execution of the will was left to the senate, which appointed Pompejus guardian. The brother and sister married each other, according to Egyptian custom, and reigned until the guardians of the brother expelled Cleopatra from the throne. She fled to Syria and collected an army to invade Egypt. Ptolemy, and his guardian Pothinus, lay with an army at Pelusium to protect the eastern frontier, when Pompejus cast anchor in the harbor and sent a request to the king to allow him to land. The Egyptian court had been informed of the disaster at Pharsalus. Ptolemy feared that Pompejus would instigate a rebellion in the Egyptian army, in which many of his old soldiers served, and thought it safer to have him put to death.

[2] Cæs. b. Alex. [3] March 27, B. C. 47.

Mithridates, had raised. He defeated [1] Pharnaces at Zela and announced the victory to the senate in three words: *Veni, vidi, vici. I came, I saw, I conquered.* "Happy was Pompejus," said he, "to have become great at so cheap a rate, for it took him many years to subdue Mithridates."

10. Condition of Affairs at Rome. — Cæsar hastened to Rome, which sadly needed his presence. His lieutenant Antonius and the tribune Dolabella,[2] Cicero's son-in-law, thinking, perhaps, that their master would never return, had created great confusion. The tenth legion, stationed at Capua, mutinied and killed their officers, and marched to Rome. They well knew that their services were needed for the African campaign, and therefore thought they could make their own terms. Cæsar mustered them in the Campus Martius, and approached them unattended. He asked them to declare their grievances. At the sight of their beloved leader their murmurs died away, and they could only demand their discharge. "Citizens,"[3] replied he, "*I* discharge you. You have had sufficient fatigue and wounds. I release you from your oaths. As to the presents, you shall be paid to the last sesterce." The spell was broken. The soldiers stood for a moment mute, confounded, and then entreated the general to receive them back to favor. Cæsar relented, but he caused the ringleaders to be executed. With the same firm hand Cæsar restrained his adherents. He refused to allow a system of confiscation. Pompejus' property was confiscated, but Antonius, who outbid all others at the sale, was compelled, much to his disappointment, to pay the price. Cæsar was named dictator for an indefinite time,[4] with full powers of making peace or war. The statues of Pompejus and Sulla, which the people had thrown down when the tidings of the battle of Pharsalus reached Rome, were ordered to be

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[1] The battle took place Aug. 2, B. C. 47. Cæsar gave the kingdom of Bosporus to Mithridates of Pergamus, with a part of Galatia; over the rest of Galatia he placed Dejotarus; Cappadocia he gave to Ariobarzanes.

[2] Cælius Rufus, the friend and correspondent of Cicero, attempted to create a diversion in favor of the Pompeians. Milo was summoned from exile, and he summoned the gladiators and shepherds to arms. The revolt was soon crushed. Cælius was killed at Thurio.

[3] See p. 20, n. 2.

[4] Like Sulla's *dictatura rei publicæ constituendæ.*

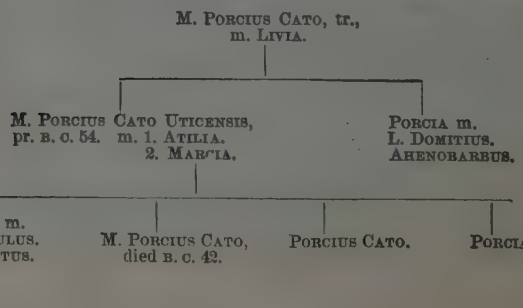
restored. Cæsar indulged in no vengeful spite against his foes, but sought to conciliate all parties.

11. Battle of Thapsus (B. C. 46).—When order was restored in Italy Cæsar departed to crush the remnant of the Pompeians in Africa. They had congregated[1] from all sides to Africa, and had enlisted Juba in their cause by promising him the whole of Africa. Scipio, Pompejus' father-in-law, was elected commander in chief; for the Scipios, it was said, would always conquer in Africa. Cato, however, was the moving spirit. His energy and self-devotion formed a sad contrast to the selfishness and fanaticism of his colleagues. When Cæsar appeared off the coast and boldly summoned them to surrender to "Cæsar the imperator," they replied, "there is no imperator here but Scipio," and put the messenger to death. Cæsar soon effected a landing, and after some serious[2] reverses gained the bloody battle of Thapsus, on the 6th of April, B. C. 46. Fifty thousand of the enemy covered the field, while Cæsar lost not more than fifty. All Africa submitted except Utica.

12. Death of Cato.[3]—Cato commanded in Utica. When he saw there were no means of resistance he restrained the fury of the soldiers, aided those who wished to escape, dismissed his senate of "three hundred," interceded with the victor for the lives of others, but disdained all intercession for himself. "It is for the conquered to turn suppliants," said he, "and for those who have done an injury to beg pardon. For my part I

[1] They collected 14 legions and 120 elephants; Cæs. b. Afr. 1.
[2] The repulse at Ruspina, Jan. 4. B. C. 46.

[3] GENEALOGICAL TABLE.



have been unconquered through life, and superior in the things I wish to be. Cæsar is the vanquished, the falling man, being clearly convicted of those designs against his country which he has long denied." After taking a bath and supping with his friends and the magistrate of Utica he held a long conversation on the paradoxes of the Stoics, and then withdrew and read in his bed the dialogue of Plato on the immortality of the soul. When he sought for his sword at the head of his bed and did not find it, he called a slave and asked for it. "Now," said he, "I am master of myself." He re-read the Phædo twice, again slept, and then sent to the sea-shore to see if his friends had departed. He sighed when informed that the sea was stormy, and soon sent again to see if his friends had put back. When the birds began to sing he fell asleep again. Soon after he arose, took his sword and plunged it into his body. Thus perished the only free and unconquered man, and the ancient republic expired with him.[1] The few others that escaped the field of battle, such as Labienus, Gnæus and Sextus Pompejus, departed for Spain, and like Sertorius sought for a last refuge in the mountains of that still half-independent land. Numidia was made a province under the name of Africa,[2] and its government entrusted to Sallust the historian.

CHAPTER L.

Cæsar Rules as Monarch.

1. Powers Conferred upon Cæsar.—The new monarch returned to Rome.[3] The great struggle was over; the republic that had lasted five hundred years had perished, and the process was to be reversed by which the magistrate had been stripped of his authority.[4] All power was to centre again in one man. When the news of the battle of Thapsus reached

[1] Plut. Cato, 68 ff. [2] See p. 171; also map, p. 217. [3] July 25, B. C. 46. [4] See p. 87.

Rome the senate decreed a supplication for forty days. Cæsar was nominated dictator for ten years, and finally, in B. C. 44, for life. He was invested with the powers of the censor under the name of *præfectus morum* for three years, and in B. C. 44, for life. This enabled him to regulate the senate to his will. The consulship was conferred upon him for five years, and finally for ten. The tribunitian power was bestowed upon him for life, as well as the first place in the senate and the title of imperator. Cæsar was already *pontifex maximus*, but now he became a member of the second great priestly college, that of the augurs. To these offices were added the right of deciding on war and peace, the disposal of the armies and treasures of the state, the nomination of the provincial governors, as well as of a part of the magistrates of the city, and finally, the right of raising new men into the patrician order.[1] A statue was erected to him in the capitol, inscribed to "Cæsar the demi-god."[2] He was to sit on a golden chair in the senate-house, his image was to be borne in the procession of the gods, and the seventh[3] month of the year was changed in honor of him from Quintilis to Julius. Finally he was styled "father of his country," a title which had been conferred by decree upon Camillus, by acclamation upon Cicero.[4]

2. Cæsar's Triumphs.— Cæsar celebrated his victories in Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. Rome had witnessed many magnificent triumphal processions, but none like Cæsar's. Behind his triumphal car, drawn by the sacred milk-white steeds and attended by seventy-two lictors, walked the captives from the East; the Gallic Vercingetorix; the son of Juba; and Arsinoe, the sister of Cleopatra. According to custom, the soldiers who followed his car sang derisive songs,[5] while the people gazed with wonder and terror on the Gallic and African barbarians who served under his banner.[6] Cæsar richly rewarded his soldiers; each received five thousand

[1] There were not more than fifteen or sixteen patrician *gentes*.
[2] ἡμιθέῳ.
[3] The fifth of the old calendar.
[4] No effort has been made to distinguish between the powers conferred by the senate and those conferred by the people.
[5] A variation of the well-known Nenia: *rex eris si recte facies. si non facies non eris.*
[6] The treasures amounted to 65,000 talents = $75,000,000. There were 2822 crowns.

denarii.[1] The people[2] were rewarded with the three hundred sesterces already promised them, and one hundred in addition for the delay, as well as with corn and oil. The citizens were feasted at splendid banquets, at which vast multitudes reclined at twenty-two thousand tables, each with three couches. When the multitude was satiated with wine and food, then the shows of the circus and theatre and the combats of wild beasts and gladiators began. Above the combats of the amphitheatre floated for the first time the awning of silk, the immense *velarium* of a thousand colors, woven from the rarest and richest product of the East, to protect the people from the sun.

3. Cæsar the Imperator.— Cæsar tried to reconcile party interests. He avoided all measures likely to exasperate the fallen aristocracy. He did not triumph for his victory at Pharsalus. He showed respect for the memory of Pompejus, and avoided all processes against suspected persons. He granted immunity to the common soldiers, and to all officers who had not taken part with the opposition since the battle of Ilerda. His own friends murmured when they saw that his rule was equal and just to all, for they had hoped for the days of Sulla and Cinna. Cæsar, however, remained true to the great principles with which he had set out—alleviation of the condition of the debtor, transmarine colonization, equalization of rights, and the emancipation of the executive from the power of the senate. Once more the military and supreme judicial and administrative power was combined and centred, as in the times of the kings, in one man. This concentration of power the name of imperator[3] expressed more aptly than any other. After five hundred years the primitive regal office was re-established. The senate[4]

[1] About $1000.

[2] The *infima plebs*: promised in a contio when he took the money from the ærarium sanctius.

[3] *Imperium plenum*: This is Mommsen's view, and it seems very probable, although not confirmed by any of the original authorities. Lange (vol. iii., p. 461 f), however, questions it; the name is found first on all the coins struck by Cæsar after his own name. It was the restrictions in regard to the temporal and the local limitation of power, *i. e.*, inside or outside of the pomerium, the collegiate arrangements, the co-operation of the senate, or of the people in certain cases, that distinguished the consul from the king.

[4] Its number was increased to nine hundred; the number of quæstors, from whom the senators were selected, was raised to forty, in order to keep it up to this number. The new members were selected from the *equites*, noble foreigners from Spain and Gaul, officers, &c.

sank once more to its old position—the advisory council of the king. The whole executive power fell into the hands of the monarch. The financial administration[1] was no longer managed by the senate, but by Cæsar and his cabinet. In regard to judicial matters the different jury-commissions were retained, but the jurymen were selected from the senators and equites.

4. Cæsar's Work.—Cæsar put an end to the anarchy of the capital, checked the club system, reduced the recipients of the largesses of corn from 320,000 to 150,000, and strengthened the laws in regard to crime and violence. He commenced other vast projects, as the building of a new senate-house, a theatre to rival that of Pompejus, a public Latin and Greek library, and laid out a plan for changing the course of the Tiber, by which the Campus Vaticanus would be transferred to the left bank and could be substituted for the Campus Martius, while the latter could be used as sites for public and private edifices. This improvement would have drained the Pomptine marshes, and the capital would have been supplied with a better seaport. Agriculture was encouraged, efforts were made to develop a flourishing middle class by reviving the Licinian laws, and laws were enacted in regard to luxury, usury, bankruptcy, and debt.

5. He Aims to Fuse the Empire into One Body Politic.—One of Cæsar's aims was to obliterate the political distinction between Italy and the provinces. When Cisalpine Gaul received full citizenship its former place was taken by Transalpine Gaul. Latin rights were conferred on the colonies in Africa, Spain, and Gaul.[2] The old law that no troops could be stationed in Italy was extended to the provinces, and henceforth soldiers were stationed on the frontiers only. In this way the provinces all entered into a state of preparation which paved

[1] The leasing of the direct taxes was abolished. Indirect taxes were collected by slaves and freedmen, from which in time grew the procurators. There were fourteen provinces, 7 European—Hispania, citerior and ulterior, Gallia Transalpina, Gallia Cisalpina with Illyricum, Macedonia with Greece, Sicily, Sardinia with Corsica—five Asiatic, Asia, Bithynia and Pontus, Cilicia with Cyprus, Syria, Crete—two African, Cyrene and Africa. To these Cæsar added Gallia Lugdunensis, Belgica, and Illyricum. Cæsar thoroughly remodeled the system of administration; *Decumæ* were limited to Africa and Sardinia; middlemen were set aside, and the governors were responsible to Cæsar.

[2] The new colonies in Gaul were Baeterræ (*Beziers*), Arelate (*Arles*), Arausio (*Orange*), Forum Julii (*Frejus*). See colored map, No. 3.

the way for the future political equalization of the empire.[1] Cæsar undertook the codification of the laws, a work already contemplated by Cicero, commenced a survey of the empire and reformed the calendar.[2]

CHAPTER LI.

CÆSAR'S ASSASSINATION — ANTONIUS AIMS TO GRASP THE POWER.

1. The Spanish War (B. C. 45).—In the midst of these reforms Cæsar was interrupted by an insurrection in Spain. Labienus and the sons of Pompejus had raised a large army there, and the revolt had become so serious that Cæsar was obliged to set out in person. The struggle was protracted for several months, but Cæsar's good fortune triumphed. On the field of Munda,[3] after a hard fought battle in which thirty thousand of

[1] Under the republic the magistrates of the city of Rome had been magistrates of the empire, but now they were only first among those of the many municipalities of the empire, and the consulship was merely a post of dignity which preserved importance because a governorship was attached to it.

[2] This was effected by his authority as chief pontiff, with the aid of the astronomer Sosigenes. The Romans had hitherto had the lunar year of 355 days. Every second year a month of 22 or 23 days had been intercalated alternately. This intercalation was too much by about 2 days. The rectification of the error was left to the pontiffs. They had arranged the intercalation so carelessly, shortened or lengthened the year to suit their pleasure or extend the year of office of a favorite, or to postpone the day when a note became due, that the confusion was so great that the Roman year anticipated the true time by 90 days, and therefore the consuls who were supposed to enter on their office Jan. 1, B. C. 46, really entered Oct. 13th, B. C. 47. An intercalary month of 23 days had been inserted after Feb. 24, B. C. 46, but this left the year three intercalary months of 22, 23 and 22 days, *i. e.*, 67 days from the true time. This deficiency Cæsar inserted as two months between Nov. and Dec., which addition can be regarded as the 29 days of Jan., 28 days of Feb., and the 10 days which the solar year differed from the lunar. This year was called "the year of confusion" (*annus confusionis*). Reckoned from Jan. 1, B. C. 46, this year consisted of 445 days, but reckoned from Mar. 1, the beginning of the civil year, of 365 days, just one solar year. From B. C. 45 the extra ten days which were added to the lunar year were so arranged on account of the festivals that 2 were inserted after Jan. 28, 1 after April 25, 1 after June 28, 2 after Aug. 28, 1 after Sept. 28, 1 after Nov. 28, and 2 after Dec. 28. These days were all regarded as *dies fasti non comitiales*. The year B. C. 45 received an intercalary day after Feb. 24 (*ante diem bissextum Kal. Martius*), and henceforth one day was to be added in the same manner every four years. [The 24th of February was, on the Roman mode of reckoning backwards, the *sixth* before the kalends (the 1st) of March; and the inserted day was called the *second*-sixth (*bissextus*) before the kalends.] There was a slight error in Cæsar's calendar, and this in the course of centuries amounted to 10 days, and was corrected by Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582, and provisions were made to prevent similar errors in the future. The reformed calendar was adopted by England in 1752.

[3] According to Hübner (Jahn's Jahrb. 1862, p. 34), Munda was north of the modern Ronda on the road between Cordova and Gibraltar.

the enemy perished, he gained a crowning victory.[1] On his return to Rome in September he celebrated another triumph, followed as usual by games, festivals, and gladiatorial shows. New marks of honor were conferred upon him by the servile senate.[2] He was to sit on a golden chair in the senate and at the public games, clad in a triumphal robe, and a diadem set with gems was decreed to him.

2. Signs of Discontent.—Amidst this obsequiousness of Cæsar's adherents, there was an undertow of discontent. A rumor spread that he was intending to assume the name of king. This name from the days of Tarquinius had been hateful to the people. The multitude felt that a hopeless servitude had commenced, while Cæsar chafed under the restraint of public opinion, and his temper became capricious and arrogant. Conspiracies were formed against his life; but still he could never be induced to surround himself with a permanent body-guard, for "it is better to die at once," said he, "than to live always in fear of death." His mind was filled with far other thoughts than the taking care of his life. Yearning to retrieve the disaster at Carrhæ, he began preparations for a war against the Parthians. But the Sibylline oracle had declared that Parthia could be conquered only by a king. One day as he was returning from the Latin festival on the Alban Mount, he was hailed as king. Stifled murmurs rose from the multitude. Cæsar exclaimed, "I am no king, but Cæsar." His friends were not satisfied. At the Lupercalian feast, on the 15th of February, when he was seated on his gilded chair before the rostra, Antonius offered him a diadem, but Cæsar rejected it saying, "I am not king; the only king of the Romans is Jupiter." A few days after, his statues were crowned with royal diadems. The tribunes removed the diadems and prosecuted those who had saluted him king. The people called the tribunes Brutuses, because Brutus had expelled the king, but Cæsar deposed them from office.

[1] Varus, Labienus, and Gnæus Pompejus perished; Sextus Pompejus escaped. The battle took place March 17, B. C. 45.

[2] The Romans made jests of the foreigners whom Cæsar had admitted to the senate. Placards requested the public not to show the senators the way to the senate.

3. Plot Against Cæsar's Life.—Still, in spite of Cæsar's moderation there were many who cherished bitter hostility towards him. The idea that one man was to rule over them rankled in their breasts. When senators came to inform him that they had decreed him some extravagant honors, engrossed as he was in other things, he did not rise to receive them but said, "there was more need to retrench his honors than to enlarge them." This seeming haughtiness rendered the senate furious. A plot was formed for his destruction which embraced sixty or seventy conspirators. Many[1] of them had been pardoned by Cæsar and raised to offices of rank and honor. Cassius was said to be the most active conspirator. He had competed for office with Brutus, and both having set forth their claims, Cæsar said, "Cassius assigns the better reasons, but I cannot refuse Brutus." Cassius needed the charm of a great name to sanction the deed. M. Junius Brutus, the nephew and son-in-law of Cato, who pretended to trace his lineage from the founder of the republic, gave this name. Brutus was an ardent student of the Stoic philosophy; he had a rugged and eccentric nature, a wild yearning for effort, for painful sacrifice; but in practical life he was feeble and irresolute. To him the conspirators looked, and when they saw that he hesitated, billets were thrust into his hands, inscribed with the words: "Brutus, thou sleepest; thou art not Brutus!" To the statue of the ancient Brutus was affixed a paper with the words, "Would that thou wert now alive!" The rumor got abroad that Cæsar's friends intended to obtain a decree from the senate to confer upon him the title of king over foreign subjects. This was to come up in a meeting of the senate which was to be held March 15, to make the necessary arrangements for the Parthian war. This rumor probably hastened the long contemplated action of the conspirators, and it was agreed to assassinate Cæsar on the ides of March.

4. Assassination of Cæsar.—Meanwhile rumors of the plot got abroad. The pale looks and agitated demeanor of the

[1] D. Brutus was appointed governor of Cisalpine Gaul; Trebonius had been governor in Asia; C. Cassius had been prætor; Casca and Cimber had received marks of honor.

conspirators excited even the suspicion of Cæsar, for he said one day to his friends, "What think you of Cassius? I do not like his pale looks." Prodigies and warnings were not wanted. Men spoke of lights in heaven, strange noises by night, and of the apparition of a solitary bird in the forum. Strabo speaks of battalions of fire in the air, and Suetonius tells that the horses which Cæsar had let loose at the Rubicon would not eat, but shed tears. A soothsayer warned Cæsar of the ides of March. His wife entreated him not to attend the meeting of the senate on that day. She had dreamed a fearful dream, and the auspices too were unfavorable. The remnant of Roman superstition[1] in Cæsar's mind had nearly prevailed when the raillery of D. Brutus, who had come to escort him, dispelled the show of irresolution. The conspirators well knew that delay would be fatal. They were alarmed every moment at floating hints, and even in spite of their care, a man thrust a paper into Cæsar's hand on his way to the senate chamber. He thought it a petition and held it unread in his hand. To the augur he said, "The ides of March are come." "Yes," replied the augur, "but they are not yet passed." The senate was already seated when Cæsar entered, and the conspirators crowded around his chair. Cimber solicited the recall of his brother from exile, the others united in the solicitation. Displeased at their importunity Cæsar rose from his chair; Cimber pulled the robe from Cæsar's shoulders, while Casca, who stood behind, gave the first blow. Cæsar caught the handle of the dagger and said, "Villain! Casca, what dost thou mean?" Casca called for help; Cæsar defended himself for a time, but when he saw Brutus among his assailants, he exclaimed, *et tu Brute*, "Thou, too, Brutus!" and drawing his robe over his face fell pierced by twenty-three wounds at the foot of Pompejus' statue.[2]

5. The Conspirators have no Plan.—The conspirators had made no adequate preparation for carrying out their

[1] Even Cæsar was superstitious; at the battle of Pharsalus he prayed to the gods whom he derided; he crawled on his knees up the temple of Venus; he appealed to the omens before crossing the Rubicon.

[2] The senate met in the senate-house of Pompejus.

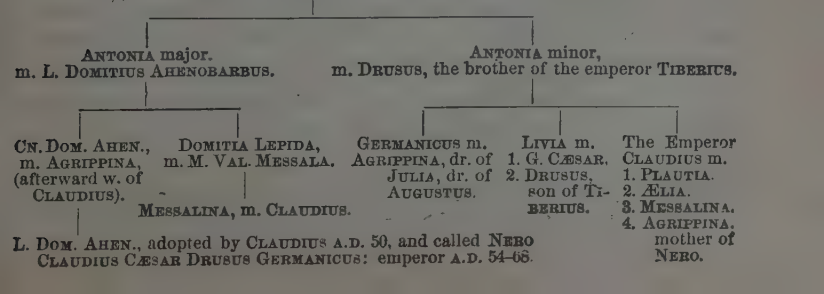
plan to restore the republic. They hoped the senate would ratify the act, but when they looked round the hall was empty When Brutus rushed to the forum to harangue the people, his voice was drowned in tumultuous cries. There was a general feeling of consternation, no one knowing on whom the next blow would fall, or whether riot and massacre were to begin again. The indifference of the people, whose instinct told them that they had nothing to gain from Cæsar's death, filled the conspirators with dismay. Lepidus, as proconsul, was before the gates of the city with an army, and a large number of Cæsar's old soldiers were in the city waiting for assignments of land. The result was that the liberators, as they called themselves, had to take refuge in the capitol, offering as a pretext that they were going to return thanks to Jupiter for their success. Here they were joined by the small remnant of the aristocratic party. Cicero was one of the first to come to them, and advised that the senate should be convened. This they dared not do, but proposed instead to empower M. Antonius[1] to restore the republic.

6. Amnesty Declared and Cæsar's Acts Confirmed.—In the first alarm Antonius[2] had escaped in disguise to his house. During the night he had communicated with Lepidus, and had secured Cæsar's private papers as well as his treasure of seven million sesterces. Hitherto Antonius had been known as the minister and favorite companion of Cæsar, but now he was about to display the arts of a consummate intriguer. He de-

[1] Some of the conspirators had proposed to assassinate Antonius also, but Brutus had protested.

[2] GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

M. ANTONIUS, triumvir, m. 1. FADIA. 2. ANTONIA. 3. FULVIA. 4. OCTAVIA, sister of AUGUSTUS. 5. CLEOPATRA.


ANTONIA major.
m. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS.
ANTONIA minor,
m. DRUSUS, the brother of the emperor TIBERIUS.
CN. DOM. AHEN., m. AGRIPPINA, (afterward w. of CLAUDIUS).
DOMITIA LEPIDA, m. M. VAL. MESSALA.
GERMANICUS m. AGRIPPINA, dr. of JULIA, dr. of AUGUSTUS.
LIVIA m. 1. G. CÆSAR. 2. DRUSUS, son of TIBERIUS.
The Emperor CLAUDIUS m. 1. PLAUTIA. 2. ÆLIA. 3. MESSALINA. 4. AGRIPPINA, mother of NERO.
MESSALINA, m. CLAUDIUS.
L. DOM. AHEN., adopted by CLAUDIUS A.D. 50, and called NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR DRUSUS GERMANICUS: emperor A.D. 54–68.

clared his adherence to the republic; the senate was convened on the 17th of March, and it was voted, under the lead of Cicero, that amnesty should be declared and the acts[1] of Cæsar ratified. The conspirators came down from the capitol, a reconciliation took place, and Cæsar's assignment of the provinces was confirmed.[2] This reconciliation, however, was only a pretence, and Antonius hoped to crush the conspirators long before they could assume their commands.

7. Cæsar's Will and Funeral Obsequies.—First Antonius made public Cæsar's will. Gajus Octavius, the son of Cæsar's sister's daughter, was adopted and declared his heir. Legacies were left to many of the conspirators. His gardens beyond the Tiber were bequeathed to the people, and every citizen was to receive three hundred sesterces. This liberality overwhelmed the people with gratitude, shame and indignation. The funeral obsequies followed.[3] The funeral pile was erected in the Campus Martius; the body, concealed from public gaze, was laid in a glittering shrine in the forum; a waxen effigy which turned in every direction, exhibited the twenty-three wounds. The people, deeply moved by the sad spectacle before them, were still further excited by dramatic representations of the deaths of Agamemnon and Ajax, caused by their nearest relatives. Last of all, the consul Antonius pronounced that marvellous oration,[4] which excited the fury of the people to the utmost. They rushed through the streets to the houses of the conspirators. Brutus and Cassius had fled from the city; the others dared not show themselves in public. The success of Antonius was complete. Still acting his part as a consummate dissembler he counselled measures of moderation; proposed that Sextus Pompejus should be recalled, and just when he was expected to ask for the dictatorship he proposed its abolition. The joy of all was great; but they soon found that they were subject to a new and more capricious power. Antonius pretended that his life was in danger, and asked for a bodyguard, which the senate blindly granted. The senate had

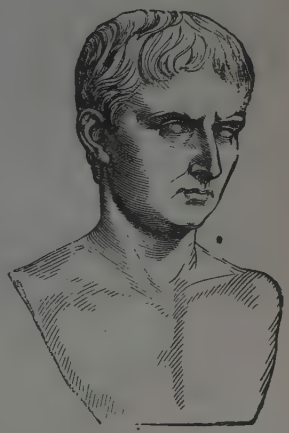
[1] Acta Cæsaris.
[2] Cisalpine Gaul was allotted to D. Brutus; Macedonia, to Marcus Brutus; Asia, to Trebonius; Bithynia, to Cimber; and Syria, to Cassius. [3] On the same day probably.
[4] *Tua illa pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio.* Cic. Phil. ii., 36.

already confirmed Cæsar's acts; Antonius caused the sanction to be extended to acts which Cæsar had merely contemplated. Antonius being in possession of Cæsar's private papers, began to use them for conferring honors on this one, banishing that one, and when no vestige of a document could be found, he fabricated what he wanted. Cæsar's disposition of the provinces was reversed.[1] "The tyrant is dead," said Cicero, "but the tyranny still lives." Antonius seemed on the point of obtaining all he wished, when a new actor appeared upon the scene to check him in his mad career.[2]

CHAPTER LII.

Octavius, the Heir of Cæsar—Cicero's Activity—The Second Triumvirate.

1. The Popularity of Octavius.—Gajus Octavius[3] had been waiting at Apollonia to join Cæsar on his way to the East, when a letter from his mother informed him of the dictator's assassination. He had enjoyed for years Cæsar's favor, and had been appointed his heir in his last testament. He immediately proceeded to Rome, determined to claim the inheritance, and boldly assumed his adopted name, Gajus Julius Cæsar Octavianus. He arrived at Rome in the beginning of May, B. C. 44, and proceeded directly to the prætor, as one was required to do who assumed the rights and



Gajus Octavius.

[1] Syria was taken from Cassius and assigned to Dolabella; Macedonia, Antonius took to himself.

[2] He had gained control over Lepidus by giving him his daughter in marriage and by nominating him *pontifex maximus*.

[3] The following table shows the relationship between Cæsar and Octavius:

duties of an inheritance. When Antonius returned from the southern part of Italy where he had been to gain over Cæsar's veterans, Octavius demanded the treasures of the dictator that he might discharge the obligations of his uncle's will. Antonius replied that all was spent; that it was not Cæsar's, but the public money. Octavius, however, was not dismayed. With great adroitness he contrived to win the favor of all parties. He sold his own property and borrowed enough from his friends to discharge Cæsar's legacies. The people were won by shows. Octavius rose rapidly in popular favor, and Antonius suffered in contrast. Octavius conciliated the senate, cajoled the liberators[1] into believing that he had no personal ambition, but was only seeking to defeat the selfish designs of Antonius. He saw in Cicero one who could secure him the support of the senate, without which it was impossible to make headway against Antonius.

2. Cicero and Octavius.—At this time Cicero's mind was in a condition to receive his advances. Cicero knew that the two consuls, as well as the most distinguished men of the senatorial party, condemned the policy of Antonius. As early as June he himself had said that a coalition between Antonius and Octavius must be prevented. In short, he knew that there was material enough in the senate hostile to Antonius to control its action. Therefore, when Octavius approached him with the promise that he would take no revenge on Cæsar's murderers, and that he would be guided by the advice of the

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

G. JULIUS CÆSAR, the grandfather of the Dictator.

G. JULIUS CÆSAR m. AURELIA. — JULIA m. G. MARIUS.

G. JULIUS CÆSAR, Dictator, m.	JULIA major, m.	JULIA minor, m.
1. COSSUTIA.	1. L. PINARIUS.	ATIUS BALBUS.
2. CORNELIA, d. of CINNA.	2. Q. PEDIUS.	
3. POMPEJA.		ATIA m. OCTAVIUS.
4. CALPURNIA.		G. J. C. OCT. AUGUSTUS, see p. 434.

[1] Cicero has preserved a vivid picture of the indecision of the conspirators at this time. He left Italy in disgust, but was driven back by adverse winds and returned to Rome Aug. 31. He attempted to form a conservative party which should hold the balance of power between the ultra republicans and the Cæsarians. Brutus and Cassius had already left Rome, and Cicero met them at Velia on his return.

No. 6.

THE
ELEVEN REGIONS
OF
ITALY
as instituted by
AUGUSTUS
CALLIA TRANSPADANA
VENETIA
HISTRIA
PANNONIA
LIBURNIA
ILLYRICUM
DALMATIA
LIGURIA
ETRURIA
UMBRIA
PICENUM
SABINI
CORSICA
SINUS LIGUSTICUS
MARE ADRIATICUM
SUPERUM
Augusta Praetoria
Comum
Eporedia
Vercellae
Mediolanium
Verona
Patavium
Augusta Taurinorum
Taurini
Asta
Dertona
Vincentia
Cremona
Pollentia
Mutina
Bononia
Ravenna
Ariminum
Pisaurum
Sena Gallica
Ancona
Pitoria
Faesulae
Florentia
Arnus
Luca
Arretium
Sena
Sacrum P.
L. Trasimenus
Perusia
Clusium
Spoletium
Volsinii
Tiberis
Tarracina
Ostia
Iglilium
Roma
Aquileia
Emona
Nevioduenum
Salonae
Salonitana
Pharus
Corcyra Nigra
Mutila
Aternus F.
Cosa
Telamon
Volaterrae
Pisae
Arretium Novum
Picenum
Sabini
Latini
Marsi
Aequi
Hernici
Frentani
Apennini Mons
Alpes Cottiae
Alpes Graiae
Alpes Poeninae
Alpes Maritimae
Mons Vesulus
Mons Cenisius
Mons Iovis
Mons Iulius
Mons Graius
Mons Poeninus
Mons Iovis
Mons Iulius
Mons Graius
Mons Poeninus
Mons Vesulus
Mons Cenisius
Mons Iovis
Mons Iulius
Mons Graius
Mons Poeninus
Mons Vesulus
Mons Cenisius
Mons Iovis
Mons Iulius
Mons Graius
Mons Poeninus

SARDINIA
Olbia
Tyrsus
Caralis
MARE SARDONIUM
TUSCUM
s
TYRRHENUM
s
INFERUM
MARE AFRICUM
Pandataria I. Ariaria
PICENTINI
Paestum (Posidonia)
Vesuvius Mt.
LUCANIA
Velia
Heraclea
Metapontum
Tarentum
Sinus Tarentinus
PENDICULI MESSAPII
CALABRIA
Brundusium
Croton
Lacinium Pr.
MARE SICULUM et IONIUM
BRUTTII
Liparaeae I. (Aeoliae s. Volcaniae)
Panormus
Segesta
Drepana
Thermae
Lilybaeum
SICILIA
Messana
Catana
Agrigentum
Leontini
Gela
SYRACUSAE
Mercurii
Utica
Carthago
NUMIDIA
AFRICA
Cossyra
Lilybaeum Pr.
ITALIA
Miliar Anglica
0 10 20 40 60 80 100
(English Miles)
Longitude East 12 from Paris
8
10
14
38
40

senate, Cicero pretended to believe his professions, and reappeared once more in the political arena with his old power and influence. In a series of speeches he roused the people, and exerted all his powers to consolidate all parties against Antonius. When Antonius had departed from Rome to drive D. Brutus out of Cisalpine Gaul, Cicero induced the senate to declare him a public enemy.[1]

3. The Mutina War (B. C. 44–43).—Antonius, immediately on his arrival in Cisalpine Gaul, besieged Brutus in Mutina (*Modena*), and thus commenced the civil war. The senate, at Cicero's behest, associated Octavius in command with the new consuls Hirtius and Pansa, and bade them act against Antonius and aid Brutus. Antonius was defeated in two battles[2] in which both consuls were slain. D. Brutus was relieved and Octavius was left in sole command. Antonius retreated across the Alps and joined Lepidus.

4. Activity of Cicero.—The senate believed the war was ended. Cicero was never more active. He was the life and soul of the government. He maintained an active correspondence with the chiefs in the provinces, praised the devotion of the soldiers, and inspired confidence in the desponding. "I have placed myself," said he, "at the head of the senate and people; and since I have undertaken to lead the cause of freedom, I have not let a moment pass which could be employed in providing for the general welfare." To his one great error—the belief that the republic could be restored, he clung to the last. His efforts were unremitting. He performed "mightier deeds in the toga than could be effected by arms." Circumstances were silently working against him. The two consuls were dead, and Octavius found himself at the head of

[1] Antonius summoned the senate for the 1st of September, when divine honors were to be decreed to Cæsar, and invited Cicero to attend. He pleaded fatigue; Antonius attacked him in a violent speech. The next day (Sept. 2), Cicero delivered the first of those great orations which were afterward entitled Philippics in imitation of those of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon. The second Philippic was never delivered, but published in October, and was so composed as if delivered in reply and immediately after Antonius' speech, Sept. 19; the third was delivered Dec. 20, in the senate; the fourth was delivered the same day to the people; the fifth, in the senate, Jan. 1, B. C. 43; the sixth, to the people, Jan. 4; the others were delivered during the winter, the fourteenth and last being pronounced April 22d, in the senate.

[2] Forum Gallorum (*castel Franco*) April 15, and Mutina, April 27; this was called the *bellum Mutinense*.

a powerful army. Cicero hoped he would lead his legions to the assistance of Brutus and Plancus. Just at this time the aristocratic party in the senate began to lift its hand. The senate believed it could do without Octavius, and desired to thrust him aside, after having availed itself of his services so long as they were useful. The senate transferred the command to Brutus and denied Octavius[1] the consulate. Then Octavius' rough centurions came to Rome, entered the senate-chamber, and demanded the office for their chief. When the senate still hesitated, one of the centurions seized his sword and exclaimed, "If you will not give it to him, this will!" Octavius approached the city with his whole army; the senate yielded. He was declared consul, with his cousin Q. Pedius as colleague.

5. The Second Triumvirate.—Octavius, who was now in a position to treat with Antonius, proceeded with great caution. He procured a decree[2] which declared the murderers of Cæsar to be outlaws. He made overtures to Antonius, and caused the decree against him and Lepidus to be rescinded. It was only with their aid that he could hope to triumph over the liberators. Accordingly Antonius and Lepidus were invited to an interview near Bononia,[3] which resulted in the formation of what is usually called the "Second Triumvirate." The triumvirs were to rule the state for five years, to appoint all the magistrates, and to assign the provinces.[4] Octavius and Lepidus were to prosecute the war against M. Brutus[5] and Cassius. This agreement was submitted to the people by the tribune, and the three chiefs, under the title of triumvirs[6] for the establishment of the republic, entered upon their office.

6. Murder of Cicero.—The triumvirs determined to leave no enemies behind them. A reign of terror commenced. With a list of the chief citizens before them, they formally adjusted whom they should kill and whom they should spare. Once more the terrible days of Sulla and Cinna were revived.

[1] This action of the senate was probably taken against Cicero's wish; for the last letter which we have of Cicero's correspondence (ad Fam. x., 24) written July 28, seems to indicate that friendship existed between him and Octavius.

[2] *Lex Pedia.*

[3] Some say on the island of Lavinus (*Larino*); others, on the island of Rhenus (*Reno*).

[4] Antonius was to have the two Gauls; Lepidus, the Spains and Narbonensis; Octavius, Africa, Sicily and Sardinia. Lepidus and Plancus were to have the consulship the next year.

[5] D. Brutus in crossing the Alps was deserted by his soldiers and killed at Aquileja.

[6] *Triumviri Reipublicæ Constituendæ.*

The barbarian soldiers were let loose throughout Italy to hunt the proscribed. Cicero's name was one of the first on the list, a victim to Antonius' ferocity. He fled from Rome, embarked from Astura, with the view of taking refuge in Macedonia, and seemed already in safety, when a strange fit of irresolution seized him. He landed again and betook himself to his villa at Formiæ. His servants warned him in vain of his danger. "Let me die," said he, "in my country which I have saved so often." His slaves got intelligence that his pursuers were approaching and they hurried him once more toward the sea-shore, but he was overtaken and dispatched in his litter; his head was taken to Antonius. "This is no concern of mine," said he; "take it to my wife."[1] Many of the proscribed escaped and took refuge with Sextus Pompejus in Spain, and with Brutus and Cassius in the East.

CHAPTER LIII.

LAST EFFORTS OF THE REPUBLIC—DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE.

1. The Battle of Philippi (B. C. 42).—Early in B. C. 42, military operations commenced. Octavius attempted to drive Sextus Pompejus out of Sicily, but his admiral, Salvidienus, was defeated, and he decided to follow Antonius to Epirus, to assist in carrying on the war against Brutus and Cassius. The liberators were wasting their time in plundering[2] the rich cities of the East, and were not aroused to their danger until the news came that Octavius and Antonius had landed in Greece and were on their way to Macedonia. Laden with spoils, the liberators prepared to meet them. Brutus, involved as he was in the affairs of war, and solicitous for the result, slept only a little. He spent the most of his nights in making preparations and

[1] Fulvia was the widow of Clodius when Antonius married her. p. , n. .

[2] Brutus plundered Xanthus; Cassius, Rhodes. All Asia Minor was compelled to pay the tribute of ten years. The temples were despoiled; and the free inhabitants sold into slavery.

in reading the Stoics. Just before leaving Asia, he sat one night in his tent with a feeble light, when a strange figure entered and stood silently by his side. "Who art thou?" said he; "what wilt thou with me?" "I am thy evil genius, Brutus," said the spectre; "thou shalt see me again at Philippi." The two armies[1] met on the plains of Philippi,[2] and the destiny of the Roman world was decided in two battles. In the first, Cassius was obliged to yield to Antonius, while Brutus repulsed Octavius. Cassius, unaware of his colleague's victory, committed suicide. Twenty days afterward the battle was renewed, and Brutus was completely defeated, and fell, like Cassius,[3] on his sword. Many of the most noble republicans perished in the battle or fell into the hands of the victors;

[1] The army of the liberators consisted of 80,000 foot and 20,000 horse; Antonius and Octavius had 19 legions = about 120,000, and 1300 horse.

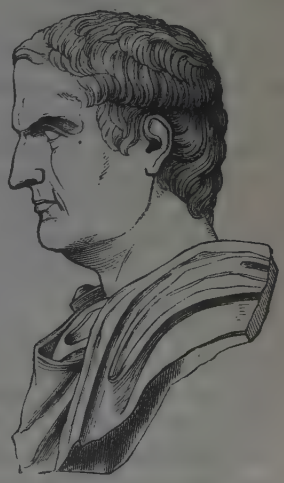
[2] The last of September; see map, p. 157.

[3] Our readers are for the most part aware that the grand feature of the civil contests in the Roman commonwealth was, throughout, the struggle of one favored class to maintain its exclusive privileges against another of a different origin, but blended with it in one body politic. The first phase of this struggle was that between the patricians and plebeians, strictly so called; when this contest terminated in the admission of the inferior class to substantially equal privileges, peace was for a time obtained. But the progress of external conquest gradually created a similar distinction of classes upon a larger scale. The citizens of Rome, patrician and plebeian, whether living in the city or established in colonies, jealously maintained the distinctive privileges, lucrative and influential as they were, which they enjoyed as such. The conquered states of Italy, admitted into alliance and a certain limited communion with Rome but refused the complete franchise and its privileges, now stood in an analogous relation to the Roman people with that of the ancient plebeians to the patricians. The social wars formed the crisis of the long struggle for these privileges, and terminated in the enfranchisement of the Italians. However, it was still in the power of the Roman, or exclusive party, to neutralize these concessions to a considerable extent; and then it was that the Italians began, like the plebeians of old, to look for allies among the ranks of their opponents. Marius himself, the great leader of the foreign party, was an Italian; but many of his adherents were Romans, hostile to the domination of the old aristocratic families, and anxious, by whatever means, to obtain an ascendency for themselves. The contest, as is usual in such cases, gradually lost the character of a domestic and foreign, and acquired much of that of an aristocratic and popular struggle. Thus, during the success of the aristocratic party under Sulla, they tried to impose checks upon the influence of the plebeians, who had become almost indentified with the Italians, or rather, absorbed in their multitude. Pompejus succeeded to the post of Sulla at the head of this party, while Cæsar assumed the leadership of the other. The one fought for the integrity of the senate, and such exclusive privileges as were still enjoyed by the old aristocratic families of Rome, of whom the senate was still almost entirely composed. The other was expected to break down every barrier which opposed the complete union of the Italian population in a single sovereign nation. Perhaps Pompejus' utter inability to make head against his rival in Italy may be taken as an evidence of the unpopularity of his course throughout the peninsula, and the people's sense of the important advantages which would follow to them from Cæsar's success. The conflict which followed after the death of Cæsar, bears some characteristics of the old aristocratic and popular struggle; and in this, too, we find the leaders of the former party obliged to abandon Italy and carry on the contest in the provinces. The same might have been observed of the attempt of Cato and the sons of Pompejus. But the fall of Brutus and Cassius was a final death-blow to the cause of the old Roman aristocracy; and Tacitus emphatically remarks: *Bruto et Cassio cæsis, nulla jam publica arma.*—*Merivale.*

others escaped to the fleet of Sextus Pompejus. Most of the vanquished soldiers were enlisted in the army of the conquerors.

2. The Treaty of Philippi.—After the battle the victors made a new division of the empire; Octavius received Spain and Numidia; Antonius, Transalpine Gaul and Illyricum. Cisalpine Gaul was joined with Italy. No share of the plunder was granted to Lepidus, under the pretence that he was intriguing with Sextus Pompejus. Octavius, still suffering from ill-health, was desirous to return to Italy to satisfy the soldiers with new assignments of land.

3. Antonius and Cleopatra.—Antonius preferred to remain in the East. Here he repeated the exactions that had already made the names of Brutus and Cassius infamous. "You shall furnish money," said Antonius to the Greeks of Asia, "and Italy, lands." He forgot, however, the claims of his greedy soldiers and lavished his plunder upon himself and his parasites. It was in Cilicia that he met Cleopatra, the "Serpent of the Nile." He had already seen her in the train of his master Cæsar. She had hastened, with full confidence in her wit and beauty, from Alexandria to deprecate the conqueror's wrath because she had furnished aid to Cassius. When Antonius saw her sailing up the Cydnus in a galley with purple sails, rowed by silver oars, he was completely enchanted, and willingly followed her to Alexandria as her slave. He forgot Rome and Fulvia and the war with the Parthians in the charms of her society.



MARCUS ANTONIUS.

4. Octavius in Italy.—Meanwhile Octavius was busy in Italy assigning the promised estates to his soldiers. As no money came from Antonius he was obliged to despoil the temples and to drive away the old proprietors from their farms that he might satisfy the demands of the disbanded veterans.[1] Whole cities with their adjacent districts were given up to spoliation.[2] Great disorder prevailed. Fulvia attempted to foment the discontent of the proprietors who had lost their lands and of the veterans who were not satisfied with their plunder, in hopes of recalling her faithless husband from the East. Octavius turned from one class to the other, but could not satisfy both. Finally, his general, Agrippa, repressed the discontent, and besieging Antonius' brother in Perusia, compelled him to surrender.

5. The Treaty of Brundisium (B. C. 40).—The news of the Perusian war aroused Antonius, who embarked for Italy with a powerful fleet and a few legions. He made a compact with Sextus Pompejus to overthrow Octavius, but the name of Pompejus had long since lost its charm. The soldiers refused to fight and compelled the two triumvirs to treat. A new partition[3] of the Roman world gave Antonius the East to rule and defend, while Octavius was to be entrusted with the West, and with the conduct of the war against Sextus Pompejus. The compact was sealed by the marriage of Antonius to Octavia,[4] his colleague's sister, while Octavius married Scribonia, the sister-in-law of S. Pompejus. The rivals, thus reconciled, repaired to Rome, entered the city with an ovation, and celebrated games and festivities.[5]

6. The Treaty of Misenum (B. C. 39).—The treaty of Brundisium marked the end of the civil war in Italy. It con-

[1] According to Appian each soldier was to have 5000 denarii; each centurion, five times and each tribune ten times as much; this with an army of 28 legions = about 170,000 men, amounted to about 1000 million denarii = nearly $200,000,000.

[2] Virgil lost his property at Andes in Cisalpine Gaul, but recovered it through the influence of Mæcenas. Horace, Tibullus and Propertius, were involved in the land confiscations. The Ofellus of Horace (Sat. ii., 2, 112) gives a lively picture of a proprietor who was doomed to work for a master on the land that had once been his own.

[3] The dividing line was at Scodra in Illyricum; Lepidus was allowed to retain Africa.

[4] Octavia had recently been left a widow by the death of Marcellus; Fulvia had died shortly after Antonius' return.

[5] This took place during the consulship of Pollio, and Vergil celebrates the peace of Brundisium in his fourth eclogue.

signed the centre of the empire to a statesman who restrained the insubordination of the soldiers and restored order. Sextus Pompejus had been excluded from the treaty. His fleet commanded the sea and cut off the supply of wheat from Sicily and Africa. The populace became furious and compelled the triumvirs to treat with Sextus. They promised to resign to him Sicily and Achaja, while he engaged to supply Italy with corn. The three chiefs entertained one another on board a vessel moored in the harbor near Misenum. "Shall I cut off the anchors of the ship, and make you master of the Roman world?" said Menas,[1] one of Pompejus' captains. "You ought to have done it instead of saying it," was his reply.

7. The Treaty of Tarentum (B. C. 38).—The agreement, however, was never executed. Sextus never received Achaja, and he in turn failed to evacuate certain places on the coast of Italy which had fallen into his possession. Sextus flew to arms, and threatened the seaports, and the price of grain rose in consequence at Rome. Antonius appeared off Brundisium with a fleet of three hundred sail. Octavius was so distrustful of his designs that he forbade him to land. Antonius sailed round to Tarentum, but by the mediation of Mæcenas,[2] Octavia, and other friends, a reconciliation was effected. The triumvirate was renewed for another five years, and Antonius left one hundred and thirty vessels for Octavius to use against Pompejus, while he received twenty thousand soldiers for the Parthian war.

8. Victory off Naulochus.—It was necessary for Octavius to build a fleet and practice his sailors in order to wrest the dominion of the sea from Sextus. With this view he constructed a secure harbor[3] on the southern coast of Italy. The next spring he attacked Sextus off Mylæ, and by the skill and energy of Agrippa, gained a partial victory.[4] Soon after, the great sea-fight off Naulochus decided the contest. Deserted by his followers Sextus fled in despair to the East, in hopes of obtaining the protection of Antonius.

[1] Appian calls him Menodorus.

[2] Horace accompanied Mæcenas to Brundisium and has given a lively account of the journey in the fifth satire.

[3] The lakes Avernus and Lucrinus, between Misenum and Puteoli, were connected; water was let in from the Tyrrhenian sea.

[4] Near Mylæ.

9. The Fall of Lepidus (B. C. 36.)—Scarcely was this danger from Sextus passed, when a new one, not less threatening, arose. The Pompeian soldiers opened communication with Lepidus, who had come from Africa and had joined Agrippa in the siege of Messana. The gates were no sooner opened than the Pompeian troops saluted Lepidus as imperator. Finding himself at the head of twenty legions, he resolved to hold the island for himself. The prompt action of Octavius prevented civil war. He boldly entered his rival's camp almost unattended, threw himself among the soldiers, and made appeals to them which were successful. They deserted Lepidus as easily as they had joined him. Octavius deposed him from the triumvirate, and confined him to the island of Circeji, but allowed him to retain the title of chief pontiff until his death in B. C. 13.

10. The Position of Octavius.—Octavius now had no other rival than Antonius. Sextus Pompejus, who was the last of the old senatorial party, had fallen into the hands of Antonius' lieutenant, who put him to death. His death and Antonius' absence left Octavius the undisputed head of the Cæsarians. Octavius had now attained that position in which he felt himself strong enough to be merciful. The strength of the old parties had been so broken up by death and confiscation, that the remnant were prepared to support any government which promised order and security. The people joined the senate in welcoming Octavius as the "restorer of peace by sea and land." Measures were taken to maintain in Rome a vigilant police, and brigandage was put down in Italy and Sicily. Octavius began now on a greater arena to display that state-craft which he had maintained from the first and which never deserted him. He granted all the liberty consistent with his safety, but veiled his government under the forms of the constitution.

11. The Ministers of Octavius.—In nothing did he show his discrimination more than in calling around him two such men as Agrippa, the able general, and Mæcenas, the admirable counsellor. We have seen the perseverance and obstinate courage of Agrippa; how he was ever active in constructing and

repairing fleets, and exercising sailors. Mæcenas had already rendered important service in reconciling the triumvirs, and in calming and restraining the multitude when the fleet of Sextus cut off the supply of grain. His genuine taste for learning and his encouragement of men of letters, Octavius found to be equally valuable in turning men's minds to literature, which contributed greatly in reconciling them to the loss of liberty. Mæcenas' mild and elastic mind seemed formed to calm and quiet Italy after so many mighty storms had swept over it.

CHAPTER LIV.

The Battle of Actium—The End of the Civil Wars

1. Antonius and the East (B. C. 37–34).—After the renewal of the triumvirate, in B. C. 37, Antonius, who had already become tired of Octavia, left her in Italy, and determined to carry on his long projected campaign against the Parthians.[1] By the middle of B. C. 36, he had assembled one hundred thousand men on the Euphrates,* with the purpose of completing the success that his lieutenants had already begun. He penetrated as far as Praaspa, three hundred miles beyond the Tigris, but the Parthians cut off his munitions of war, and his treacherous ally[2] deserted him. He was compelled to commence a disastrous retreat, which cost the lives of eight thousand of his soldiers. In the following spring (B. C. 34), he made one more effort,[3] and advanced into Armenia, where he collected an immense amount of booty. After this he returned to Alexandria, celebrated a triumph, and as

[1] The Parthians, led by Labienus, a son of Cæsar's old general, had invaded Syria, Cilicia and Caria; Ventidius had defeated them twice in Syria; Labienus and Pharnapates, the ablest general of Orodes, had fallen in battle. Sosius took Jerusalem and dethroned Antigonus; and Canidius, another lieutenant, penetrated into Armenia, defeated the kings of Iberia and Albania, and spread the terror of Antonius' name and power through these barbarous regions. Antonius found himself master of the three great roads on which the commerce of the world traveled—that of Caucasus, that of Palmyra, and that of Alexandria.

[2] The king of Armenia.

[3] Plut. Anton.

sumed the insignia and dress of an Oriental monarch. Cleopatra sat by his side as queen, to whose influence Antonius had entirely surrendered himself. He gave the title of king to her children, annexed the provinces of the Roman empire to the Egyptian kingdom, and plunged into the wildest dissipation.

2. Cleopatra, the Queen of the East.—In order to retain her influence over him, and to wean him effectually from Rome, Cleopatra daily invented new pleasures and constantly amused him. She possessed a thousand charms, a thousand varied graces, and the gift of many languages. She was an admirable singer, a skilled musician. Her flattery was varied as it was delicate. She transformed herself daily to please him. She gamed, she drank, she hunted, and followed him in all his exercises. In his night rambles through the streets of Alexandria, stopping at the doors and windows of the citizens to throw out jests, she attended him dressed as a slave. She already dreamed of planting her pavilion on the Tarpeian rock and of dictating her will among the trophies of Marius. She must wean Antonius from Rome; then the Alexander of the East could conquer the West. One day Cleopatra had an Egyptian diviner say to him: "Thy genius fears Octavius; when it is alone its port is erect and fearless; when his approaches it is dejected and oppressed." Octavius possessed Rome; it was his capital. Alexandria alone could be the capital of the empire of Antonius. Here the commerce of three continents found its mart. In this vast caravansary every nation lodged. In this great centre, the religion and mysticism of the East and the philosophy of the West met. This mighty world was mirrored in its queen, the female Mithridates—a varied, vast and multifarious mind, like that of the ever fruitful Isis, under whose attributes she triumphed.[1]

3. Octavius and the West.—Meanwhile Octavius was yearly increasing in popularity. His manners were affable, and his concern for the public welfare unwearied. He established a mild and firm government at Rome, and led his legions with

[1] Michelet; Plut. Ant She was adored in Egypt. When, after her death, the statue of Antonius was overthrown, an Alexandrian gave two millions sterling to have those of Cleopatra left.—*Michelet.*

success against the Dalmatians, the Salassi, and the Pannonians. During the ædileship[1] of Agrippa, he rebuilt and beautified Rome, repaired the highways, cleansed the sewers, restored the aqueducts, and multiplied the fountains. At the same time the people were conciliated by largesses of money, oil and salt, while the games and shows amused them, and reconciled them to his government. The spoils from his Illyrian and Dalmatian campaigns were so enormous that they were not only sufficient for these vast works, but they enabled Octavius and Pollio to establish public libraries.

4. Declaration of War against Egypt.—Thus far the two rivals had maintained all appearances of good-will towards each other, but in B. C. 33, they began to exchange complaints. Octavius accused Antonius of lavishing the provinces of the Roman empire on the Egyptian queen, and circulated the report that he wished to give her Rome even.[2] The consuls for B. C. 32 were, according to previous agreement, partisans of Antonius. They began their year of office with a violent invective against Octavius, who at the time was absent from the city. On his return, convening the senate, he stationed guards at the door, and entering himself surrounded by a body-guard, delivered a bitter invective against Antonius and promised to make formal charges against him at the next meeting. The consuls fled to Antonius. In the meantime Octavius obtained possession of Antonius' will, which the latter had deposited with the vestal virgins. It confirmed his donations of provinces and treasures to Cleopatra's children, declared one of them, Cæsario, to be the heir of the great dictator, and finally directed that his own body should be entombed with hers at Alexandria. No one could any longer doubt the rumors that he intended to make Cleopatra queen of the Roman world, and remove the seat of empire to Alexandria. The indignation of the people was aroused, and it was loudly demanded that Antonius should be declared a public enemy. Octavius refrained from this, but he directed the

[1] B. C. 33.

[2] The principal witnesses against Antonius were Calvisius and Plancus, who had been Antonius' confederates and had deserted him.

senate to declare war against Egypt. "It is not Antonius with whom we are going to war, for he is like a man under enchantment, who has no longer any power over himself, but with Mardion the eunuch, Pothinus, and Iris, Cleopatra's hairdresser."

5. Battle of Actium (B. C. 31).—Antonius received the declaration of war at Athens, and replied by divorcing Octavia, thus breaking the last tie that bound him to his country. Preparations for the coming struggle were pushed forward on both sides. Antonius had an army mustered from all the East. The Mauritanians, the Arabians, the Jews, the Medians, sent him aid; the kings of Cilicia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia and Commagene followed his banner in person. The vast host[1] was assembled on the coast of Epirus to cross to Italy.[2] Octavius busied himself in collecting the forces of the West. The triumvirate expired on the last day of B. C. 32. On the 1st of January, B. C. 31, Octavius entered upon his third consulship. Embarking from Brundisium for Corcyra, he landed his army at the Acroceraunian promontory, and directed his march towards the Ambracian gulf[3] and established his camp opposite Actium,[4] where he afterwards erected Nicopolis. The fleet was commanded by the faithful Agrippa, and consisted of light Liburnian galleys manned by crews which had gained experience in the wars with S. Pompejus. It cruised over the whole Ionian sea, defeated and destroyed a part of Antonius' fleet, and thus secured command of the sea. Antonius' supplies began to fail, and the dissatisfaction and desertion of his soldiers compelled him to risk a battle. His friends wished to decide the contest on land, but Cleopatra insisted that they should fight by sea. Her advice prevailed, and on the 2d of September, Antonius drew up his line of battle. The contest was long and still undecided, when Cleopatra, who was in the rear of the line of battle, with sixty

[1] Nearly 100,000 foot, 1200 horse, and 800 ships, many with ten banks of oars.
[2] Octavius had 80,000 foot, 1200 horse, and 250 vessels, according to some 400.
[3] The army and fleet of Antonius was at the southern entrance of the Ambracian gulf.
[4] At the tip or *acte* of the peninsula stood a chapel sacred to Apollo, called the Actium; see map, p. 157.

ships, took advantage of a favorable breeze and fled. Antonius saw her flight, and immediately sprang into a five-oared galley and followed her.[1] The battle still raged furiously, but before evening the fleet was entirely destroyed, and a few days after the army joined the victor.

6. Restoration of Order.—Before following the fugitives, Octavius restored order in Greece and Asia, which, on account of the exactions of Antonius, gave him a hearty welcome. To appease the soldiers it was necessary to sell at auction his own effects as well as those of his friends. New colonies were planted and ample promises were made from the spoils of Egypt.

7. Suicide of Antonius.—As for Antonius he was in despair. He wished to be alone. His friends, his power, had abandoned him. Cleopatra found means to woo him from his solitary life. The time of the "inimitable life"[2] was gone, but another was instituted by no means inferior in splendor and luxury, called the "inseparables in death." The time was passed in festivities and in trying various kinds of poison, and experimenting with venomous insects to see if there existed a voluptuous death.[3] When Octavius approached Egypt, both sought grace from the victor. Pelusium,* the key of the country, fell into his hands. Once more the soldier-spirit blazed in Antonius and he fought like a lion before the gates of Alexandria. Cleopatra had already received flattering messages from Octavius; it was only necessary to disencumber herself from Antonius, who had already been deserted by his fleet and army. Cleopatra had word sent to Antonius that she had destroyed herself in her fortified mausoleum in which she had taken refuge. Antonius heard the news. "I will die then," said he, and stabbed himself with his sword. Reviving a little,

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[1] According to Merivale (vol. iii., p. 318), Antonius despaired of victory either by sea or land, before the battle, and had already prepared for flight when he was attacked. If this was his plan, the leaving of the army without any arrangements for retreat, and without even a leader (which would be explainable in the haste and despair after a lost battle) would be an act of downright folly. Plutarch makes no mention of such an intention, and even Did. (iv., 15), whom Merivale follows, seems to lay little weight upon it.

[2] Plut. Ant. [3] Plut. Ant. and Did. li., 2. * See map No. 7.

he heard that Cleopatra was still alive. He ordered himself to be carried to her, and his litter being raised up to the window, he was taken into the mausoleum, where he died soon after in her arms.

8. Suicide of Cleopatra.—The soldiers of Octavius entered by the same window. "Wretched Cleopatra!" exclaimed her attendant, "you are taken alive." She pretended to stab herself with a poniard which she carried for this purpose; but she really clung to life and hoped to seduce Octavius "by the grace of a beautiful grief and the coquetry of despair." All failed before his cold reserve. She resolved to die, when she was informed that Octavius wished to remove her to Rome. One day she was found dead[1] among her attendants, lying upon a golden couch, with a diadem on her forehead.

9. Octavius Sole Ruler.—The death of Antonius left Octavius without a rival. The restoration of the republic was impossible. The long years of civil war had exhausted the world. It yearned for repose. The time had come when the monarchy was inevitable; with it came the man who knew how to grasp the reins with a firm hand and veil his supremacy under those constitutional forms so deeply rooted in the ideas and habits of the people. The crafty policy of Octavius in representing the battle of Actium as a revolt of the East against the West, as an effort to obliterate the rule of Rome, was completely successful. All classes were deeply impressed with the great danger which they had escaped, and which had threatened to subvert their laws and religion. Before returning to Rome to celebrate his triumphs, Octavius organized Egypt as a province,[2] and appointed Cornelius Gallus, a distinguished patron of literature and friend of Pollio, governor. Octavius then began his journey homeward. In Judæa he confirmed the kingdom to Herod, and settled the condition of Syria and

[1] The manner of her death was never known. It was popularly believed that she died from the sting of an asp, which was brought to her concealed among some figs. Octavius adopted this report, and in his triumph her image was carried, the arms being encircled with asps.

[2] On the plan that Cæsar had arranged; the officer of finance (*procurator*) rendered his accounts directly to Octavius.

Asia Minor. In August of B. C. 29 he arrived in Rome to celebrate three magnificent triumphs[1] for his victories in Dalmatia, at Actium and in Egypt. The restoration of peace was inaugurated by closing the temple of Janus for the third time in all Roman history.[2]

[1] At his triumph he gave each soldier 1000 sesterces; each citizen 400 sesterces; 120,000 veterans were settled in Italy and the provinces. The enormous sum of 860 million sesterces = nearly $40,000,000 was given to indemnify the former possessors.

[2] It was closed first during the reign of Numa and then not till B. C. 235.

SUMMARY.

Civil Dissensions—B. C. 133–31.

Rome Ruled by a Clique.

During the preceding period the government had fallen entirely into the hands of the nobility. The senate governed almost without opposition. In fact the nobles had such influence that "new men" were excluded from all share in the government. The opposition led by such men as Cato and Flaccus wasted their efforts in trying to check the spread of luxury and to elevate one of their own number to the consulship. Meanwhile the state drifted into troubles from which the wisest could not free it. The Licinian laws had been disregarded for so many years that all the lands in Italy were absorbed in the large estates; and instead of employing free laborers, the possessors found it more profitable to have their lands cultivated by slaves which the wars in the East had made cheap. In time the importation of corn which was sold in the market at Rome below the cost of production in Italy, compelled farming on a large scale to be abandoned, and the conversion of the land into pasturage. Tiberius Gracchus attempted to remedy these evils by reviving the Licinian laws. This, however, was disagreeable to the nobility, who succeeded in frustrating his measures and finally murdered Gracchus himself. From this time the downward step was rapid; the old inherent respect for law and order soon disappeared, and the government became the prey of violent and unscrupulous demagogues.

The Opposition.

Agrarian Laws of Tiberius Gracchus, B. C. 133.

Murder of Tiberius, B. C. 133.

Laws of Gajus Gracchus, B. C. 123–2.

His Death, B. C. 121.

The death of Tiberius did not deter his brother Gajus from coming forward with still more sweeping measures of reform—the relief of the poorer classes and the breaking down of the power of the senate. The senate triumphed and Gajus was killed with three thousand

Rule of the Oligarchy, B. C. 121–70.

War with Jugurtha, B. C. 111–104.

Cimbri and Teutones, B. C. 113–101.

Battle of Aquæ Sextiæ, B. C. 102.

Battle at Vercellæ, B. C. 101.

Appulcian Laws, B. C. 100.

Livian Laws, B. C. 91.

Social War, B. C. 90–88.

Julian Law, B. C. 90.

Lex Plautia Papiria, B. C. 89.

Varian Prosecution.

Financial Crisis, B. C. 88.

Sulla, Commander against Mithridates.

Sulpician Laws, B. C. 88.

of his adherents. The death of Gajus threw the power again into the hands of the oligarchy. The Agrarian laws were annulled, and the shameless rule of the oligarchy brought dishonor upon the Roman name. Everywhere the incompetency of the government was visible. In Africa, Jugurtha revolted and carried on war for nearly six years. Before the war with Jugurtha was ended, the Teutones and Cimbri invaded the empire; the first were defeated by Marius at Aquæ Sextiæ, and the latter by Marius and Catulus near Vercellæ.

These victories raised Marius far above all his rivals, and had he been a statesman, he might have anticipated the work of Cæsar. He was a great soldier but no statesman. Laws were carried reducing still further the price of corn and providing for colonies in Cisalpine Gaul. The demagogues of the capital—Saturninus and Glaucia—used him, but when their violence provoked armed resistance, Marius deserted them and finally sacrificed them.

For a few years there was peace at Rome, but soon the claims of the Italians and the Latins to the franchise, and the demand of the oligarchy that the judicial power should be restored to their own order, renewed the discord. Drusus proposed (1) to recruit the senate from the equestrian order, and then to choose the jurymen from the senators, and (2) he promised the franchise to the Italian allies. The oligarchy had recourse once more to assassination in hopes of delaying this reform. The death of Drusus drove the allies to despair. All central and southern Italy was soon in arms. Corfinium was fixed upon as the capital of the new "Italica." The allies met at first with some success which compelled the Romans to grant concessions—(1) by the Julian law which conferred the franchise on the Latins and all Italians who had remained faithful or had laid down their arms; (2) by the *lex Plautia Papiria* which granted all the subjects ever claimed. The allies were far from satisfied with the manner in which they were treated after the peace—being crowded into eight tribes—while the discord and hatred engendered by the prosecutions of Varius, who instituted investigations against every one who had favored the cause of the Italians, combined with the financial crisis that set in on account of the troubles in Asia, arrayed party against party, and sowed the bitterest discord among the people. Further Marius had gained little credit during the Social war, while his rival Sulla had won great renown. The senate therefore very naturally selected Sulla to conduct the war against Mithridates. Marius was deeply offended, and in order to increase his popularity, he undertook the cause of the Italians and induced Sulpicius to propose and carry a law to distribute the new citizens among all the tribes in which Marius hoped their influ-

ence would be sufficient to procure for him the command against Mithridates. Sulla, however, returned to Rome with six legions and expelled his enemies. Marius, after a wonderful series of adventures, found safety in Africa. But Sulla had no sooner left Rome, than Cinna kindled the flames of civil war, endeavored to recall Marius, and to revive the Sulpician laws. Marius and Cinna marched to Rome and entered it with their partisans. The friends of Sulla were slaughtered, their property was confiscated, and a reign of terror was inaugurated.

Marius and Cinna, B. C. 87.

First Proscription, B. C. 87.

Marius Consul, B. C. 86.

First Mithridatic War—B. C. 88–84.

Mithridates and the Romans had often come into collision in Asia Minor—particularly when Mithridates attempted to place his nephew on the throne of Cappadocia and set up a rival claimant to the throne of Bithynia. Mithridates saw that war with Rome was inevitable, and prepared to strike when the favorable moment came. When, however, Aquillius, who had been sent to Asia to settle the difficulties there, instigated Nicomedes to plunder the territories of Mithridates, Mithridates could restrain himself no longer. He invaded the Roman province, took up his winter quarters at Ephesus, and sent his generals Archelaus and Taxiles to aid the Athenians who had revolted. Sulla crossed to Greece, besieged and captured Athens, and defeated both armies of the king, first at Chæronea and then at Orchomenus. These successes brought Mithridates to terms. He gave up all his conquests, paid 300 talents and surrendered 80 ships of war.

Cause of the War.

Mithridates Invades Asia, B. C. 88.

Sulla takes Athens, B. C. 87.

Battle of Chæronea, B. C. 86.

Battle of Orchomenus, B. C. 85.

Terms of Peace, B. C. 84.

During Sulla's absence the government had been controlled by Cinna. Sulla returned at the head of his army; he defeated Norbanus near Capua, won over to his service the army of the other consul Scipio, and crushed the last opposition of the Samnites at the Colline Gate. After this he published his "lists" of the proscribed. As many as 47,000 are said to have perished. He reformed the constitution, concentrating all powers in the hands of the senate, and in B. C. 79 abdicated.

Sulla's Return to Italy, B. C. 83.

Battle of the Colline Gate, B. C. 82.

Proscription, B. C. 81.

Sullan Constitution, B. C. 82–80.

Scandalous Rule of the Oligarchy.

Scarcely was Sulla dead before symptoms of reaction against the rule of the senate appeared. The attempt of Lepidus to rescind the laws of Sulla was followed by the war with Sertorius in Spain and the Gladiatorial war. Pompejus and Crassus gained renown in these wars and they demanded the consulship as a reward. The abuses of the oligarchy had become so scandalous that all classes demanded the restoration of the tribunitian power. Laws were carried restoring the power

War with Gladiators, B. C. 73–71.

Legislation of Pompejus and Crassus, B. C. 70.

War with the Pirates, B. C. 67.

of the tribunes and enacting that the jurymen should be selected equally from the senators, knights, and *tribuni ærarii*. Pompejus took no province after the expiration of his consulship, but after two years' retirement the wretched state of affairs compelled him to return and clear first the sea of pirates and then end the Third Mithridatic war.

Third Mithridatic War—B. C. 74–63.

Cause of the War.

Battle at Tigranocerta, B. C. 69.

Pompejus takes Command, B. C. 66.

Battle at Nicopolis, B. C. 66.

Conclusion of the War, B. C. 63.

Mithridates felt that the peace with Rome was only a truce. He therefore made great preparations to renew the war. When the Romans converted Bithynia into a province, he thought it a favorable time to strike. He invaded Asia with a large army, supported by his fleet, and invested Cyzicus. Lucullus raised the siege of Cyzicus, defeated Mithridates on the Æsepus and then at Tigranocerta, and compelled him to seek refuge with Tigranes. A mutiny in the army compelled Lucullus to pause in his career of conquest, and his economic measures in Asia and unpopularity at Rome caused his recall. Pompejus took command, gained favor with the soldiers by relaxing the strict rules of Lucullus, secured the alliance of the Parthian king, and then defeated Mithridates at Nicopolis and compelled him to take refuge in the Cimmerian Bosporus. Pompejus settled the affairs of Armenia, subdued Syria, Phœnicia and Palestine, took Jerusalem, and then in B. C. 62 returned homeward, reaching Rome B. C. 61.

Internal History—B. C. 65–49.

Conspiracy of Catiline, B. C. 63–2.

First Triumvirate, B. C. 60.

Consulship of Cæsar, B. C. 59.

Banishment of Cicero, B. C. 58.

Subjugation of the West, B. C. 58–51.

Meanwhile at Rome the government had been nearly subverted by the conspiracy of Catiline, in which many eminent men were said to be implicated. By the unwearied exertions of Cicero the plans of the conspirators were frustrated in the city, and their army defeated at Pistoria. When Pompejus returned, he found that he was regarded with suspicion by the senators, and that they were in no mood to grant lands for his soldiers or to confirm his acts in the East. This compelled him to accept the overtures of Cæsar; a private cabal was formed between Cæsar, Pompejus and Crassus, in which it was agreed that they should co-operate with each other to secure (1) lands for the soldiers of Pompejus; (2) the confirmation of his acts in the East; (3) the elevation of Cæsar to the consulship. The triumvirs determined, in order to secure their power, to remove Cicero and Cato. For this purpose the demagogue Clodius was used. Cato was sent to Cyprus, which was to be converted on some frivolous pretext into a province, while Cicero was banished from the state. Cæsar then departed to his province to subdue

the free tribes in Gaul. Clodius continued the abject tool of Cæsar. Measures were carried for free distribution of corn, to limit the power of the senate, to re-establish the guilds of trade, and to annul the powers of the censors. Soon Clodius dared to oppose Pompejus, who was thus forced to incline toward the senate, and who hoped that the anarchy at Rome would compel the senate to appoint him dictator. The senate, however, was not yet ready to receive a master; it opposed Milo to Clodius, fomented discord between Pompejus and Crassus, and cajoled Pompejus. Cæsar saw it was time to act. At an interview at Lucca, he reconciled Pompejus and Crassus, and arranged that they should be elected consuls for B. C. 55. For himself his command was prolonged for another five years. The triumvirs obtained their objects. Pompejus received Spain as his province, while Crassus became proconsul of Syria, where he crossed the Euphrates, but was completely defeated and killed. The death of Crassus hastened the rupture between Cæsar and Pompejus. Julia died in B. C. 55, and in B. C. 52 Clodius, the last check to Pompejus' ambition, was removed. The anarchy in the capital increased to such an extent that Pompejus was elected sole consul. If Cæsar were removed, Pompejus knew that the government must fall into his own hands. He therefore encouraged the aristocrats to propose the recall of Cæsar and to prevent him in his absence from suing for the consulship. When the senate, in spite of the tribune's veto, appointed Cæsar's successor, civil war was certain. When the decree of the senate ordering Cæsar to disband his army and give up his province reached him, he determined to act.

Legislation of Clodius, B. C. 57.

Renewal of the Triumvirate, B. C. 56.

Death of Crassus, B. C. 53.

Coalition between the Senate and Pompejus.

Pompejus Sole Consul, B. C. 52.

Great Civil War—B. C. 49–45

Without delay Cæsar advanced towards Rome. Consternation seized the people, and even Pompejus fell back to Brundisium and then embarked for Greece. This left Cæsar master of Italy. Cæsar then subdued the different provinces in detail. Pompejus' lieutenants in Spain were defeated at Ilerda; then Cæsar hastened to the East. The battle of Pharsalus decided the contest. After that the Pompeians were defeated in Africa at Thapsus, and finally in Spain at Munda. Egypt was also subjugated and Pharnaces punished.

Brundisium, B. C. 49.
Ilerda, B. C. 49.
Pharsalus, B. C. 48.
Thapsus, B. C. 46.
Munda, B. C. 45.

Cæsar now returned to Rome and ruled as *imperator*. The various titles and powers that had been taken from the supreme magistrate, centred again in one man. Good government was secured at home and in the provinces. He introduced various reforms, commenced vast projects for the improvement of the capital, encouraged agriculture and reformed the calendar. Cæsar

Cæsar Monarch, B. C. 45.

did not realize, however, how attached the Romans were to the old forms of the republic. He misjudged the temper of the people. He did not realize how deep seated was the hatred against royalty. He knew himself that the monarchy was inevitable, and by openly proclaiming it provoked a conspiracy formed by Brutus, Cassius and others, to which he fell a victim.

Assassination of Cæsar, B. C. 44.

Last Days of the Republic—B. C. 44–31.

Antonius Seizes the Chief Power.

G. Octavius.

The conspirators had formed no plan for restoring the republic, and the result was that the power fell into the hands of Antonius. Antonius was on the point of gaining all he wished, when he was checked in his career by G. Octavius, the heir of Cæsar. Octavius managed so skillfully that he gained the favor of Cicero, by whose influence Antonius was declared a public enemy, and the senate associated Octavius in command with the two consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, who were directed to carry on war against Antonius. Two battles were fought near Mutina, in which Antonius was defeated but the two consuls fell, and Octavius was left in sole command of the army. Octavius now demanded the consulship and the senate was compelled to yield. He now showed himself in his true colors. He treated with Antonius and Lepidus, for by their assistance only could he hope to crush Cassius and Brutus in the East. A new proscription was ordered in which Cicero perished. Antonius and Octavius then crossed to Greece, where they defeated the "liberators" in the battle of Philippi.

The Mutina War, B. C. 44–43.

Second Triumvirate, B. C. 43.

Battle of Philippi, B. C. 42.

After the battle the triumvirs made a new division of the empire. Antonius received the East; Octavius ruled the West, while Lepidus received Africa. The triumvirs soon began to quarrel, and after various reconciliations, Octavius, who had constantly increased in reputation, determined to precipitate a rupture, for which he had been preparing for many years. The great contest was decided at the battle of Actium. Antonius fled from the battle, and although prolonging the contest for nearly a year, he was finally defeated, having been deserted by his fleet and army, and committed suicide. The death of Antonius left Octavius without a rival; he was now the sole ruler of the Roman world. Warned by the fate of his uncle, Octavius discarded every illegal title. He veiled his supreme power under the forms of the republic. Everything that was displeasing to the Romans was discarded. Gradually he combined within his own person all the republican offices, and took to himself every vestige of power that the state had to bestow. The monarchy was established, but it was disguised under republican forms.

Battle of Actium, B. C. 31.

Imperial Government Established, B. C. 31.

CHAPTER LV.

The Military Organization.—The Legion.—The System of Encampment.—Military Engines.

1. Military Power.—As we have now reached a turning point in our history—a time when a standing army is established and the military authority has become predominant in the state—it would be well to review the manner by which the military organization has reached its present perfection.

2. The Legion.[1]—The legion designated from the beginning to the end of Roman history an organized body of troops. Each legion was complete within itself, being composed of troops of all arms, cavalry, infantry, and when military engines came into use, of artillery. The number of soldiers, although fixed within certain limits, varied considerably at different times. The history of the legion may be considered under three periods, viz.:

I. The first period embraced the time when military service due to the state was based either upon birth or wealth. This period falls into three subdivisions: (1) the time before Servius Tullius; (2) the time from Servius Tullius to Camillus; (3) the time from Camillus to the end of the Social War.

II. During the second period the legion was recruited with mercenaries, and

III. During the third warfare became a regular profession, and a standing army was established.

3. The First Period.—It will be remembered that the legendary narrative of Livy attributes the formation of the legion to Romulus,[2] and that each of the three tribes furnished 1000 foot-soldiers and 100 cavalry. The 3000 foot-soldiers and the

[1] *Legio.*

[2] See pp. 20 and 29.

300 cavalry, under the command of military tribunes, formed the legion.

4. The Army as Organized by Servius Tullius.—The legion as organized by Romulus remained unchanged until the time of Servius Tullius,[1] who reformed the military organization on the principle that military service should devolve upon the freeholders or the wealthy, whether they were patricians or plebeians. It will be recollected that the Roman territory was divided into four tribes, and the whole population subject to military service into five classes. The first class was divided into infantry and cavalry, and all five classes into *seniores* and *juniores*. The younger men were employed for service in the field; the elders were retained at home to protect the city. The 85 centuries of *seniores* were strong enough to furnish 100 men each or 8500 men, and the 85 centuries of *juniores*, 200 men each or 17,000, equal in all to 25,500 men. In case of a war the levy was always made by tribes. Of the 1800 cavalry it was only necessary to determine how many were to remain at home to protect the city, and how many were to serve in the field. From the 85 centuries of *juniores*, as they contained more men than were necessary for a regular army of two legions of 4250 men each, it was necessary to make a selection.[2] For the two legions of 8500 men, each tribe furnished 2125, or 25 men for each century.[3]

5. The Arms of the Soldiers and their Order in the Phalanx.—Only the men of the first class wore complete armor—the breastplate, helmet, shield, and greaves, with spear, lance, and sword.[4] The fifth class did not serve in the phalanx but fought outside with darts and slings. The order of battle was the old Doric phalanx,[5] to form which 3500 men were taken from the legion.[6] If the phalanx was seven men deep, this gave a front of 500 men. If, however, as was most prob-

[1] See page 22.

[2] *Delectus.*

[3] On the supposition that S. Tullius organized only four classes, as was probably the case, then each of the 70 centuries of *juniores* furnished 120 men each, or 8400 in all.

[4] See page 23.

[5] The phalanx, as changed by Philip, became known first to the Romans in the war with Pyrrhus.

[6] That is, from the 70 centuries of *juniores*=7000 or 3500 for each legion; the fifth class furnished 1500 men.

ably the case, S. Tullius organized only four classes, and three of these formed the phalanx, then the phalanx was six men deep with a front of 600.[1] The first class furnished 2400 men for each legion and formed the first four lines; the second class, 600 men, formed the fifth line, and the third class, also 600 men, the sixth line. The soldiers of the first class were called *principes;* the first, second, and third classes in opposition to the fourth class, which fought outside of the phalanx, were called *hastati,* because they were armed with the *hasta;* or they were called *triarii,* because they were composed of men from three classes. The soldiers were armed at their own expense and received no pay. They served usually for one campaign of a few weeks or months, and returned to their usual avocations as soon as the campaign was ended.

6. The Rise of the Equestrian Order.—In the war with Veji, it became necessary for the Roman army to remain in the field summer and winter, year after year, until the city was taken. To secure this it was necessary that the soldiers should receive regular pay. The long and continued wars with Pyrrhus and with Carthage compelled the continuance of this system, and henceforth the army drew regular pay from the city treasury. With the introduction of pay for the soldiers was connected another important innovation in the military organization. Service in the infantry, in consequence of the regular pay, became less burdensome, and there was no difficulty in obtaining a sufficient number of soldiers. The richer citizens, no longer in request for the infantry, offered themselves more and more for the cavalry service. They provided their own horses, and the state gladly accepted their services. These volunteers laid the foundation for what was afterwards known as the equestrian order.

7. The Organization of the Army at about B. C. 340.—About the same time other changes were begun that led to a complete transformation of the army. The manipular legion took the place of the old Doric phalanx. The wars with the

[1] That is, 60 centuries of *juniores* of 120 men each, or 7200 in all=30 maniples of 120 men for each legion.

Gauls caused material changes in the manner of equipping the soldiers, while the long wars in the Samnite mountains showed the necessity of still further changes. The soldiers were no longer ranked in the lines according to the Servian classes, but each assumed the place to which the time he had been in the service and his experience entitled him. The recruit now entered first among the skirmishers, who fought with stones and slings outside of the line, and worked his way up to the first, then to the second, until finally he was admitted into the corps of the *triarii*. Many essential details in regard to the organization of the Roman legion until about the time of the second war with Carthage, are matters of conjecture. It was probably drawn up in three lines, viz.: *hastati*, *principes* and *triarii*; the last line being triple, consisting of the *triarii* proper, the *rorarii* and the *accensi*. In the first line the youngest troops were stationed; in the second, those in the full vigor of manhood; in the third, the veterans; behind these were the *rorarii* and *accensi*, the less experienced soldiers and supernumeraries. The three lines were thus composed :[1]

15 maniples or 30 centuries of *hastati* at 60 men each	1800
15 maniples " " " *principes* " " "	1800
The *triarii*	600
The *rorarii* and *accensi*	1000
Total	5200

8. The Organization of the Army in the Time of Polybius.—Polybius,[2] who lived for many years at Rome and had excellent opportunities for obtaining information, has left a clear account of the legion as it was organized in his time. It then consisted of thirty maniples or companies

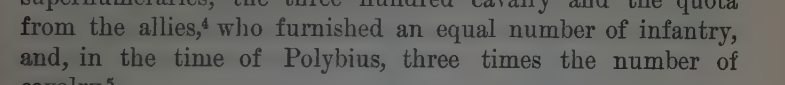
[1] This is Marquardt's (Röm. Staatsver., p. 352) conjecture. According to Livy (viii., 8) there were :

30 maniples of *hastati* and *principes*	1890
15 " " *triarii*, *rorarii* and *accensi*, with 45 *vexillarii*	2835
Total	4725

[2] See p. 166, n. 1.

arranged in three lines, *hastati*,[1] *principes*, and *triarii*, like the black squares on a chess-board; the *roraii* and *accensi* have disappeared and their places have been taken by 1200 *velites*,[2] enlisted from the lowest of the Servian classes as light troops or skirmishers. In the two first lines there were in each maniple 120 men subdivided into two centuries of sixty men apiece; in each maniple of the third line, there were sixty men also subdivided into two centuries of thirty men each. Besides these 3000 heavy armed soldiers, there were the 1200 supernumeraries,[3] the three hundred cavalry and the quota from the allies,[4] who furnished an equal number of infantry, and, in the time of Polybius, three times the number of cavalry.[5]

9. The Tactic Order.—The tactic order of the maniple, as can be seen from the annexed figure, shows that the gen-



eral could advance the *principes* into the intervals of the *hastati* or withdraw the *hastati* into the intervals of the *principes*. The *triarii* or veterans were the reserve corps and were brought into action only when the other lines were

[1] The *hastati* are no longer armed with the hasta, but with the pilum; the principes are the second line instead of the first as originally, and the *triarii*, also called *pilani*, are armed not with the *pilum* but with the *hasta*.

[2] This is the estimated number.

[3] The following table will make it clear:

Hastati 10 *manipuli* each 120 men = 20 centuriæ each 60 men = 1200.
Principes 10 *manipuli* each 120 men = 20 centuriæ each 60 men = 1200.
Triarii 10 *manipuli* each 60 men = 20 centuriæ each 30 men = 600.
Velites = 1200; 20 velites assigned to each centuria.
Equites = 300, divided into 10 *turmæ* each 30 men; each *turma* had 3 *decuriones*, one of which commanded the whole *turma*, 3 *optiones* and one *vexillum*.

[4] These must be distinguished from the auxiliaries who enlisted in the country where the war happened to be carried on, as occasion required. When the Italian *socii* received the franchise, the army was composed of only two classes, Romans and auxiliaries.

[5] One-third of the cavalry and one-fifth of the infantry were selected as an *elite* corps called *extraordinarii*; the others were called *ordinarii*. To a consular army of two legions or 8400 men, there were assigned 10,000 *socii*, (*i.e.*, 8400 *ordinarii* and 1600 *extraordinarii*.) The *ordinarii*, subdivided into cohorts, were stationed one-half or ten cohorts of 420 men each, on each wing (*ala*); there were four cohorts of 400 men each of *extraordinarii*; each cohort was commanded by a *præfectus cohortis*, and each *ala* by *præfecti sociorum*.

broken. The light troops (*velites*) were armed with the javelin; they began the battle in front of the line, but retired as soon as they had discharged their weapons.

10. The Offensive and Defensive Weapons. — The *hastati, principes* and *triarii* wore a full suit of defensive armor[1] consisting of a bronze helmet,[2] surmounted by a crest composed of three scarlet or black feathers about one foot and a half high, a shield,[3] greaves[4] and breastplate.[5] The offensive weapons were a sword, javelins, and since the second Punic war, the short Spanish sword. In the time of Polybius the *hastati* and *principes* were armed with the *pilum* and the *triarii* with the *hasta*, but at a later time all three lines were armed with the *pilum*.[6] The light troops had no breastplate, but were furnished with a strong circular shield,[7] a headpiece of leather, light javelins[8] and the Spanish sword.[9] Each legion had six superior officers called military tribunes,[10] two of whom commanded for two months alternating from day to day. For the command of the allies the consul nominated twelve officers called *præfecti sociorum*.

11. The Second Period.—Hitherto the military system had rested on the principle that military service was due from those citizens that possessed property. The increase of the city rabble, which naturally looked to the military service as a means of bettering their condition, the increasing disinclination of the citizens to enter the army, and the consequent enlistments from the subjects, led first to a reduction of the census

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[1] πανοπλία. [2] *Galea.* [3] *Scutum.* [4] *Ocreæ.*

[5] *Lorica;* the first class wore sometimes the *lorica hamata.*

[6] This was a wooden shaft either square or round, four and one-half feet long, with an iron head of about the same length.

[7] *Parma.* [8] *Hastæ velitares.*

[9] In the second Punic war the Romans began to make use of *sagittarii* and *funditores* to oppose the Balearic archers and slingers employed by Hannibal. These consisted of foreign mercenaries, Numidians, Mauritanians, Cretans, etc., or of allies.

[10] *Tribuni militum.* At first the consul nominated for the four legions, which it was customary to raise the twenty-four military tribunes; but since B. C. 362, six; since B. C. 311, sixteen; and since B. C. 257, all the twenty-four tribunes were elected by the people in the *comitia tributa.* While the people continued to elect the tribunes for the first four legions, the consul, as the army became larger, nominated the others; hence the distinction *tribuni militum a populo* and *tribuni militum Rufuli* (Livy, vii., 5), so called in honor of Rutilius Rufus.

qualification from 11000 asses to 4000,[1] and finally under Marius this was abolished altogether, and the legion was recruited from all classes of Roman citizens, without distinction of property. When the Italians were admitted to full citizenship, enlistments were carried on for the army throughout Italy as in

SLINGER. LEGIONARY. LICTOR. KNIGHT.

Rome. From this time the army consisted of two classes, the legionaries and the auxiliaries[2] of the provincials, and of the allied kings and peoples.

12. The Legion in the Time of Marius.—Formerly every citizen whose fortune exceeded 4000 asses was subject to military service, and could be called upon to serve twenty campaigns in the infantry, or ten in the cavalry. From the time of Marius, the soldier, after his enlistment, remained constantly with the

[1] After the *capiti censi* were admitted to military service, other changes occurred. In the Social war freedmen were enlisted who had formerly served in the fleet only; in the civil wars legions were enlisted in the provinces, *legiones vernaculæ*, and finally gladiators and slaves were equipped as soldiers, which only once before had been done, and that after the battle of Cannæ.

[2] *Auxilia.*

army for twenty years, unless exceptionally discharged. The four old divisions, *hastati, principes, triarii,* and *velites* were given up, and every one admitted to the legion was assigned a place at the discretion of the officer. The legion consisted of ten cohorts of 600 men each, drawn up sometimes in one line,[1] usually, however, in three. The whole legion was equipped alike. There was only one standard, those of the old legion being superseded by the silver eagle, carried by the first century of the first cohort. The place of the *velites* was supplied by foreign mercenaries—as the slingers[2] from the Balearic islands, the bowmen[3] from Crete, and the javelin men[4] from Mauritania—and other light armed auxiliaries. The general had a body-guard—the prætorian cohort of about 500 volunteers—which received higher pay and were exempt from encamping and intrenching service. The cavalry was recruited almost entirely from the provincials, from the Gauls, Spaniards, Thracians, Numidians and also German mercenaries. It was divided into *turmæ* and *decuriæ,* and was commanded by *præfecti alarum;* the few Roman *equites* present with the legion acted as aides-de-camp to the general, or in some other post of special honor. In addition to these must be reckoned the auxiliary troops, which also consisted of infantry and cavalry. The number was not fixed, but varied as occasion required. They were divided into cohorts, but in regard to the manner in which they were commanded and organized, the original authorities have not left sufficient information.

13. The Legion in the Time of Cæsar.—Nothing was done by Cæsar in regard to the army further than improving its discipline, appointing adjutants and enacting that three years' service in the cavalry and six in the infantry were necessary in order to hold a municipal office before the age of thirty. There are no means of determining the normal number in a legion in the time of Cæsar. It is estimated at about 5000.[5]

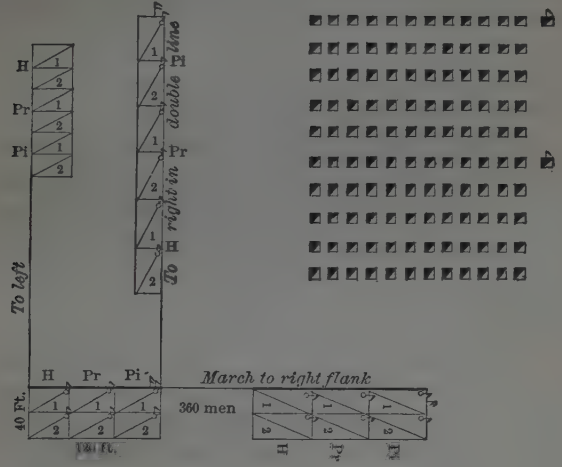
[1] This was the usual order of battle with the Cimbri; the arrangement of the army in one (*acies simplex*), two (*acies duplex*), or three lines (*acies triplex*) as occasion required, was customary.

[2] *Funditores.* [3] *Sagittarii.* [4] *Jaculatores.*

[5] Göler (Er. ü. das röm. Kriegswesen, p. 43), and Lange, p. 18, estimate it at 5100, viz.: 10 cohorts of 480 men each and 300 *antisignani.*

The actual number in field service was usually very much less. According to Rüstow,[1] the legion was divided into ten cohorts of 300 to 360 men each ; each cohort into three maniples of 100 to 120 men each ; each maniple into two centuries of 50 or 60 men each = 3000 or 3600 men in a legion. The officers were military tribunes and centurions as formerly.

14. Order of Battle.—When in order of battle, the three maniples in a cohort formed a line in the following order from right to left, *pilani, principes, hastati ;* the centuries in a maniple were arranged behind each other, 12 men in the front line and 10 deep, viz. :



The order of the cohorts in the legion[2] was as in the following figure.[3] This was the usual order of battle.[4] If there were six legions, 24 cohorts formed the first line, 18 the

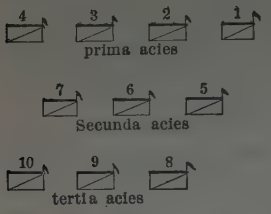
[1] Heerswesen u. Kreigs f. p. 3 ff.

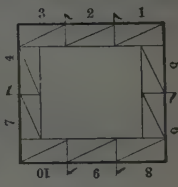
[2] Offensive.

[3] In front the legion extended 840 feet, in depth about 600 feet. The interval between the two lines was 250 feet ; between the cohorts in the front line about 120 feet. See p. 374.

[4] *Acies triplex :* Göler (Die Kämpfe bei Dyrrachium u. Pharsalus, p. 123 ff) thinks that Cæsar arranged his army in line of battle either in three corps or divisions (*acies triplex*) beside each other, or in two corps (*acies duplex*), or in one (*acies simplex*), but the divisions or corps were always beside each other in one line.

second, and 18 the third, the latter being regarded as the reserve.[1] The cavalry, divided into *turmæ* and commanded by a *decurio*, was generally stationed on both wings; sometimes, as at Pharsalus, wholly on one; and occasionally, as at Bibracte, behind the legion. The defensive order of the legion when not in one line, was as in the following figure.[2]





15. The Pay of the Army.—We have already mentioned that the infantry received regular pay from the state after the beginning of the siege of Veji in B. C. 406.[3] The cost of the clothes, weapons, and rations furnished by the state was deducted from the pay. In the time of Polybius the pay of a legionary was $\frac{1}{3}$ of a *denarius* or $3\frac{1}{3}$ asses, or about seven cents per day; that of a centurion twice as much, and that of an *eques*, one *denarius* or about 20 cents.[4] Cæsar[5] fixed the annual pay at 225 denarii equal to about $37 for each soldier, payable in three installments of 75 denarii each.[6] The pay remained as fixed by Cæsar until the time of Domitian.[7]

16. The Equipments.—The equipment of the Roman soldier was very burdensome. Although wagons were provided for the baggage, tents, instruments for grinding corn, etc., still each soldier had to carry in addition to his shield, helmet and breastplate, a pilum, a sword, corn for seventeen

[1] Sometimes the legion was formed in one line (*acies simplex*), sometimes two (*acies duplex*), and occasionally four (*acies quadruplex*).

[2] *Orbis*. This is Rüstow's explanation. Rösh and Marquardt think the men that were in the orbis did not form a hollow square, but stood in a dense mass; the orbis in the line of battle was the same as the *agmen quadratum* on the line of march.

[3] Previous to this time the *equites* had received a sum (*aes equestre*) to purchase and keep (*aes hordearium*) their horses; but the support of the infantry was borne by the tribes. What the pay was at this time is a matter of conjecture. Mommsen (Röm. Tribus, p. 43) sets it at 200 asses or pounds of copper yearly = 1200 sextans for ten months.

[4] For 300 days this amounts to 120 denarii, or to 1200 asses for the soldier, 2400 for the centurion, and 3600 for the *eques*. It is not known when this law came into operation; in B. C. 217 the *as* was reduced to a uncia, making 16 asses to a *denarius*, instead of 10 as formerly; reckoned in uncial asses, the pay was 1920 asses, or $5\frac{1}{3}$ daily.

[5] Suet. Caes., 26.

[6] A day laborer earned in Rome at this time $\frac{3}{4}$ of a *denarius* per day, and if we reckon 300 working days, he earned about the same as a soldier.

[7] See p. 457, n. 3.

days, sometimes for a month, one or more stakes for forming the palisade of the camp, and intrenching tools.[1]

17. The System of Encampment.—About the time that the manipular legion took the place of the phalanx, a regular system of intrenching the camp was developed. The place where the army encamped, even for a single night, was selected with care; it must be easily defensible and accessible to wood and water, and provided with a regular system of fortifications. The system of encampment varied considerably at different times, and as its most essential features are important for all who wish to understand the most common descriptions of the movements of the army, we shall consider it under three periods, viz.: I. In the days of the republic. II. In the time of Cæsar. III. Under the empire.

18. First Period.—Polybius has given a description of the Roman camp in the time of the republic, for a consular army of two legions and the contingent from the allies, amounting to about 18000 infantry and 2400 cavalry.[2] The situation for encamping was generally selected by a tribune,[3] and several centurions detailed for the purpose. The front side[4] of the camp was turned, according to Polybius, in that direction where wood and water could be most easily obtained. After a general survey of the ground, a spot was selected which would afford a good view of the whole camp; this was called the prætorium, or tent of the consul.[5] It was in the form of a square, each side of which was 50 Roman feet. The whole camp was laid out in a square of 2150[6] Roman feet. For fortifications, a ditch was dug inside and a mound raised, and other defences were constructed that are not fully described by Poly-

[1] Some of the soldiers, if not all, carried intrenching tools—saws and baskets, etc., (*Josephus* iii., 5, § 5); the whole amounted, according to Vegetius (i., 19), to 60 Roman pounds = about 45 pounds avoirdupois.

[2] If we estimate the legion at 4200.

[3] It was not until a later time that the place was selected by *castrorum metatores*.

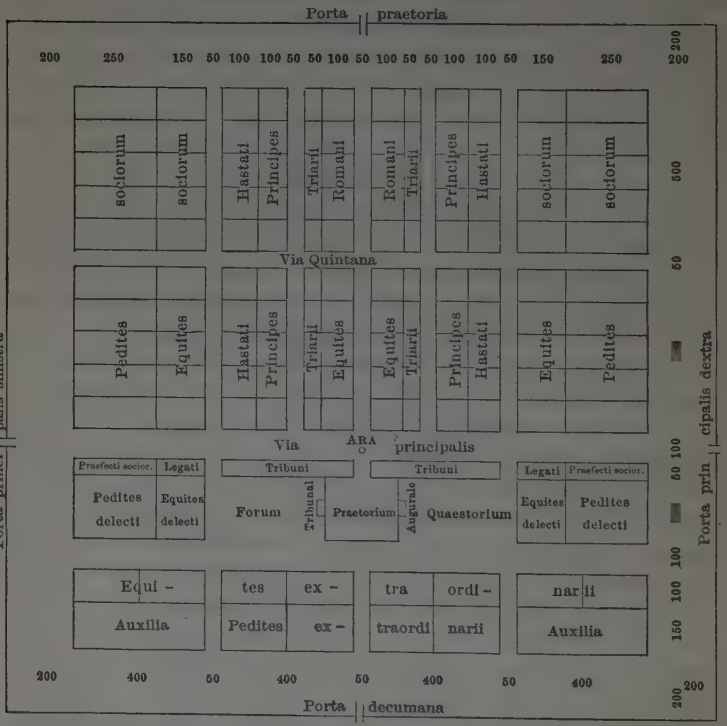
[4] According to Hyginus, who left a description of the camp in the time of Trajan, the front side was turned towards the enemy. Differences of opinion prevail in regard to the side on which the *porta prætoria* was, but Nissen seems to have satisfactorily proved that the front side contained the *porta prætoria*. Marquardt (Rom. Staats., p. 401) has accepted this view; on the opposite side was the *porta decumana*.

[5] So called from prætor, the original designation of the chief commander.

[6] This is the distance as estimated by Nissen, and it has been accepted by Marquardt (l. c. p. 402); formerly the distance was estimated at 2017 Roman feet.

bius. Parallel with the front side of the prætorium and extending 50 feet from it, were the tents of the tribunes. In front of these, running from side to side, was one of the two chief roads, the *via principalis* or *principia*, 100 feet wide, which divided

THE CAMP AS DESCRIBED BY POLYBIUS



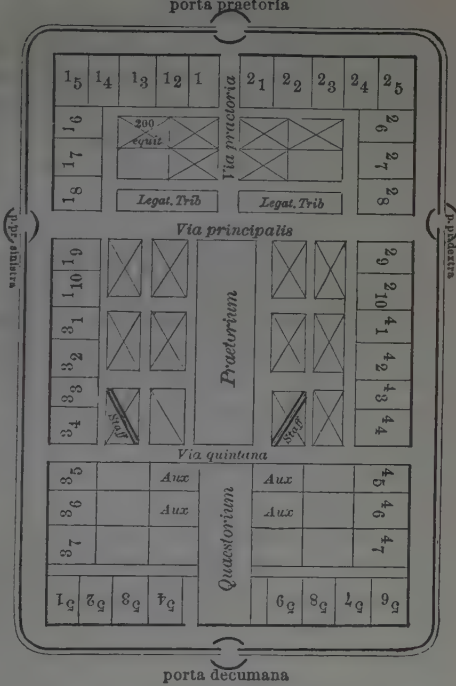
the camp into two nearly equal parts.[1] In the front half were the two legions and the contingent from the allies. It will be noticed from the annexed plan that there were four gates defended by barriers and towers, two principal streets, and that a clear space[2] between the ramparts and the tents of 200

[1] From a point in front of the *prætorium* determined by the *groma*, a road 50 feet wide was made, running to the two principal *portæ*.

[2] *Intervallum*.

feet was left to facilitate the marching in and out of the soldiers. The space that the legions and contingents of the allies occupied, the position of the other streets, and all the most important details pertaining to the camp, can be understood at a glance from the plan.[1]

PLAN OF
CAESAR'S CAMP



19. The Guard of the Camp.—The *velites* bivouacked outside of the camp and kept guard by night and day along the ramparts and before the gates. Besides these, guards were selected from the *hastati* and *principes*, for day[2] and night[3] service. Four maniples took charge of the wide street, *via principalis*, while the remaining thirty-six maniples were assigned to the twelve tribunes to pitch and remove their tents, and to keep watch before the same. The watchword, inscribed on small tablets[4] of wood, was given by the general. The signal for breaking up the camp, striking the tents and packing the baggage, was given by the *primi pili* by means of a trumpet.[5]

[1] On the front side of the *prætorium* was the *ara* where the commander sacrificed, on the left side the *contiones* were held, and the tribunal was there from which the general addressed the troops, pronounced decisions, etc. The *augurale* was used only for *auspicia ex tripudiis* (see p. 38, n. 2, and p.); see plan, p. 377.

[2] *Excubiæ.* [3] *Vigiliæ.* [4] *Tessera.* [5] *Bucina.*

20. The Camp in the Time of Cæsar.[1]—Very essential alterations took place in the camp after the Social war when full citizenship was conferred upon the Italian allies. Although sufficient material from any of the old authorities is not at hand for a full description of the camp at this time, yet Rüstow's investigations have satisfactorily determined its main features. The form of the camp[2] was oblong, the corners being rounded off, the length being to the width as 3 to 2. The space between the ramparts and the tents was only 120 feet. The camp was divided into three equal parts by the two main streets, *via principalis* and *via quintana*. In the first part[3] was encamped next to the ramparts about one-fourth or one-fifth of all the cohorts. Between these on either side of the *via prætoria* were the spaces for the *legati* and the tribunes, one fourth of the cavalry and one-half of the artillery. In the central part[4] were encamped one-fifth of all the cohorts, all the staff officers except the *legati* and tribunes, the prætorian cohorts and one-half of the cavalry. Here were also the altar[5] for worship and the tribunal. In the back part,[6] on either side of the *quæstorium*, were the rest of the cohorts, about half of the whole number, and also the foreign ambassadors, prisoners and hostages. The situation of the legions and of the different cohorts and all the most important details can be understood at once from the plan given on the preceding page.[7]

21. The Tents of the Cohort.—In the camp each cohort had a space of 120 feet front by 180 deep. One-sixth of this (30 feet deep and 120 front) was for each century.[8] From the front, twelve feet were taken for the street, leaving eighty feet for the eight tents (six for the soldiers, one for the centurions, and one for the servants), and twenty-eight feet for the seven intervals between the tents. Of the thirty feet in depth for each century, six feet were used for the street,

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[1] See plan, p. 377.

[2] *Castra æstiva.*

[3] *Prætentura.*

[4] *Latera prætorii.*

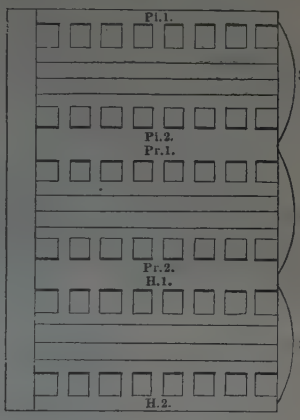
[5] *Ara.*

[6] *Retentura.*

[7] The sides of the camp varied according to the number of cohorts; the length of the front side can be obtained from the following formula: $s = 200\ \sqrt{a}$; a being the number of cohorts; the length $= \frac{3}{2}s$.

[8] There were six centuries in each cohort, divided into three manipuli, viz.: *pilani*, *principes* and *hastati*.

ten for the tents, five for the arms, and nine for the animals. This will be understood from the following plan:



22. The Camp in the Time of the Empire. — Under the empire the army became a permanent organization and the number of legions was largely increased. Under Augustus there were twenty-five,[1] under Septimius Severus thirty-three, and after the admission of the barbarians into the army, the number increased enormously, while the strength of each legion decreased.[2] The chief authorities for this period are Hyginus and Vegetinus, the former of whom describes the system of encampment, and the latter, the organization of the army. Josephus, the Jewish historian, carefully observed the Roman encampments, and gives many details that form a useful supplement to Hyginus.[3]

23. Military Engines.—It only remains to add a few words in regard to the military engines[4] used by the Romans. The Romans made but little advancement in this method of warfare until their acquaintance with the Greeks. In besieging a town,[5] the chief difficulties to contend with were the trenches and walls.[6] The trenches had to be filled up before

[1] The first information we have in regard to the army of Augustus is from Tacitus (Ann. iv., 5), in the year A.D. 23, when there were twenty-five (see p. 429); Mommsen (*Res gestæ Divi Augusti*, p. 49) thinks that Augustus retained after the peace only eighteen legions; see p. 429.

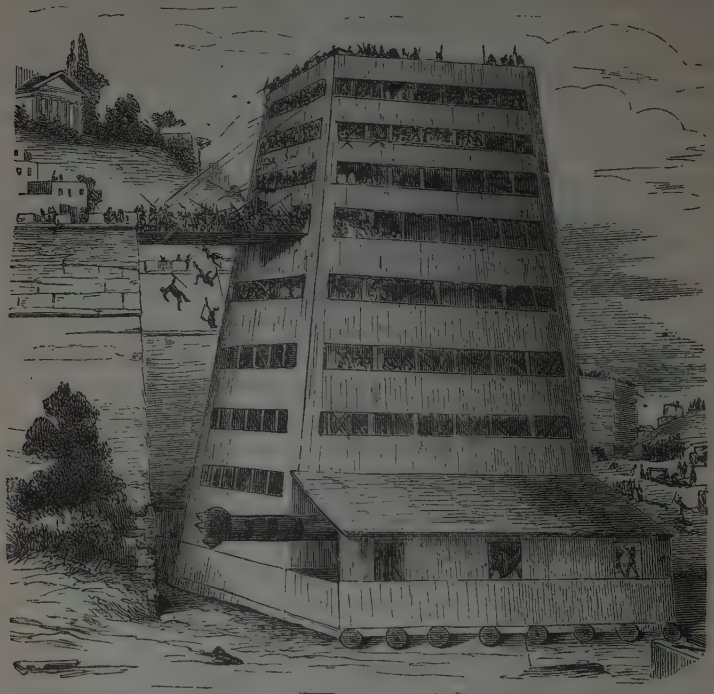
[2] In the fifth century there were 175 legions; each legion was decreased on account of sickness, desertion and dismissals. Zosimus (v. 45) mentions five legions that numbered only 6,000 men in all.

[3] The organization of the army under Diocletian and Constantine was too complex to be entered into here; for a description of the Roman camp as given by Hyginus, the pupil is referred to the classical dictionary. The teacher will find the most reliable information in regard to the army and camp in Marquardt's Staatverwaltung, p. 429 ff.

[4] *Tormenta.* [5] *Obsidio.*

[6] If the town was small and accessible on all sides and the besieging army large, the town was assaulted (*urbem oppugnare*). A ring of soldiers was drawn around the walls (*oppidum corona cingere*), a part of whom discharged their missiles upon those manning the walls, while the others advanced, protected by their shields joined above their heads so as to form a covering like the shell of the tortoise (*testudo*), to plant scaling ladders (*scalæ*) and to burst in the gates.

the walls could be attacked. This was done with fascines and earth. Then the wooden besieging towers and battering rams were pushed forward. On the different stories of these towers, which were higher than the walls, were placed soldiers armed with missiles to clear the walls or to cross to them by means of the drawbridges. The long beams of the battering



Besieging Tower.

rams[1] with iron heads, suspended under a roof[2] were then swung backwards and forwards to make a breach in the walls. These engines were supported by the artillery, the catapults and *ballistæ*, the former of which projected darts, and the latter hurled stones or balls against the besieged.

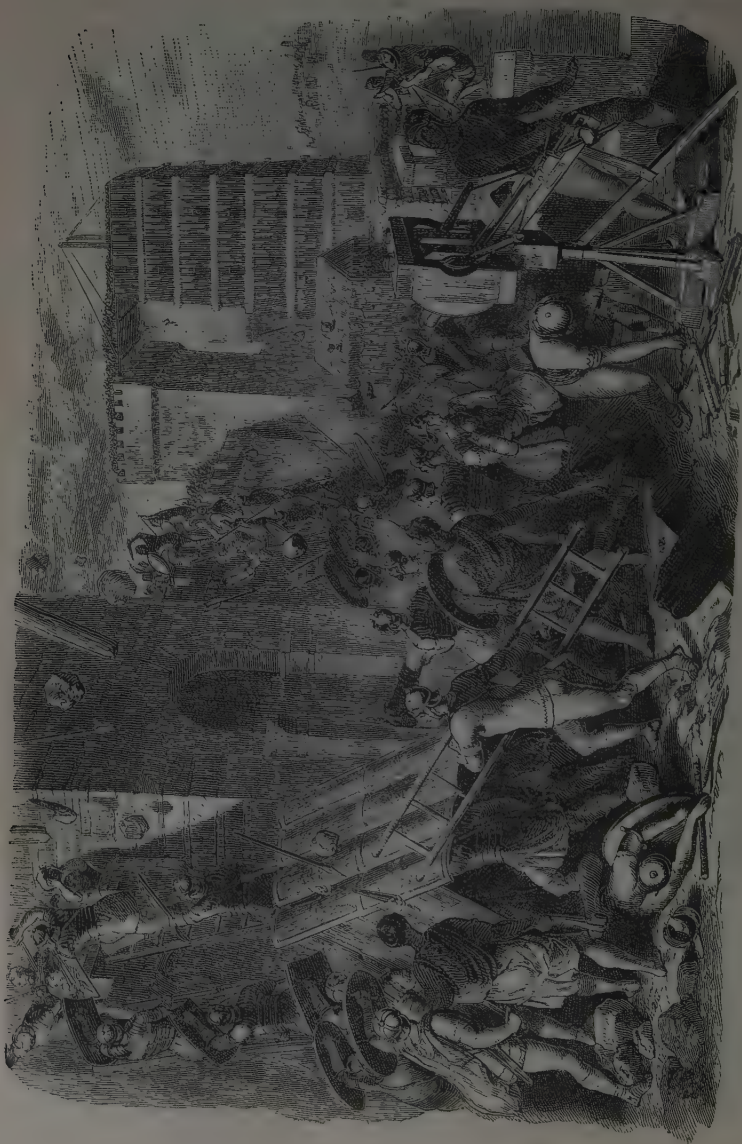
[1] *Aries.*

[2] *Vinea.*

CATAPULTA.

24. Manner of Besieging a City.—In besieging a city the battering ram was generally brought up to destroy the lower part of the wall, the *ballistæ* to overthrow the battle-

BALLISTÆ.



Scaling Ladders. Testudo. Besieging Tower. Catapulta Vinea, or Testudo Arietaria. Ballista.

ments,[1] and the catapults to shoot the besieged. In order to protect the soldiers who were engaged in filling up the ditch or working the engines of war,[2] from the missiles of the besieged, a large number of wooden sheds[3] with strong roofs covered with hides or other incombustible material and open at both ends, but protected at the sides and placed on rollers, were pushed forward. In order to annoy the defenders a mound of earth[4] was thrown up, and as it advanced to the points selected for attack it was raised in elevation to equal that of the walls. On this mound the towers[5] were constructed, from the successive stories of which the archers hurled their weapons on the besieged. Sometimes mines, supported by beams, were dug under the fortifications.

24. Manner of Defence.—In defence the besieged dug counter mines, burned the beams that the walls might give way, hurled from the walls of the town darts, stones and fire, threw the besieging ladders back with forks,[6] or seized those on them by means of tongs,[7] and drew them within the walls with cranes.[8] To divert the action of the battering-ram, large stones were lowered by ropes, pinchers were used to catch hold of it, or sand-bags were let down to neutralize its force.[9]

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[1] *Propugnacula.*

[2] Such as the artillery already mentioned, and *falces murales*, for loosening the stones in the wall; *terebræ*, for boring into the wall; *dolabræ* (known to antiquarians under the name of 'celts' from the old Latin word *celtes*, a chisel); axes for removing stones in the walls.

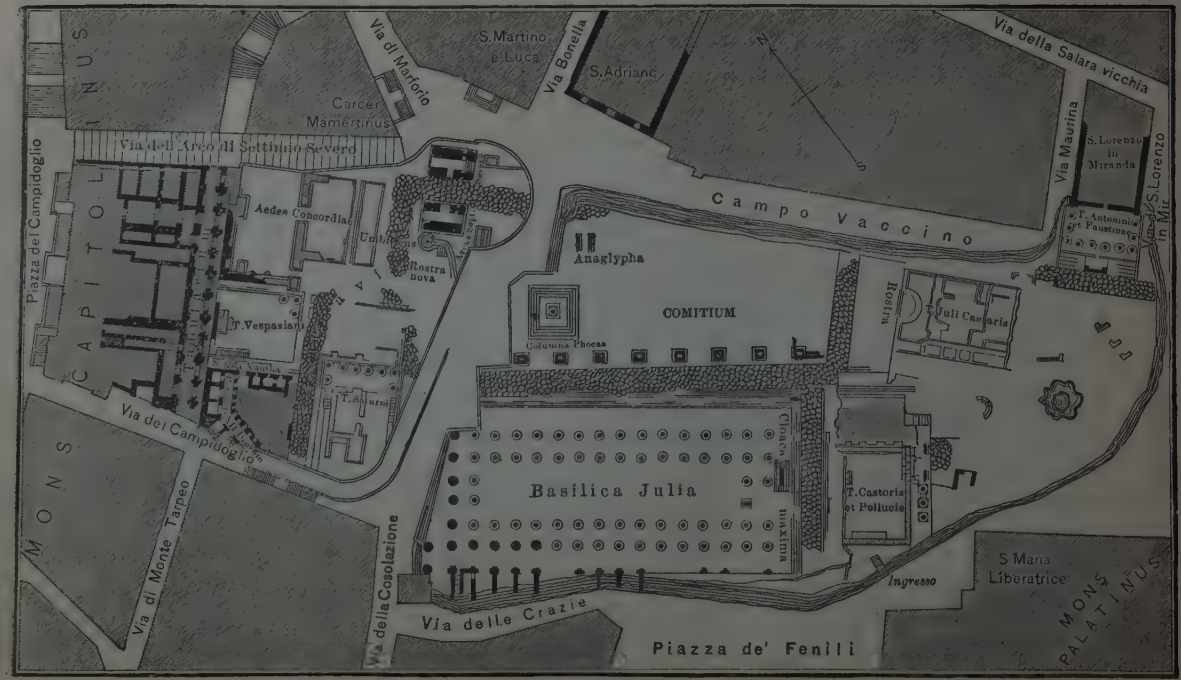
[3] Called, according to their form, *vineæ*, *testudines* as all these sheds with roofs were called, or in special cases *testudo arietaria*, *plutei* (sheds), *musculi*, wooden sheds covered with roofs, which were pushed against the wall to protect the sappers who are employed in undermining the wall.

[4] *Agger.* [5] *Turres.* [6] *Furcæ.* [7] *Forfex lupus.*

[8] For the manner of besieging a city in the time of Cæsar, see Gallic war, vii., 69.

[9] A catapult weighed from 80 to 600 pounds, and cost 480 drachmæ, about $100. The ballista weighed between 50 and 200 cwt. and cost sometimes as much as 2000 drachmæ = $400. Three sizes of the ballista are mentioned by historians, viz., those that threw stones weighing from 2 to 50 pounds (Vitr. x., 11), from 50 to 100, and from 100 to even 360 pounds (Diod. xx., 48). The range of a ballista was from 375 to 1000 paces. The besieging tower or walking tower (*turris ambulatoria*) was often of immense size, the smallest having, according to Diades, a height of 90 feet by a base of 25½ square, and containing 10 stories connected to one another by steps. The highest story or upper platform, covered with a roof, was the place for the light artillery, while the water and various contrivances for extinguishing flames were kept in the bottom story. A drawbridge (*pons*) was constructed from the tower to the walls of the city. The Romans first learnt the use of the ballistæ at the siege of Syracuse, when Archimedes, by means of these machines, hurled stones weighing 1200 pounds upon the vessels of the Romans lying in the harbor. Not many of these engines were used by the Romans until the time of the empire. When a standing army was established a certain amount of artillery was attached to each legion (Tac. Hist. iii., 23, 29).

PLAN OF THE ROMAN FORUM IN ITS PRESENT CONDITION (1878)



Length of forum, 672 English ft.; breadth at northern end, 204 ft.; at southern end, 108 ft.

CHAPTER LVI.

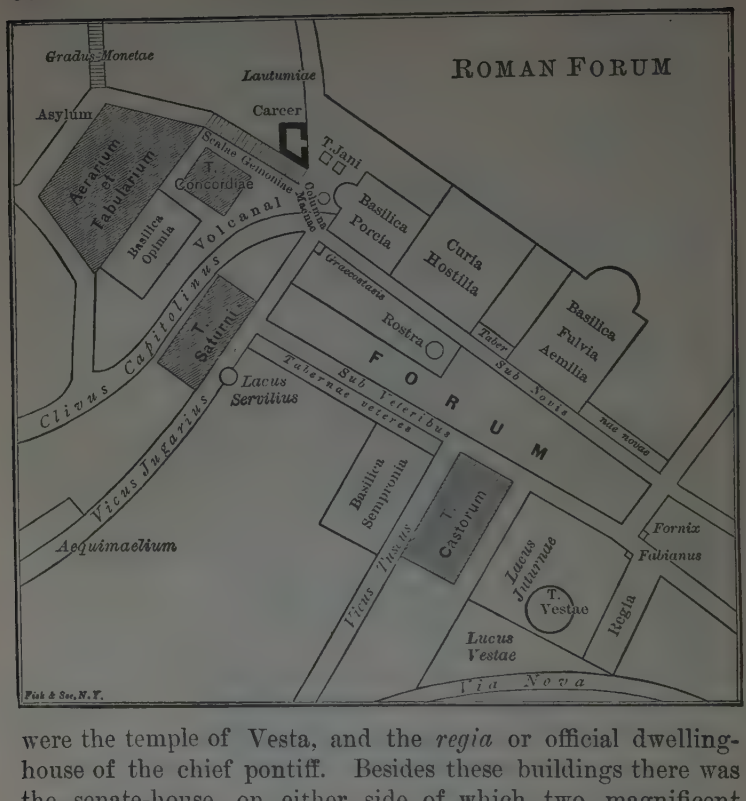
MANNERS AND CUSTOMS; EDUCATION; PRIVATE AND DOMESTIC LIFE.

1. The Streets; Public Buildings; the Forum.—As the Romans advanced in refinement, culture and wealth, they gradually relaxed their old austerity and simplicity. After Rome had outgrown the other Latin towns and become the capital of Italy, the narrow and irregular streets,[1] often overhung and darkened by wooden dwelling-houses, to which story after story had been added, as the population of the city increased, seemed mean and insufficient. Gradually, however, the ædiles paved the streets, and after the Gallic conflagration, public buildings of considerable splendor were constructed. Still, Rome remained even to the end of the republic, a net-work of crooked, narrow lanes, along which shops and houses of poor and mean appearance were constructed. There were not more than two streets in Rome suitable for heavy carriages to pass in, and in the others the litters of the wealthy struggled to force their way through the dense crowd. The butchers' shops in the forum gave place to the beautiful porticoes, where silversmiths and bankers carried on their business. Various works of art[2] were also erected in the forum, most of them being the spoils from Etruria[3] and the Greek cities in Southern Italy or in the provinces. Here also

[1] It was on account of the narrowness of the streets and not, as the Roman poets tell us, to restrain luxury, that no one except the vestal virgins and the Roman matrons was allowed to drive in a carriage in the city.

[2] As the statue of Attus Navius, that of Horatius, of Cocles, of Cloelia, of Brutus, a bronze figure of the suckling she-wolf (still preserved in the Capitoline museum); it is in Etruscan style and possibly the same which the ædiles Gnæus and Quintius Ogulnius erected in B. C. 296. Here were also the *Ficus Ruminalis*, the sacred fig tree, a statue of Marsyas, and the ancient statues of the Sibyls.

[3] When Volsinii was captured, 2000 statues were taken to Rome.—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* xxxiv., 7, 16.



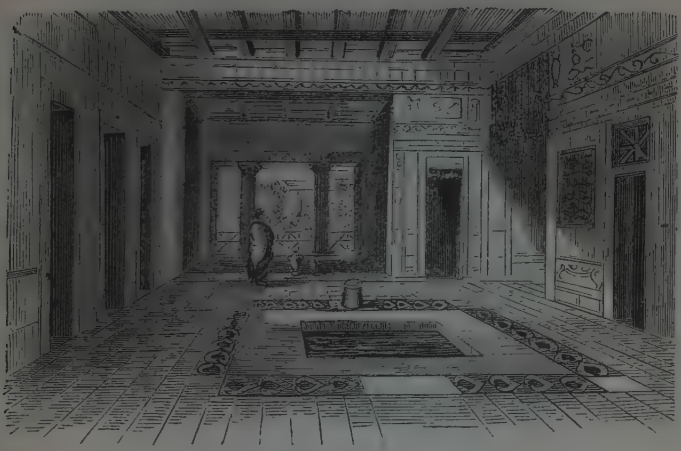
were the temple of Vesta, and the *regia* or official dwelling-house of the chief pontiff. Besides these buildings there was the senate-house, on either side of which two magnificent basilicæ[2] were constructed. On the south side was the famous

[1] The Volcanal was a space dedicated to Vulcanus; the *græcostasis* was a raised platform on which foreign ambassadors stood while waiting to be admitted to the senate. The forum on both sides was lined with shops (*tabernæ*). The row on the south side was erected first and was therefore called *veteres tabernæ*; those on the north side, *novæ tabernæ*. The *Fornix Fabianus* was an arch erected to Q. Fabius Maximus. The *rostra* was the elevated platform from which people were addressed (so-called because it was adorned with the beaks of the ships taken from the Antiates (B. C. 338). On the slope of the Capitoline hill towards the forum was said to be the spot where Romulus formed his *asylum*. The *columna Mœnia* was said to be so called because Mœnius, when he sold his property for the *basilica Porcia* (this, erected in B.C. 184, was the first basilica), reserved one column from which he and his descendants could see the gladiatorial games. At a later time the courts (*triumviri capitales*) were held here. Near the prison were the *scalæ Gemoniæ* on which the bodies of criminals who had been put to death were exposed; for a notice of the other buildings and localties, see p. 416.

[2] These were covered porticoes in which persons met to transact business; in these the courts of law sat; many of them were converted into churches in the time of Constantine (see p. 501 n. 6).

temple of Castor and Pollux, while under the Capitoline hill were the temples of Saturn and Concord,[1] and the *tabularium* or record office, where the state papers were kept. Towering above all and overlooking the forum was the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline hill, with its summit decorated with the four-horse chariot brought from Etruria.

2. Roman Houses.—For many centuries the houses of the Romans were poor, one story high, and without chimneys, the



THE ATRIUM.

smoke escaping through the doors, windows[2] or the opening[3] in the atrium,[4] which was covered with straw, shingles, or unbaked clay. The interior of the house consisted of the *atrium* only, in which was the household altar, the marriage-bed, the table for meals and the hearth. Here, in the olden time, stood the images of the ancestors, though this custom lost its significance and became obsolete, when many whose ancestors had held no curule office, became wealthy, assumed high-sounding names, and lived in magnificent edifices. As wealth began to

[1] See p. 213.
[2] These were mere openings through the walls closed by shutters; later, windows of transparent stone were made, and under the empire, glass was used.
[3] *Impluvium.*
[4] That is, the "blackened" chamber.

flow into Rome from the provinces, houses[1] of great splendor were erected, and finally, when the Romans began to vie with

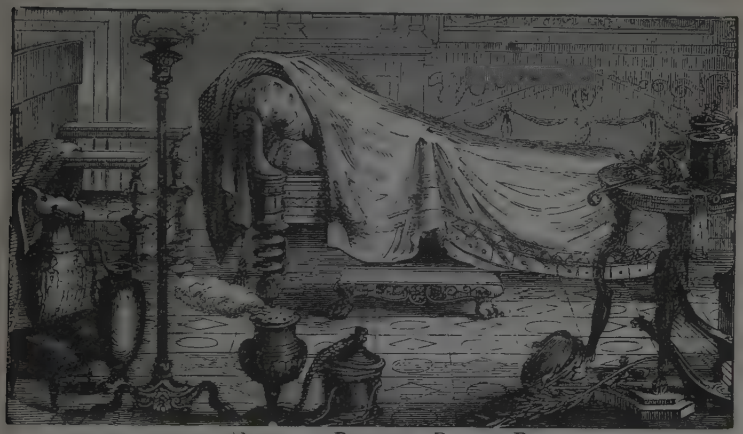
THE VESTIBULE.[2]
(The House of Pansa.)

each other in displaying the spoils that their rapacity had wrung from the provincials, marble palaces arose, adorned

[1] The Roman of wealth occupied the whole of his house; others rented, according to their means, either a whole house or a flat of some large *insula*, the name by which all hired houses went. The poorer classes took a small rent in an upper story. Sulla paid for the ground floor of a house in the capital a rent of 3000 sesterces a year, and the tenant of the upper story, 2000. We learn from Cicero (p. Cæl., c. 7), that lodgings rented as high as 30,000 sesterces ($1200). Cælius paid only 10,000. The usual time for moving was the Kalends of July.

[2] Or *prothyrum*, according to the description of Vitruvius, vi., 86, the vestibule is an open place before the house; but in the excavations at Pompeji, in no instance has a house been found with a vestibulum before it. Beyond the vestibulum is the *atrium*, the roof of which is supported by beams crossing each other at right angles (*i. e.*, *tusca*

with marble columns[1] and decorated in the most costly manner. The pavements were often inlaid with mosaics, and at the entrance of the house was carved the word *salve*, "welcome," though sometimes the less friendly greeting *cave canem*, "beware of the dog," is found. Separate rooms were afterwards set apart for cooking, for banquets, for the domestics, and also for a private chapel for the worship of the gods, while the *atrium* in the houses of the great was used solely for the reception of



ROOM OF A PERSON OF RANK IN ROME.

clients and friends who came to pay their respects or to seek help or legal advice, or to learn their patron's plans for the day.

3. Furniture.—The rooms in the houses of the wealthy were often furnished with great splendor and magnificence. Expensive cedar-tables, veneered with ivory; dinner couches of bronze, richly adorned with silver and gold, and often inlaid with tortoise-shell; seats of cedar-wood and ivory; the magnificent candelabra, the elegant lampadaria, and lamps of various patterns; vases, costly mirrors, urns, incense-burners,[2] and costly

nium). The roof is supported by four pillars, one at each corner of the *impluvium*. The roof slopes so as to conduct the water into the *compluvium* (reservoir). Beyond the *impluvium* is the altar, where the penates were worshipped. The *tablinum*, with its pavement of mosaic, leads to the *peristylum*, where the most intimate friends were received. The *triclinium* is in the rear and to the right of the *peristylum*.

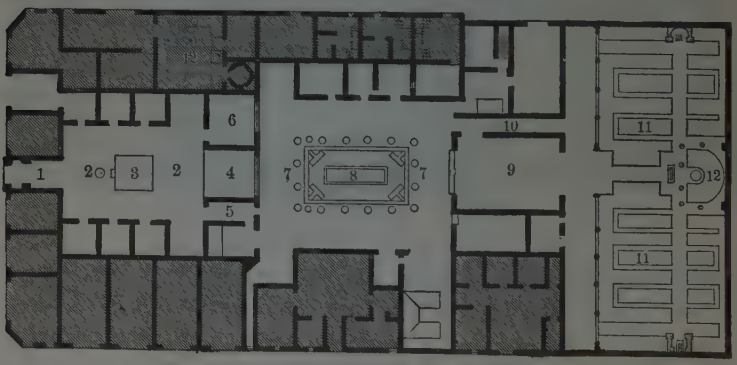
[1] Marble columns were first used by L. Crassus.

[2] *Foculi*.

goblets, many colored carpets from Babylon and Alexandria, beautiful chairs,[1] and hundreds of other objects, filled the magnificent palaces and villas of persons of wealth and distinction. The walls were usually brightly colored and adorned with frescoes—paintings from the stories of Grecian mythology, scenes from daily life, landscapes—some of which have been preserved almost in their original freshness. In the houses of persons of rank, the vestibule was ornamented with masterpieces of Grecian sculpture, the walls overlaid with costly foreign marble, and the doors and door-posts richly decorated with tortoise-shell and gold and silver.[2]

[1] The paintings at Pompeji show that the chairs used by the Romans were very various and many of them remarkably like ours. The general word for chair was *sella;* those that bore particular designations were the *solium*, with a back and arms, the legs often beautifully carved; the *cathedra*, or easy chair, with stuffed back, gently sloping, but without arms. The small foot-stools were called *scabella*.

[2] The principal parts of a Roman house will be understood from the following plan of the remains of a house (house of Pansa) found at Pompeji:

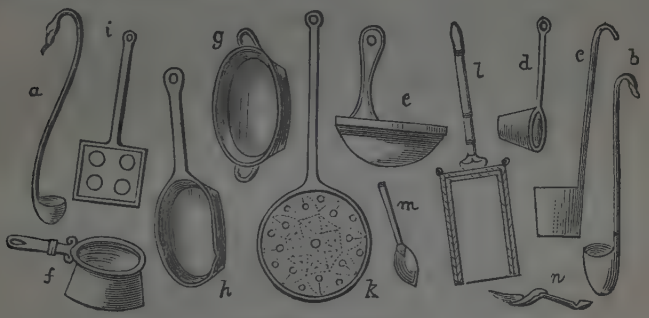


PLAN OF A ROMAN HOUSE.

The *ostium*, *janua* or *fores*,[3] the entrance, leads to the (1) *vestibulum*. In order to reconcile the description of a Roman house, as given by Vitruvius, with the remains found at Pompeji, we might consider the small space before the door as the *vestibulum*, and the remaining space before one enters the *atrium*, as the *prothyrum;* at the side of 1 was a small room (*cella*) for the porter (*janitor*) and the watch-dog; 2 is the spacious *atrium;* in the houses of the middle and poorer classes this was the sitting-room and kitchen; here were the bed and the instruments for spinning and weaving. In the houses of the wealthy, this was the reception-room for clients who came to ask their patron for advice or help, and visitors who came every morning to pay their respects or solicit favors. Here the images of the dead were exposed. In the roof there was an opening for the admission of light and escape of smoke. In later times, when whole troops of people crowded the houses of the rich and noble, the arrangement of the *atrium* was changed. The hearth and kitchen were removed to another part of the building, while the *lares* were placed in a

[3] *The doors did not move on hinges, but on pivots let into the lintel or stone sill; there were knockers on the doors; the door was fastened with a bolt or bar; inside doors by locks; the keys are of all sizes and often of peculiar shape.*

4. Method of Warming.—The houses were heated by means either of a fire-place [1] or of a portable furnace, many specimens of which have been found at Pompeji. Sometimes rooms were heated by hot air, introduced by pipes from a furnace below. Rooms intended for winter use were on the sunny side of the house, and as the climate was mild this enabled the occupants to dispense with artificial heat.



COOKING UTENSILS.

a, *b*, *c*, (*cyathi*), *trua* and *trulla*, ladles for drawing wine from deep casks: *e*, *d*, ladles for dipping water, gravy or soup; *f*, resembles our saucepan; *g*, a two-handled vessel for kitchen use; *h*, *sartago*, shaped like our pans; *i*, a pan for poaching eggs; *k*, a kind of metal sieve for straining wine; *l*, coal scoop; *m* and *n*, *cochlear*, *ligula*, spoon, one of which resembles a fork.

5. Cooking Utensils.—In early times the food was cooked in the *atrium*, but when this became the reception-

special chapel (*sacrarium*). In the floor of the *atrium* was a cistern (*compluvium*) for the rain water [2] which came through the opening in the top (*impluvium*). On the right were stairs leading to the second story where the rooms for the servants were; six side-rooms (*cubicula*) communicate with the *atrium* by doors; the two other rooms being without doors are called *alæ* or sidewings of the *atrium*. Here were rooms for guests and the family, the walls of which were often decorated with paintings and frescoes. 4 is the *tablinium*, a part of the *atrium*, where the archives (*tabulæ*) were. This was the original Roman house. When the *atrium* was used for visitors, other rooms were added; 5 was a passage, sometimes passages (*fauces*) to the *peristylium* (7), similar to the *atrium*, surrounded with marble (8) columns and intended for the master of the house and his friends; here was a fountain. Around the *peristylium* were the sleeping apartments (*cubiculæ*) of the family, and dressing rooms and alcoves. The large room to the right was the *triclinium* or the dining-hall, where the couches (*triclina*) were placed on three sides of the rooms, the other being left open for entrance. There were two sets of dining-rooms, one for summer and one for winter. In 9 the guests assembled (*œcus*). Larger entertainments were given in the *atrium*; 10 is a corridor communicating with the *œcus*. To the left of the corridor were the kitchen, and another room for washing the dishes; 11 is a garden with regularly shaped beds; 12 is an open hall. The house is surrounded on four sides by streets. Part of the façade and the right side are rooms used for various purposes, partly as shops and partly let to lodgers, and one connected with the *atrium* was sometimes used by the master for business.

[1] Foculi; the Romans had no proper stoves.

[2] *The roof sloped so as to throw the water into the cistern.*

room, the kitchen [1] was removed to another part of the house. In the houses of the rich, the grain was usually ground with hand-mills, while the middle classes bought their meal or bread at the bakery. Among the numerous cooking and household utensils may be mentioned stoves, knives and perhaps forks, strainers, frying-pans, vessels [2] for boiling water, kettles [3] for hanging over the fire and cooking food, sieves,[4] spoons,[5] ladles,[6] mortars,[7] coal-scoops, andirons, steelyards, and implements [8] for cleaning the walls, floor, ceiling, and furniture.

6. Method of Lighting.—Although the Romans displayed great ingenuity in constructing beautiful lamps from bronze and precious metals, still they were unable to devise any method to prevent the ornamented ceiling of their rooms from being blackened, and their breath oppressed by the smoke. Their oil-lamps [9] were without chimneys to consume the smoke, and were either suspended by chains from the ceiling or placed on a candelabrum.[10] The wicks were made of the tow taken from flax, and the instrument for trimming the wick was often attached to the lamp by a chain. Many very beautiful lamps of bronze and terra-cotta are still extant; they are usually of a long, or a round form, flat and without feet. On the upper part where the oil [11] was poured in, there are mythological designs in relief of great beauty.[12] The magnificent candelabra and lampadaria were the inventions of a later age.[13]

7. The Meals.—The Romans were at first exceedingly simple in their mode of living; but after the wars in the East, refined luxury displayed itself nowhere more prodigally than at the table. In early times a sort of hasty pudding made of

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[1] *Culina.* [2] *Miliarium.* [3] *Ahænium.* [4] *Cribrum.*
[5] *Cochlear.* [6] *Trullæ.* [7] *Pila.* [8] *Scopæ.* [9] *Lucernæ.*

[10] Candles (*candelæ*) either of wax (*cerea*) or of tallow (*sebacea*) were used before lamps were invented; the candelabrum was at first a candlestick, afterwards used to support lamps; the candelabra for candles were also called *funalia*; the poorer classes used those made of wood; they were sometimes constructed so that the lamps could be raised or lowered.

[11] Perfumed oil was often used.

[12] The name of the maker is often stamped on the bottom.

[13] The *lychnuchi* (*pensiles*) were like our chandeliers; the *lampadaria* were stems of trees, or pillars standing on a base from the top of which the lamps were suspended: see engraving, p. 389.

farina[1] with vegetables,[2] fruits,[3] and dairy produce, constituted the principal articles of food. The Romans had three meals each day—a light breakfast,[4] at noon a lunch,[5] and towards evening[6] came the dinner, which in the houses of the rich was often very bounteous and consisted of three courses. First[7] came fish, eggs, and various kinds of vegetables served with piquant sauces, intended to excite the appetite for the more substantial dishes which were to follow. Then came the courses[8] consisting of many dishes which it would be impossible to give a description of here. The favorite fish, which was the chief object of Roman epicurism, were the turbot,[9] the shell-fish,[10] oysters, and snails; the favorite poultry were peacocks, pheasants, pigeons, geese, field-fares,[11] ducks, and chickens. Among meats the greatest favorite was the tame and wild boar; this was generally the chief dish, and came whole on the table. The practised gourmand pretended to be able to tell by the taste from what part of Italy it came. These courses were followed by a dessert of pastry and fresh and dried fruits. The table was really the centre of the luxury of the Romans after the wealth of the East was placed at their disposal. Foreign delicacies and wines became then indispensable. In spite of the sumptuary laws, meddling with the private affairs of life,[12] which shallow moralists then as now advocated, the Romans displayed at their banquets their hosts of slaves,[13] their dancing girls, their rich furniture, their carpets glittering with gold, their antique bronzes, and their silver plate.[14]

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[1] The flour made from *far*, a kind of wheat.

[2] *Legumina.* [3] *Olera.*

[4] *Jentaculum;* consisting of bread, seasoned with salt, with dried grapes, olives and cheese. [5] *Prandium.*

[6] At the ninth hour = in summer, 1½ o'clock; in winter, 2½ o'clock. [7] *Gustus.*

[8] *Fercula: prima, altera, tertia cena.* [9] *Rhombus.*

[10] *Cochlæ, ostrea*, according to Pliny (N. H. xxxii, 6, 1) the *palma mensarum divitum.*

[11] *Turdus;* this was a great luxury; they were often sold, when fattened, for 3 *denarii* [nearly 40 cents] apiece.

[12] The expense of an ordinary meal was fixed in B. C. 161 at 10 sesterces (50 cents); in B. C. 81, at 30 sesterces; for the same period the expenses allowed at banquets were 100 and 300 sesterces.

[13] An exquisite cook cost 100,000 sesterces ($5,000), while an ordinary slave was worth only 100 sesterces.

[14] Scipio Æmilianus possessed 32 pounds of silver plate ($600); Q. Fabius (cos. B. C. 121), 1000 pounds ($20,000); Marcus Drusus (trib. plebs. B. C. 91), 10,000 pounds ($200,000); in the time of Sulla there were at Rome about 150 silver state dishes weighing 100 pounds each, several of which caused their owners to be placed on the proscription list.

8. Table Usages.—When eating, the Romans reclined on couches[1] which were placed on three sides of the room,[2] leaving the fourth free to give the slaves access to the table to arrange the dishes and also to hand round the meat and bread. Each couch held three, and the place of honor was on the middle one.[3] At a later time when round tables[4] came into use, the couches were changed for semicircular sofas. There were no table-cloths, but the tables themselves were often exquisite, being made of the finest polished[5] wood. Each guest brought with him a linen napkin[6] to fasten over his breast. Instead of knives[7] and forks, two spoons were used—the *cochlear* and *ligula*—both being pointed at the end. The food was served in a great variety of dishes, some round, flat, oval, and others hollow, with and without handles, which, as well as the different drinking vessels, it would be impossible to describe here.

9. The Roman Family.—The word family with the Romans signified everything which a freeman had under his control,[8] and included persons whether free or slaves as well as articles of property. The word, however, was generally restricted to the members of the household, at the head of which stood the *paterfamilias*. Every free man not under the control of another was considered a *paterfamilias*. Sons, although married and having children, were not released from the authority of their father[9] until his death. If we count all the members of a family, the children and grandchildren, the slaves and clients, the whole under the control of the *paterfamilias* assumed a very important position in the state. Several families united to form a house,[10] and indicated their common descent by a family name.[11] In this way arose a

[1] *Lecti tricliniares.* In the earlier ages these couches were not known; the Romans used to eat sitting, a custom to which the women and children adhered.
[2] *Triclinium.*
[3] The lowest place on the middle one was the seat of honor; the reverse on the others.
[4] Pliny relates that Cicero paid as much as 1,000,000 sesterces for a table.
[5] Rubbed with *gausapa.* [6] *Mappæ.*
[7] Knives (*structores*) were used at a later time. [8] *In potestate.*
[9] *Patria potestas:* unless the son became a *flamen Dialis*, or the daughter a vestal virgin (*virgo vestalis*). [10] *Gens.* [11] *Nomen gentile.*

family pride which caused the members to preserve with great care the sanctuaries, the legends, and the exploits of their own house. In the course of time, as intercourse with foreign nations increased, the strict laws of the paternal authority were relaxed, and the ties that bound the members of a house[1] and of a family together were loosened.

10. Names.—Every Roman had usually three names, the first denoting the *person*, as *Marcus*;[2] the second, the *gens*, as *Tullius*, and the third the family, as *Cicero*. A fourth or fifth name, called the *agnomen*, was sometimes added on account of some illustrious actions or by adoption, or from some other circumstance. Thus the complete name of Scipio the Younger, was *Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Æmilianus*; Africanus being added for his exploits in Africa, and Æmilianus because he was adopted from the Æmilian *gens*. Women had no personal names, but were known only by that of their *gens*. Thus, the daughter of Cicero was called simply *Tullia*; a younger sister would have been called *Tullia secunda* or (*minor*), *tertia* and so on. The wife of Cicero was *Terentia*.

11. Marriage.—The Romans had two kinds of marriage;[5] in one the woman passed entirely from the control[6] of her father into that of her husband; in the other,[7] she did not so pass, but remained subject to her father's authority. In order to bring about a lawful marriage of either kind, the parties must be of age, unmarried, and, until the passage of the Canuleian law in B. C. 445,[8] of equal rank. A marriage of the first kind could be contracted in three different ways, viz.: *confarreatio*, *coemptio*, *i. e.*, fictitious purchase, or *usus*, *i. e.*, prescription. The first, or marriage by *confarreatio*, had to take place in the presence of at least ten witnesses, the *Pontifex Maximus*, and the priest of Jupiter.[9] A cake of sacred corn[10] was broken and tasted, and the marriage formula repeated. This form of marriage was confined exclusively to the patricians, and even after the passage of the Canuleian law, it could not be adopted by the

[1] *Gens.* [2] *Prænomen.* [3] *Nomen.* [4] *Cognomen.*
[5] *Nuptiæ justæ.* [6] *Manus.* [7] *Matrimonium justum.* [8] See p. 72.
[9] *Flamen Dialis.* [10] *Far*, hence *confarreatio*.

plebeians. In the second way, or marriage by purchase, the father sold his daughter to the bridegroom in the presence of witnesses, and in the third way[1] the wife passed to the control of the husband by living with him during one whole year without absenting herself for three nights. The bridal ceremony was nearly the same in all. First came the betrothal and the presentation of the ring. On the morning of the wedding day the auspices were first taken and then the marriage formula was pronounced, and the bride and bridegroom were led to the household altar to offer sacrifices. A cow, pig, and sheep were offered, while the augur repeated the usual prayer and the newly married pair walked around the altar hand in hand. When this was finished the guests offered their congratulations,[2] and the marriage feast began. When night came on the bride dressed in white covered with a yellow veil, and having her hair parted into six locks with the point of a spear, and tied up with ribbons, was conducted by torch-bearers and flute-players to the house of her husband. When she reached her new home, she was lifted over the threshold lest her foot might stumble—omen of evil—into the *atrium* to share the "fire and water," the emblems of the life which she was to lead with her husband. The next day a second marriage feast was held in her husband's house, and the new bride offered sacrifices to the gods of the family to which she had been admitted. In early times divorces were very rare, but as Rome began to decline they became easy and very common. The sanctity of the marriage tie was then but little regarded, and both men and women vied with each other in wanton indulgences.

12. Children.—In early times the father had almost unlimited control[3] over the life and liberty of his children; in fact they were regarded as property which the father could dispose of as he pleased. When any matter arose that affected the life and liberty of the child, it was usual for the father to summon a family council to pronounce sentence. The state,

[1] There was a less binding form which, under the emperors, superseded the others.
[2] In the word *feliciter*. [3] *Potestas*.

however, allowed the father, without the family council, to pass sentence[1] of banishment and even death. The right to pass sentence of death, like that of sale, although existing, was rarely exercised. The right of exposing or killing new-born children, which was common at Rome as well as in Greece, was in early times limited by a law which enacted that no one should kill a son or a first-born daughter, unless the child was deformed. On the ninth[2] day after their birth, boys underwent a religious ceremony called *lustratio*, and received their names,[3] which were entered in the public register. The mother had charge of the children's early education, and she carefully taught them to worship the gods, to be truthful and honest, to love their country and obey its laws, and above all, to obey without questioning. The mother was also very careful in selecting attendants to take charge of her children, that they might not hear any improper or incorrect expression. The authority of a father over his sons continued until his death, unless the son became a *flamen Dialis*, or was adopted into another family, or it was voluntarily resigned.[4]

13. Medical Men.—The Romans had no knowledge of medicine until they learned it from the Greeks. And even after Greek medical men[5] settled in Rome, it was some time before a regular profession was established. The patients were at first treated with certain old prescriptions and nostrums, and in cases of epidemics the anger of the gods was averted by consulting the Sibylline books. In the year B. C. 219 Archagathus, a Greek surgeon,[6] nicknamed on account of his burning and cutting, "the butcher," settled in Rome, and his skill was acknowledged by the erection of a store for his use at the public expense and by presenting him the right of citizenship. Henceforth physicians[7] became more numerous, and squabbled with

[1] If the father misused his power, the censor could interfere; in later times the emperor; and in about A. D. 200 the power was taken from the father by law.

[2] Girls, on the eighth day. [3] *Prænomen.*

[4] This could be done by selling his son three times to a *pater fiduciarius*, who manumitted him according to a previously-made contract; the third time the son received his liberty. [5] *Medici.* [6] *Medicus vulnerum* or *chirurgus.*

[7] Physicians sold their own drugs; in Pompeji two chemists' shops have been found with signboards on which was painted the snake of the god Æsculapius.

each other in regard to remedies and methods. "Physicians disagree," says Pliny, "only in order to avoid the appearance of consent; hence the dreadful inscriptions on tombs—'The number of his doctors has killed him.'" We know of no regulations in regard to the amount of medical education necessary in early times to qualify a physician to practice at Rome. Under the empire,[1] this was under the supervision of the *archiatri*,[2] who examined and appointed physicians[3] to reside in every town.[4] Toward the end of the republic, and especially in the time of the empire, when dissipation and hot-bathing produced frequent diseases of the eyes, oculists[5] appear as a separate class. Besides these we hear of dentists, of specialists for diseases of the ear, of lady physicians, of professional "rubbers," and of vendors of ointment, salves, and of various forms of quackery which the playwriters seized upon as favorite subjects for their satire.[6]

14. Trades.—A genuine Roman considered all manual labor as beneath his dignity. Landed property on a large scale, and even speculation in state leases, were the only legitimate sources of income of a free Roman. All retail traffic and even commerce, if not on a large scale, were little esteemed. Hence the practice of the trades and the retail traffic were given over to slaves,[7] freedmen, foreigners, and the lowest class of the plebeians. There existed at Rome various mechanics' guilds[8]

[1] At the time of Nero.

[2] The *archiatri palatii*, the physicians of the palace; and *archiatri populares*, those of the people.

[3] Physicians often received large incomes. Pliny (H. N. xxix., 5) mentions several whose income was 250,000 sesterces per annum (*i. e.* about $13,000). Q. Stertinus, body physician to Claudius, received from the emperor 500,000 sesterces and from his practice 600,000 sesterces.

[4] These physicians received a regular salary from the town or city; they were compelled to attend the poor gratis, although they were allowed to receive fees from the rich.

[5] *Oculārii* or *medici ab oculis*.

[6] In the excavations at Pompeji (in the *strada Consolare*), many surgical instruments have been discovered, as well as various medical substances, receptacles for drops, salves, and medicine-boxes made of bronze with beautiful covers inlaid with silver in which were little weights to determine the quantity of medicine.

[7] Among the slaves in a household of a wealthy Roman, were those who practised almost every trade—architects, tailors, hairdressers, valets, cooks of various kinds, musicians, physicians, surgeons, etc.

[8] Nine guilds, viz.: pipers, carpenters, goldsmiths, dyers, leather-workers, tanners, smiths, potters and one other combining all the remaining handicrafts, which afterwards developed into separate societies, trace their origin to Numa. Among the later guilds may be mentioned those of the silversmiths, bakers, sailors, ferrymen, pig-dealers, physicians, etc.

which had their festive gatherings,[1] their by-laws and rules of admission and expulsion, their laws for mutual protection, and special funds for the support of widows. The shops in which the mechanics worked or sold their wares were generally on the ground floor of the houses and opened towards the streets, the sign[2] indicating the nature of the articles to be sold. The Pompeian wall-paintings, the bas-reliefs on the monuments, and the various implements of different trades discovered at Pompeji and Herculaneum, give a vivid idea of the shops and the numerous trades carried on in them. At Pompeji numerous loaves of bread completely burnt but still recognizable have been found,[3] while on the monuments and painted walls are represented mills for grinding corn, flour-strainers, millers' knives, machines for kneading dough, scales for weighing, the sledge-hammer of the metal-founder, as well as hammers, saws, sickles, knives of various kinds, folding foot-rules, sculptors' tools, as well as those of the blacksmiths, cabinet-makers, cutters in wood, tanners, and shoemakers. A Herculanean wall-painting represents two men, one of whom is beating the leather on a last, while the other is sewing a shoe; rows of finished shoes stand in an open cupboard and on the counter for sale. Another picture represents a market scene, where clothes, bronze vessels, ironwares, and cakes are sold, while shoemakers are taking the measures of persons who are sitting on benches.[4]

15. Education.—In the earliest times the father probably taught his sons reading and writing, arithmetic and a knowledge of the laws and history of his own country. Elementary schools for boys and girls were established at a very early time in Rome, as we learn from the story of Virginia,[5] who was, in the

[1] A Pompeian wall-painting depicts a millers' feast celebrated June 9. The day was celebrated by a dinner, consisting of bread, salt, vegetables, and fish served in earthenware.

[2] The shop of a milkman at Pompeji has as a sign the goat; that of a wine-merchant, two men carrying an amphora on a stick over their shoulders; that of a baker, a mill put in motion by a donkey.

[3] In an oven belonging to *Casa di Marie e Venere.* The act of baking is illustrated on the monument found outside the Porta Maggiore, at the corner of the Via Labicana and Via Prænestina; the inscription is: *Est hoc monumentum Marcei Vergilei Eurysacis pistoris redemptoris apparet,* "the monument of M. Vergilei Eurysacis, baker and bread dealer."

[4] Guhl and Köner, p. 508 ff.

[5] See p. 69; Liv. iii., 44.

year B. C. 450, on her way to one of these schools in the forum when arrested by the client of Appius Claudius. For many centuries the instruction was confined to reading, writing, and arithmetic. A great change, however in this respect took place after the Romans came in contact with the Greek cities in Italy, and particularly after the conquest of Greece. Greeks came to Rome and settled, and the Greek language and literature were studied with great eagerness, and it became the fashion for nobles to employ one of these Greek slaves in their families that their children might learn Greek at an early age. The duty of these slaves[1] was to watch over the children in their hours of play as they went to and from school, and to teach them good manners and as much of the Greek language as they could pick up by talking. At a later time it became so much the fashion to learn Greek at an early age, that Quintilian complains that children were taught Greek before Latin.

16. The Course of Instruction.—After completing the elementary course, the boys attended the schools of the grammarians and rhetoricians, where the masterpieces of Roman and Greek literature were read. The earliest Latin schoolbook of which we have any knowledge, was a translation of Homer in the Saturnian metre by Livius Andronicus, a Greek and a freedman of Marcus Livius. At a later time, the poems of Nævius, Ennius, Plautus, Vergil, and Horace, as well as the speeches of Cicero, were read and studied in the schools. In the time of Cicero a complete course of instruction consisted (1) of reading,[2] writing and arithmetic ;[3] (2) a critical study of the masterpieces of the Greek and Latin languages,[4] and (3) the study of composition and oratory,[5] to which was sometimes added a course in philosophy and oratory under the celebrated teachers in Athens or in Rhodes.[6]

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[1] The *pædagogi* accompanied the boys, and the *nutrices* the girls.
[2] In learning to read, the method of syllables was adopted.
[3] This elementary course was taught by the *ludi magistri* or *literatores*.
[4] Taught by the *grammatici*. [5] Under *rhetores*.
[6] For fuller information on the system of education, see Hist. of Lit., p.

17. Method of Teaching.—Primary instruction was, to a great extent, pursued as an amusement. Children learned the alphabet by playing with pieces of ivory on which the different letters were marked. In the school, reading was taught in a class, the boys repeating in a kind of chant after the teacher, first the letters, then the syllables, and then the whole word. For writing, copies were set on waxen tablets, which the pupil imitated, the master often guiding his hand. A knowledge of arithmetic was communicated by means of a calculating board [1] and counters.[2] On the board perpendicular lines were drawn, and the value of the counter varied according to the division in which it was placed. Practice was given in orthography and the rules of grammar by the master repeating aloud a passage [3] from some popular author, which was written down and committed to memory.

18. Holidays and Punishments.—Holidays were given to the schools regularly in December [4] and March.[5] The latter was the end of the school year when the boys paid their annual fees. There was also in the elementary schools probably a vacation during the summer months, in order that the wealthier citizens might take their children with them to their country-houses and villas. In the elementary school, the rod or ferule was used even for very trifling offences, for missing even a single letter in reading, as Plautus informs us. Instruction in the schools must have begun very early in the day, for Martial[6] complains that even before the crowing of the cock the air resounded with the noise of flogging and the cries of the children.

19. Books—Writing.—In early times books were very rare and dear; but towards the end of the republic so many trained slaves [7] were kept by booksellers and speculators [8] constantly copying them, that they became as cheap, perhaps, as

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[1] *Abacus.* [2] *Calculi*; hence our word calculation. [3] *Dictata.*
[4] At the *Saturnalia* (see p. 33, n. 3); at first only one day, later two, and finally seven.
[5] The *Quinquatria*, in honor of Minerva, for five days (19th to 23rd).
[6] IX., 30; also Juv. vii., 222. [7] *Librarii.*
[8] Atticus kept a large number; he even made a trade of copying books, and kept copies of Cicero's works for sale.

with us.[1] The material on which books were written was generally the bark[2] of the Egyptian papyrus; parchment[3] was sometimes used though not so generally, because it was much higher in price. The papyrus was rolled together in narrow

IMPLEMENTS OF WRITING.[4]

strips[5] to form the book, while parchment was folded into sheets and sewn in different sizes like our books. The ink was a kind of black pigment, prepared from lamp-black and gum. Instead of pens, the Romans used a reed[6] cut like our quills.[7]

[1] Martial (i., 118) speaks of a book containing 119 epigrams as costing 5 denarii, and even less. In early times authors like Plautus, Terence and others, sold their comedies to the ædiles; at a later time, booksellers paid the author for the right of publishing. Pliny (Ep. iii., 5) was offered 400,000 sesterces for his *Commentarii Elect.*

[2] Liber; in the time of the empire the preparation of this bark by means of bleaching, etc., was brought to great perfection.

[3] Invented by Eumenes, of Pergamus; sometimes leather, linen, and even silk were used.

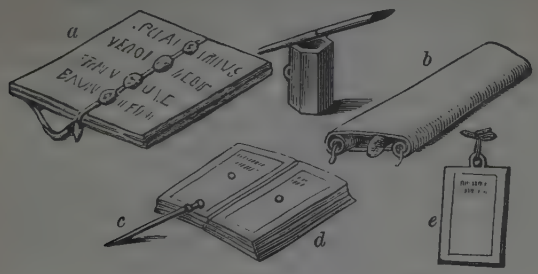
[4] The circular wooden or metal case (*capsa* or *scrinium*), at the left, with a cover, contains six volumes rolled up (hence the word volume) and labelled that they may be easily distinguished. In front of the case are a *stylus* and a pentagonal inkstand, very similar to those now in use. A little to the right is a pen made of reed, hence called *calamus*. Next to the case of books is the *tabella* joined together as with hinges, and covered with wax. Above this is another, pinned as it were to the wall with a *stylus;* to the right of the last lies a book of tablets open. In the centre are single volumes in cases; one of the cases on the left is open, and the other shut. On the right are four volumes, two of which have their titles, one attached to the *papyrus* itself, and the other to the *umbilicus* or cylinder of wood in its centre. The books were carried in the *scrinium*. When a Roman, either in the city or on a journey, wished to use books, a slave accompanied him to carry the *scrinium*. The children of the rich were accompanied to school by a slave (*capsarius*) who carried their books and writing-tablets. Books and documents when not in use were deposited in the *scrinium*, which was sealed if the documents were important. A library of 30,000 and even 60,000 volumes was not uncommon. In the time of Augustus there were 31 libraries in Rome. Others were added by later emperors. The Ulpian library was the most important of all.

[5] Those rolls found at Herculaneum are only six fingers wide.

[6] *Calamus.* [7] With the *scalprum librarium.*

The writing was usually only on one side. The children used in the schools for their exercises material which had already writing on one side.[1] When the book was filled with writing, a stick or reed[2] was fastened to the last leaf, and around this the book was coiled, and then the title[3] written on a narrow strip of papyrus in deep red ink was attached.[4]

20. Letter Writing.—In the days when no newspapers existed at Rome, letters were almost the sole means of conveying information. Governors before departing to their provinces, arranged to have the news sent regularly to them by their cor-



respondents. Cicero when proconsul in Cilicia, maintained an active correspondence with Cælius and others in the capital, and often chid his correspondents for their delinquency. People of wealth generally dictated their letters to slaves or freedmen, but when their contents were of great importance, then they were written by those who sent them. Letters were generally written with a stylus[5] on thin slips of wood or ivory,[6] covered with wax[7] and folded together with the writing inward. The slips were held together by a thread[8] passing round them, and where the string was fastened, the seal of wax stamped with a ring,[9] was placed. Letters were sometimes written on parchment[10] with ink. The outside address of the

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[1] If a book was of no value, the writing could be rubbed out, then called *palimpsestus*. (from πάλιν again, and ψῆν to *rub away*, or *erase*), and the same surface used again. Hence Martial (iv., 10) speaks of a sponge being attached to a book.

[2] *Umbilicus.* [3] *Titulus.*

[4] Sometimes the portrait of the author was painted on the first page.

[5] *Graphium.* [6] *Tabellæ*; a, d, e, [7] *Cera,* [8] *Linum,* [9] *Annulus.* [10] b, c.

letter was very simple, as in one[1] of Cicero's letters to Atticus: *Tu fasciculum qui est M' Curio inscriptus, velim cures ad eum perferendum;* "I wish you would forward the package addressed to M' Curius." The letters deviated the most from ours in the manner of beginning and closing. The beginning consisted of the names of the writer and receiver, with a friendly greeting as: *Cicero, S. D.*[2] *Trebatio;* "Cicero sends greeting to Trebatius." In formal letters the full name and title were given, as: *Q. Metellus, Q. F.* (*Quinti filius*)[3] or *Marcus Cicero, procos.; s. d. G. Curioni Trib. Pl.*[4] Sometimes the greeting was followed by: *Si vales, bene est;* "If you are well, it is well." The letters ended with a simple *vale*, "farewell," and even this was often omitted. Letters were sent by special messengers, unless an opportunity by chance occurred. Officials might employ public messengers,[5] and Cicero often speaks of availing himself of the messenger of the public tax-gatherers[6] to send letters to remote places.[7] Under the empire after the public and military roads were constructed connecting the provinces with Italy, regular lines of post wagons were established and the arrangements for sending messengers and[8] letters were systematized.

21. Dress for Men.—The dress of the men among the Romans was, during the greater part of their history, very simple, consisting of a loose upper garment called the *toga*, and of an under garment which fitted more closely, called the *tunica*. The *toga* was in all ages the characteristic garment of a Roman, and none but citizens was allowed to wear it, hence the Romans were called *togati*, and Vergil speaks of them as "lords of the earth, the people that wear the toga." It was also the garb of peace in contradistinction to the *sagum* of the soldiers.[9] Although it was customary to throw it one side

[1] VII., 5, 2.
[2] *Salutem dicit;* sometimes *salutem plurimam dicit*, often simply *salutem;* even this was sometimes omitted, as: *Cicero Trebatio;* "Cicero to Trebatius."
[3] Q. Metellus, the son of Quintus.
[4] M. Cicero, proconsul, sends greeting to G. Curio, tribune of the people.
[5] *Statores* or *Cursores.* [6] *Publicani.*
[7] Carrier pigeons were also used (Plin. Ep. x., 50); for further information in regard to the post-office, see Hist. Lit., p. . [8] See p. 425; also Hist. of Lit., p.
[9] A red *sagum* was called *paludamentum.*

while engaged in manual labor, yet, when a Roman appeared in public, he reassumed it. It was made of pure white wool,[1] and was nearly semicircular in form. In adjusting it, one end was thrown over the left shoulder to the front, so that the round side fell outward; it was then drawn over the right shoulder behind the body so that the arm rested as in a sling, while the remaining portion was drawn in front and thrown over the left shoulder.[2] During the civil wars, the *pallium* or Greek cloak came into fashion, but Augustus forbade its use. The *pænula* or mantle was worn by all classes.

a. b. Soleæ of ordinary form. *c.* Half-shoes. *d.* Common shoe. *e.* Man's shoe (*calceus senatorius*).

Figure of a Man supposed to be dressed in the *Pænula*.

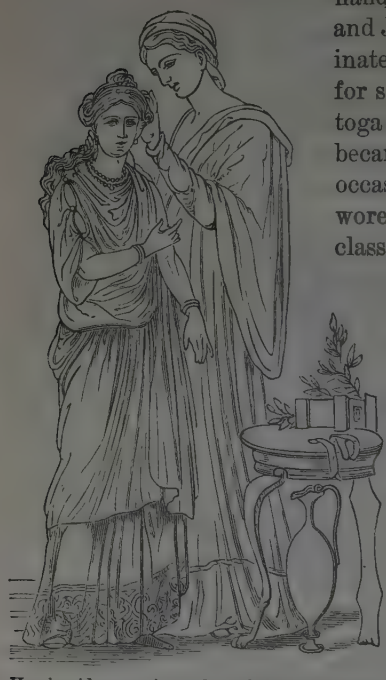
Toga.

22. Covering for the Feet.— The coverings for the feet were very numerous, but they may be classed under two sorts, the *calceus* and the *soleæ*. The *soleæ* or sandals were strapped to the bare feet, and were worn in the house, while the *calceus*, nearly resembling our shoe, was worn in the street. The poorer classes and the slaves wore wooden shoes. It was customary for a Roman to wear one signet-ring on the fourth finger of the left

[1] All garments for both sexes were at first made of wool, but towards the close of the republic, silk and various other fabrics were introduced.

[2] This was the earliest and simplest mode of adjusting the *toga*.

hand. At first the rings were of iron except those of the higher classes. When luxury and wealth increased it was no uncommon thing for a fop, desirous of displaying his wealth, to have his hands literally covered with rings, and Juvenal tells us that the effeminate Crispinus had lighter rings for summer than for winter. The toga was so cumbrous that its use became in time restricted to state occasions,[1] while wealthier people wore the *lacerna*, and the poor classes, simply the tunic. The Roman boys wore a *toga* with a purple hem,[2] until about the completion of the fifteenth year, when they assumed the *toga virilis*.



Handmaiden wearing a sleeved *stola* and *palla*, dressing a bride who wears a *tunica* with open sleeves, a *stola* with the *instita* and a light *palla*.

23. Dress for Women.—The dress of the Roman ladies consisted of the inner tunic, the *stola* and the *palla*. The *stola*, the characteristic dress of a Roman matron, consisted of a loose tunic gathered in and confined at the waist by a girdle and ending in a deep border or flounce,[4] which extended to the feet. The *palla* was a shawl large enough to envelop the whole figure, and was worn when a lady went abroad. The Roman ladies bestowed

Empress Livia.[3]

[1] *Vestis forensis.* [2] *Toga prætexta.*
[3] The cut is taken from a statue of the Empress Livia found at Pompeji; the inner *tunic*, the *stola* and the *palla* are visible. [4] *Instita.*

great care upon plaiting and arranging their hair. The aid of hair-dressers and curling-irons was called in, and various kinds of combs, pomades, and dyes were used, and when under the empire the great ambition was to have yellow hair, wigs of this color were worn. The women often drew over their head a net, sometimes made of gold thread, veils, caps or turbans. The ornaments worn by the ladies were often very rich and beautiful. The necklaces,[1] neckchains, bracelets, and earrings were made of pearls decorated with gold and precious stones. Among the toilet articles were fine polished mirrors,[2] perfumery bottles, instruments for the nails, combs, hair-pins, and a countless variety of cosmetics, among which rouge and white paint were not forgotten.

24. Baths.—The Roman in early times used the bath only for health and cleanliness, and the bathing-houses were simple, consisting only of two rooms, one for the cold plunge-bath and one for the warm bath. As wealth and luxury increased, warm, hot and vapor baths were introduced, and magnificent buildings[3] were erected, decorated with great splendor and supplied with all the conveniences which a voluptuary could desire. These became the popular resorts for amusement and pastime and the exchange of the gossip of the day. The bather on entering paid his admission fee,[4] and then passed to the undressing-room[5] where slaves were in waiting to take charge of the clothes, and then to the warm chamber,[6] or the cold one,[7] as he wished. After this he was rubbed down and anointed with oil. The bathing-houses in Rome must have been very numerous, for Agrippa, the friend of Augustus, added 170. Under the emperors magnificent piles of buildings called *thermæ*, including baths, gymnasia, and libraries, were reared, all of which were opened free to the public.[8] The following cut is a ground plan of the *thermæ* of Caracalla, which

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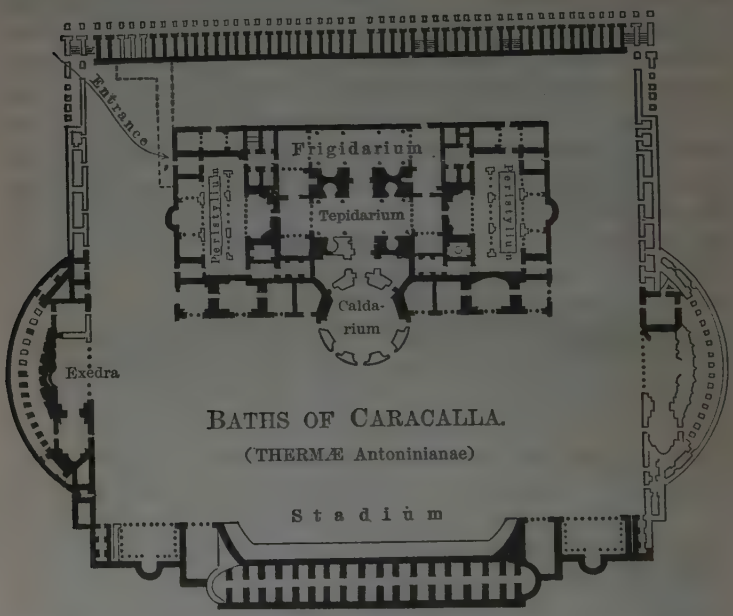
[1] A necklace was found at Pompeji consisting of one band of fine interlaced gold, on which were suspended 71 pendants; at the end of the chain there is a clasp.
[2] Made of metal.
[3] *Balneæ.*
[4] A quadrans, the fourth part of an *as* = about 1 cent.
[5] *Apodyteria.*
[6] *Tepidarium.*
[7] *Frigidarium.*
[8] Hitherto those who desired to win the favor of the people gave them a day's bathing free.

were more splendid than any of the others, and the remains of which are the best preserved :[1]



Frigidarium, room for a cold bath. *Tepidarium*, warm room. *Caldarium*, heated chamber for hot-air bath. *Exedræ*, semicircular recesses for philosophers to hold their conversations, etc. *Stadium*, a room for exercises and seats for spectators. *Peristylium*, a court surrounded by columns.[2]

A slave usually accompanied his master or mistress to the bath with towels, oil and the *strigils* for rubbing the body. The usual time for bathing was the eighth hour,[3] and then the bathers waited on the various lounges watching the sports of the *palæstra* until it was time for dinner.

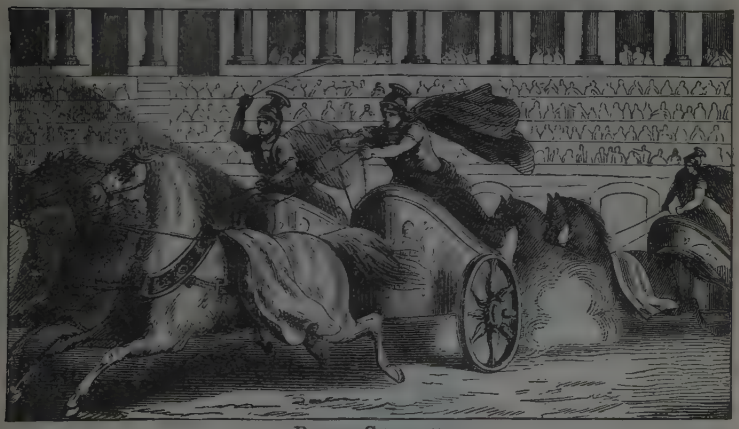
25. The Games of the Circus.—The Romans had almost from the beginning of their history occasions of public rejoic-

[1] Numerous works of art have been found in these baths, as the Farnese bull, a Hercules, mosaics, etc.

[2] The use for which the other chambers were designed has not been satisfactorily determined ; they were probably for lectures, public readings, etc.

[3] That is, the hour before dinner time ; dinner was at 1½ p. m. in winter and 2½ in summer.

ings. Besides the triumphal processions,[1] there were the great games[2] celebrated in the *Circus Maximus*,[3] in honor of the three great gods of the capitol.[4] These games consisted at first of chariot races, boxing and gymnastic contests. The Romans regarded these festivals and games as religious ceremonies, designed to pacify the anger of the gods, and when times of great danger or distress came, their number was increased. In B. C. 364, when a great pestilence desolated Rome,



RACING CHARIOTS.

theatrical performances were celebrated, and in B. C. 264, the hideous gladiatorial combats were introduced.

26. The Gladiatorial Games.—The gladiatorial games originated in the custom of sacrificing slaves at the tombs of their masters, in order to appease the spirits of the dead, which it was believed took delight in human blood. The slaves were soon allowed to fight with each other for their lives, and finally the taste for these barbarous and inhuman spectacles increased to such an extent that slaves were trained and let out for this purpose. Although these contests were at first confined to

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[1] See pp. 154, 181, n. 2.

[2] *Ludi Maximi*; they were celebrated at first for only one day, but after each of the great revolutions (B. C. 509, 494, 367) a day was added, and at a later time they were extended to eight days.

[3] See colored map, No. 2.

[4] See p. 18.

funerals, the gladiators fighting in the forum, still the taste for these spectacles soon increased to such an extent that no entertainment was complete without them. Games, festivals and scenic representations all increased to such an extent that in the time of the emperors the theatre with its tragedies

GLADIATORIAL COMBAT.[1]

and comedies, the circus with its chariot racing and contests of wild animals, and the amphitheatre with gladiatorial combats, became the fashionable resorts of all classes. The gladiatorial games soon eclipsed all other forms of public amusement. The taste for them grew to such an extent under the empire

[1] Different classes of gladiators are represented in the above cut. The *andabatæ* at the left are protected by a helmet without apertures for the eyes; they fought, therefore, blindfolded, and thus excited the mirth of the spectators. The *retarius* (in the centre) carries a three-pointed lance (*fuscina* or *tridens*) and a net (*rete*) which he endeavors to throw over his opponent, who is usually a *secutor* or *mirmillo* (so called because he had the image of a fish upon his shield). The *Thraces* (at the right) were armed with a round shield, and the Samnites (after the defeat of the Samnites in B. C. 310, their armor was adopted for gladiators as a sign of contempt) with an oblong shield. In the foreground are the *pugillarii*.

that it corrupted and killed all the higher instincts of humanity. On every occasion of public rejoicing, the gladiatorial games[1] must be celebrated; schools for drilling gladiators multiplied; wandering bands of gladiators traversed Italy to supply the provincial amphitheatres. The passion for these shows pervaded every grade of society. In the eyes of the multitude the successful gladiator became a hero. In fact such a halo of glory was spread around the profession that even freemen voluntarily adopted it. Gladiatorial games were announced several days beforehand by bills. At the opening of the contest there was usually a sham-battle in which the gladiators fought with wooden swords; then the trumpet sounded and the real battle commenced. When one of the gladiators was wounded the words "*hoc habet*" were shouted; if the wounded gladiator, holding up his forefinger, appealed to the people for pity, their outstretched thumbs were a sign that the prayer had been heard; too often, however, the thumbs of the spectators were pressed down to the hand[2] as a signal that the gladiator should receive the sword. An attendant then rushed in, dragged the body away with a hook, and sprinkled the arena with fresh sand.[3]

27. The Amphitheatre.—The circus was used for a long time for these combats, but its shape was ill-adapted for anything but races; so that in the time of Julius Cæsar two large wooden theatres[4] were constructed close together in such a way that one of them could be turned on pivots, the audience remaining in their seats, and be brought to face the other, so

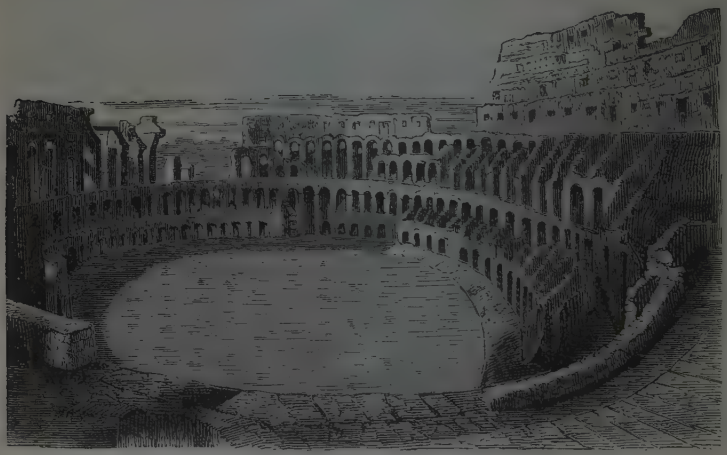
[1] When the public interest began to flag, new forms of cruelty were devised. Criminals dressed in the skins of wild beasts were thrown to maddened bulls. Under Nero 400 tigers fought at one time with bulls and elephants; at the dedication of the Colosseum 5000 animals perished in one day.

[2] See reliefs in Overbeck, p. 158.

[3] Gladiatorial exhibitions (*sine remissione*, *i. e.*, where the life of the vanquished was not spared) were forbidden by Augustus; Constantine forbade gladiatorial shows, but they were not wholly suppressed until the time of Honorius.

[4] Hence the term *amphitheatrum*, *a double theatre*, or a theatre *all round*. The space in the centre formed by the two orchestras of the two theatres was called the arena, and was strewed with sand. Here the various exhibitions were given. The arena was sunk several feet below the lowest row of seats, and a sort of balustrade constructed on the *podium* (a massive wall dividing the arena from the first *mænianium*, covered with net-work) that the spectators might be protected from the wild beasts. Under the arena were various chambers and dens for wild beasts. The emperor, senators and vestal virgins occupied the foremost tier of seats (*podium*); the knights, the first tier (*mænianium*) behind these.

that the seats formed an oval tier round an arena in the centre. Other similar structures were contrived, and in the time of Augustus a stone amphitheatre was erected in the Campus Martius. All these structures, however, faded into insignificance when compared with the *Flavian amphitheatre*, one of the most stupendous fabrics ever reared by the hand of man. A description of this will be found on p. 456. The annexed view of the Flavian amphitheatre will explain the general appearance of the interior of such buildings :



FLAVIAN AMPHITHEATRE IN ITS PRESENT CONDITION (1879)—INTERIOR.

The amphitheatres were open to the sky, but the spectators were protected from the sun by an awning, and in case of rain they returned to the surrounding porticoes. Under the empire no cost was spared to make the exhibitions of the amphitheatre pleasing to the people. Gladiators fought equipped with silver, sometimes with gold, the sand of the arena was strewed with vermilion, the seats intwined with golden cords, while streams of water diffused a grateful coolness, and statues placed in various parts of the building were so constructed that from them showers of perfumes were diffused over the spectators. Often at the conclusion of the

games, in order to increase the good humor of the multitude, little billets of wood were thrown down from the upper story for those below to scramble for; each of these contained a ticket which entitled the holder to a present—a sum of money, a slave, a horse, a robe, or some object of more or less value—on applying to the person appointed for that purpose.

28. The Theatre.—The theatre was never much cared for by the Romans. Dramatic entertainments consisting of extempore witticisms, recited by strolling minstrels or ballad-singers who traveled from town to town, were known at a very early time in Latium. These songs were at first recited at the rustic feasts, but in B. C. 364, a stage was erected in the circus, and fantastic dances and gestures were performed to the music of the flute. By degrees a sort of unpremeditated farce was added to the dance, but the art continued in a rude state until B. C. 240, when Livius Andronicus introduced the first regular plays, comedies and tragedies, translated from the Greek. His example was followed by Nævius, Ennius, Plautus and many others, all of whose pieces were close imitations of or adaptations from Greek originals.[1] The Roman theatre was at first nothing but a rude platform, and no attempt was made to provide the spectators with seats. In B. C. 155, the first regular theatre was commenced, but the senate stopped its construction and issued a decree forbidding such exhibitions as demoralizing. Afterwards wooden theatres[2] were erected, but they were taken down as soon as the holiday was over. In B. C. 55, Pompejus, after his return from the East, erected the first permanent theatre.[3] It was built of stone, modeled after one at Mitylene, and would seat 40,000 spectators; a second was erected soon after, and the third, built by Marcellus,[4] was the most splendid

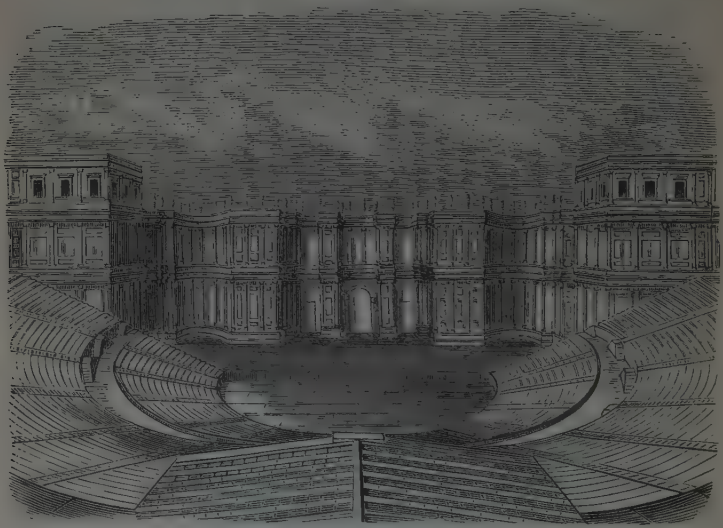
[1] These plays had regular plots; besides these there were farces or interludes (*mimi*), the Atallan farce so called from Atalla, a town in Campania, and finally the pantomime.

[2] Of the two parts of a theatre, the *cavea* and *scena*, the former was semicircular and was reserved for spectators; the latter answered to the modern *scene*. In the *cavea*, stone or marble seats rose in succession, one above the other, each row being farther removed from the stage. For easy access and egress, the rows of seats were divided at intervals by broad passages (*præcinctiones*) running round the whole semicircle. The orchestra—the "dancing place" occupied by the chorus in the Greek theatre—was directly in front of the stage. The stage was concealed by a curtain (*aulæum* or *separium*), before the play commenced, but this was not pulled up as in our theatres, but drawn down under the stage.

[3] This stood in the Piazza Campo de' Fiori.

[4] Twelve arches are still standing; they are occupied by smiths and other artisans as workshops.

of all. The citizens sat promiscuously in the theatre until the orchestra was set apart for the senators, and by the Roscian law the fourteen rows of benches directly behind those of the senators were assigned to the Equites. The theatre, like the amphitheatre, was open to the sky, but the sun and rain were



THEATRE OF POMPEJUS.
(Restored by Canina.)

kept out by an awning, while the air was cooled and scented by fragrant spray. Actors[1] were never held in esteem at Rome; they were mostly slaves hired from their masters by the magistrate for the occasion, although in the time of Cicero we hear of the comic actor Roscius and the tragic actor Æsopus,[2] who were held in high esteem and obtained great wealth.

29. Funerals.—The ceremonies of the Romans in cases of death and at funerals, were intimately connected with their religious notion of a future life. The belief was at an early

[1] The actors (*histriones*) in tragedy wore a boot called *cothurnus*, while the comic actors wore a thin slipper called *soccus*, and hence *cothurnus* and *soccus* are sometimes figuratively employed for tragedy and comedy. Actors of mimes appeared with bare feet (hence called *planipedes*). Actors generally wore masks; see Hist. of Literature.

[2] The estate of Æsopus amounted to 20,000,000 sesterces ($1,000,000).

time very deeply rooted in their minds that the spirit of the unburied wandered restlessly about without gaining admittance to Hades. The burial of the dead then became the most sacred duty. The nearest relatives closed the eyes of the deceased and raised a loud shout of woe. Notice was at once sent to the temple of *Venus Libitina*, where a register was kept and a fee paid, and where undertakers [1] were in attendance. A slave was sent at once by one of these to wash and anoint the corpse, and dress it [2] and lay it in the *atrium*, where the images of the ancestors of the deceased were exhibited. A cypress tree or a pine was then placed before the house as an emblem of death and to give warning to priests that they might not enter. The funeral procession moved solemnly to the sound of music and the loud wailing of women. The bier was followed by all the family attired in black, and was preceded by a line of men who represented the ancestors of the deceased, clad in the insignia of their office. If the deceased had gained warlike renown, won great victories, conquered towns, then a tablet was carried inscribed with these deeds. In this way the procession moved to the forum, where some one of the relatives delivered the funeral speech,[3] extolling the deeds of the departed and those of his ancestors.[4] The procession then resumed its course and proceeded to the place—which must be outside of the walls—where the body was to be interred. Towards the close of the republic cremation was common. After the body was consumed, the embers were extinguished with wine, the charred bones collected, sprinkled with wine, then with milk, dried with a linen cloth, mixed with costly perfumes and deposited in one of the niches in the family tomb.[5] On the ninth day after the funeral, a repast consisting of a few simple articles of food was placed beside the tomb, which was adorned with garlands and sprinkled with essences. Beside the niches in the tomb were placed lamps, lachrymatories and the inscription.[7]

[1] *Libitinarii.* [2] In the *toga*; in the case of magistrates in the *toga prætexta.*
[3] *Laudatio.*
[4] In case of the poor, these ceremonies were entirely omitted; poor persons often belonged to burial clubs which, on the death of a member, advanced a sum to pay the funeral expenses. [5] *Columbarium.* [6] On the *cippus.*
[7] For further information on these subjects, see Guhl and Köner and Becker's Gallus.

THE ROMAN FORUM
The FORA of the CAESARS
and the CAPITOL
1. Milliarium Aureum (Omnium Urbis Romae)
2. T. Saturni
3. Schola Xantha
4. T. D. Vespasiani
5. Scalae Gemoniae
6. Graecostasis
7. Arcus Tiberii
8. Lacus Servilius
9. Lacus Curtius
10. Equus Domitiani
11. Rostra Vetera
12. Rostra Nova (Julia)
13. Janus Quadrifrons
14. Chalcidicum
15. Atrium Minervae
17. Arcus Sept. Severi
18. T. D. Antonini et Faustinae
19. T. D. Julii
20. Arcus Augusti
22. Fornix
23. Fabianus
24. Atrium Regium
25. T. Minervae
26. Vestae
27. T. Castorum
28. Atrium Cayi
29. T. D. Augusti
30. Lacus Vestae
31. Regia
32. T. D. Romuli (Maxentii f.)
34. T. Veneris et Romae
35. Clivus Victoriae
36. Curia Calabrae
37. Centum Gradus
38. Clivus Capitolinus
39. T. Jovis Custodis
40. Aerar
41. T. Concord
42. T. Jani
43. Tabularium
44. Equus Caesaris
45. T. Veneris Cenetricis
46. T. Minerv.
47. T. Martis Ultoris
48. Sepulcrum Bibuli
49. Atrium Libertatis
50. Columna Trajani
T. Divi Trajani
Basilica Ulpia
Forum Trajani
Equus Trajani
Arcus Trajani Augusti
Forum Augusti
Forum Julium (Caesaris)
Templum Martis Ultoris
Forum Pacis (Vespasiani)
Tr. Pacis
Arx
T. Junonis Monetae
Gradus Monetae
Asylum (inter duos lucos)
Carcer
Basilica Argentaria
Curia Julia
Basilica Aemilia Paulli
Comitium
Forum Romanum
Basilica Julia
T. Jovis Capitolini
Capitolium
Clivus Asyli
Saxum Tarpeium
Vicus Jugarius
Vicus Tuscus
Via Nova
Via Sacra
Arcus Titi
Basilica Maxentii
Constantinus
T. Iseum Pessatium?
Domus Tia Regia Sacrificuli
Aedes Vestae
Domus Augustana
Aedes Cacae
Aedes Jovis Victoris
Aedes Jovis Statoris
Aedes Jovis Propugnatoris
Aedes Jovis Conservatoris
Aedes Jovis Custodis
Aedes Jovis Fulminatoris
Aedes Jovis Tonantis
Aedes Jovis Feretrii
Aedes Jovis Optimi Maximi

THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.

CHAPTER LVII.

The Empire Established by Augustus.

1. The Policy of Octavius.—The great Roman revolution which began with the tribunate of Gracchus ended with the battle of Actium. It resulted in centralizing the administrative as well as the military power into one man's hands. The people realized that the only hope of domestic tranquillity rested in a supreme ruler,[1] and the senate was ready to confer the necessary powers and dignities. Octavius, however, had learned circumspection from the fate of his illustrious predecessor. He therefore rejected the position of dictator raised above the laws, and the hateful name of king, and sought to veil his supremacy under the forms of the republic. The most vigorous and restless spirits among the aristocracy he enlisted in his service, and subdued their energies by the restraint of discipline, the allurements of honor, and the ideas of military devotion. He was well aware that the fidelity of his legions could defend his authority against rebellion, but their vigilance could never secure his person from the dagger of the republican. Cæsar had provoked his fate; a consular tribune might have reigned in peace, but the title of king had aroused the Romans against his life. Octavius, therefore, determined to deceive the people by the image of liberty; he knew that they would submit to slavery provided they were assured that they still enjoyed their ancient freedom. In this pleasing illusion the feeble senate and the enervated people cheerfully acquiesced.[2]

[1] Tacitus Hist. i, 1. *Omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit.*
[2] Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

2. Changes in the Constitution.—The system of administration devised by Octavius, although actually combining within his own hands the prerogatives of the several republican offices and the functions of the legislative and the judicial departments of the state, preserved the show of republican government. The framework of the old constitution still existed. The senate and the people still exercised their prerogatives, and Octavius had professed to act hitherto in obedience to these. According to law, the *imperator* must disband his army after the triumph was over. This necessity he avoided, and henceforth the legions swore fidelity to him alone. The aim of Marius and Cæsar had been to subvert the rule of the senate. Octavius was sensible that such an assembly, consisting ostensibly of six hundred members, now that it was humbled and disarmed, would be a useful and tractable instrument to secure his dominion.[1] On its dignity, therefore, he sought to found his empire. With the view of raising its authority in general estimation, he revised[2] the list of senators, ejected unworthy members,[3] limited the number to six hundred,[4] raised the property qualification[5] for admission, admitted worthy members from the provinces, and henceforth conducted the government[6] through its name and agency.[7] The most important concerns were deferred to the decision of the senate. It still retained jurisdiction in criminal matters, and many important cases were pleaded before it. In this way it afforded the last refuge to the spirit of ancient eloquence. In its legislative capacity it was nominally the source of power, as it still

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[1] Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

[2] This was accomplished in virtue of his *potestas consularis*, which originally included the power of the censors, with Agrippa as his colleague.

[3] 190 in all. [4] It had been increased to 1000 by Antonius.

[5] Gradually raised from 400,000 to 1,200,000 sesterces. This was the minimum census. Lentulus the augur, the richest man in Rome, was worth 400 million sesterces ($20,000,000). A man who possessed half that sum was considered very wealthy. "Richer than Crispus," says Martial (iv. 54, 7), to express great wealth. Crispus was worth 300 million sesterces ($15,000,000). The income of a man worth 300 million sesterces was about $1,000,000.

[6] It is sometimes asserted, on the authority of Did. (liii., 28), that Augustus was released from all the laws of the senate (*princeps legibus solutus*). This is hardly possible; it is probable that he was released from some particular law. Critics have supposed it to be the *lex Cincia de donis et muneribus*.

[7] He ennobled many plebeian houses and supplied them with sufficient means for supporting their rank by creating a vast number of civil offices.

had the right of ratifying all the laws. Regular meetings were held on three stated days of every month, the Calends, the Nones, and the Ides. The emperor sat and voted with the other senators.

3. The Artful Policy of the Emperor.—In B. C. 29 and 28 Octavius was consul, with Agrippa as his colleague. He had a census[1] of the people taken. It was on this occasion that Agrippa named him the chief of the senate,[2] a title that had been in abeyance since the death of Catulus in B. C. 60. In the year B. C. 28, Octavius issued an edict resigning the powers conferred upon him by the triumvirate, and declared that he was satisfied with the consular and tribunitian powers, but would retain only the latter, as this alone was sufficient to protect the citizens.[3] On the 13th of Jan., B. C. 27, however, he made an oration to the senate, exhorting it to preserve the dominion he had acquired and the peace he had restored, and professed that he wished to be relieved of the burdens of power.[4]

4. Senatorial and Imperial Provinces.—The senators, either mistrusting his sincerity or fearing the return of anarchy, begged him with one voice to retain the military power, which, after long apparent resistance, he consented to do, but only under the pretext of using it for the security of those provinces which still required military control. The quieter and well organized ones were to be left under the jurisdiction of the

[1] There were 4,063,000 citizens between 17 and 60 years of age, representing a total of both sexes of about 16 millions; in B. C. 70 there were 900,000; this difference is partially explained by the fact that in the last census citizens living out of Italy were included.

[2] *Princeps senatus.*

[3] The *jus trib.*, *i. e.*, the original powers of the tribunate, *inviolability* and *intercession*, and not the *potestas trib.*, the powers that the tribunate had acquired. The triumvirate expired at the end of B. C. 33. The measures carried since that time he declared illegal. He was still in possession of the *imperium* conferred in B. C. 32 (it was prolonged in B. C. 29). It was in no way connected with the triumvirate. No one, however, reminded him of it.

[4] That is, he wished to give the *imperium* and the government of the provinces back into the hands of the senate. This cannot mean that the emperor meant to resign. Mommsen (Mon. Anc., p. 98) thinks that he did actually give the *imperium* (*militiæ*; it must be remembered that the word kept its full meaning only in the camp), and with it the government of the provinces back to the senate; he had already commenced this policy in B. C. 28, when he made Asia a senatorial province, and now simply completed what he had begun. This view rests almost wholly on one inscription on a coin found in Asia, viz.: imp. Cæsar divi. f. cons. VI. libertatis p. R. vindex, also Ovid. Fast. I., 589. This inscription, however, agrees equally well with the view expressed in the text (which is also reconcilable with the whole policy of Octavius), that he gave the provinces to the senate and received them back again.

senate. This arrangement secured him the command of the armies and the conduct of the foreign wars. Although assumed for only ten years, it became permanent. Hence arose the distinction between the *senatorial* and the *imperial provinces*.[1] Into the former the senate sent proconsuls and proprætors as governors, while the governors of the latter were the lieutenants[2] of the emperor, who reserved the proconsular power to himself. In all, the chief taxes were substantially the same as under the republic. The income of the one found its way into the treasury[3] of the senate, that of the other into the imperial chest.[4] The governors in all the provinces as well as all other public officers received a regular salary.[5]

5. Titles and Powers Conferred upon Octavius.— By this deference to the old republican institutions, Octavius managed to have the powers which he already possessed legalized, and at the same time satisfied all parties. In the senatorial provinces no regular army was kept, so that Octavius still retained control over all the troops. The senate and the people, however, were so impressed by his magnanimity that they conferred additional titles upon him, the most important of which was Augustus,[6] an epithet against which no objection could be

[1] The *imperial provinces* (*provinciæ Cæsaris*) were, although from time to time changes were made: (1) *Hispania Tarraconensis* and (2) *Lusitania*, (3) *Gallia Narbonensis*, (4) *Lugdunensis*, (5) *Aquitania*, (6) *Belgica*, (7) *Germania superior*, (8) *Germania inferior*, (9) *Syria*, (10) *Cilicia*, (11) *Cyprus*, (12) *Ægypt*.

The *senatorial provinces* (*provinciæ senatus*): (1) *Africa*, (2) *Asia*, (3) *Achaja*, (4) *Illyricum*, (5) *Macedonia*, (6) *Sicilia* (7) *Creta* with *Cyrenaica*, (8) *Bithynia*, (9) *Sardinia*, (10) *Bætica*; see map, p. 439.

[2] *Legati Augusti*, to be distinguished from the *legati legionis* who took the place of the military tribunes (p. 372); they were the civil governors with the command of two or three legions and as many allied troops; these commands were permanent. The governors were selected for their ability, and they conducted themselves with moderation and justice as well as ability.

[3] *Ærarium*. In the provinces the chief direct impost was the capitation tax, which comprehended both a land and a poll-tax. Ten per cent. was assessed on the annual produce of grain and five per cent. on that of wine, fruits, oil, etc. The land in the provinces was divided in portions (*capita*) estimated at 1000 *solidi*, about $5.25; (hence French *sol* or sou.) Those who possessed no land paid on personal effects or a poll-tax. The mines, salt-works, quarries, forests, fisheries in the provinces, were either farmed by speculators, or leased at a fixed rate. To these sources of revenue must be added the customs' duties, the tolls of roads and bridges, and the various other imposts (as those on dress, furniture, articles of luxury, columns in houses, etc.). The revenues from the senatorial provinces were paid into the treasury at Rome; those of the imperial provinces were applied to the expenses of government in each province.

[4] *Fiscus*; this is to be distinguished from the private property of the emperor (*res privata principis*).

[5] A proconsul in Africa received 1,000,000 sesterces = $54,000; a procurator who acted as quæstor in the imperial provinces, received from 60,000 to 100,000 sesterces.

[6] *Skr. ghush, declare*: cf. *augura, augurium, augustus*: the rights of the gods were

advanced, for no man had ever borne it before. This was another step in the artful system by which he established his imperial authority. His moderation was remarkable; it was inspired by fear.[1]

6. The Tribunate Conferred on Octavius.—The next step taken by Augustus, as we shall henceforth call him, was in B. C. 23, when he was suffering from a fever, from which it seemed likely he would never recover. He gave it to be understood that in case of his death he wished the supreme power to return to the senate as in the days of the republic. After his recovery he wished to read his will to the senate to prove that he had not attempted to interfere with its prerogatives by appointing a successor. This was a new reason for gratitude. When he therefore, during this year, resigned the consulship which he had held for the eleventh time, an opportunity was offered for conferring upon him the powers of the tribunate,[2] thus making him the chief of the people as he was already of the senate. About the same time the proconsular power, and soon after the consular power, with permission to have twelve lictors and to sit upon a curule chair between the two consuls, were conferred upon him for life.[3] This invested Augustus with the most important powers that the state had to bestow. From this year he well might date the period of his supreme authority.

called "august," and the word was derived from a root which means to announce, reveal (see also Ovid Fast. i., 608 ff.). The title was always reserved for the emperor; the name of Cæsar was often assumed by his relatives; from the time of Hadrian it was given to the person who was considered the future heir of the empire.

[1] "After he had cajoled the soldiery by donations," says Tacitus, "the people, by distribution of corn, and all by the charms of peace, he began gradually to exalt himself above them; to draw to himself the functions of the senate and of the magistrate, and the framing of the laws; in which he was thwarted by no man, for the boldest spirits had fallen in battle or by proscription. The surviving nobility were distinguished by wealth and public honors according to the measure of the promptness to bondage; and as these innovations had been the cause of their aggrandizement, they preferred the present state of things with safety, to the revival of ancient liberty with personal peril. Neither were the provinces averse to this condition of affairs. They mistrusted the government of the senate and people on account of the contentions of the great and the avarice of the magistrates. The protection of the laws was enfeebled and borne down by violence, intrigue, and bribery."

[2] *Potestas trib.* This seems to be the view of Tacitus, though many, among others Mommsen (Mon. Anc., p. 28), have from Diod. (li. 19 and xlix. 15) arrived at a different conclusion; that the *jus trib.* should be conferred in B. C. 36 and then again in B. C. 30, and now the *potestas trib.* seems contradictory. Mommsen has supposed that it was not accepted in B. C. 36 and 30; but Tacitus (Ann. i., 26) expressly says that he possessed in B. C. 28 the *jus trib.* By the distinction between *jus trib.* and *potestas trib.* the difficulty is obviated. See p. 419, n. 3.

[3] That this prerogative was conferred upon Augustus is questioned by Mommsen (A. S., p. 13), because it is not mentioned in the *Monumentum Ancyranum.*

for he well deserved the title of emperor.[1] Without being consul or tribune he had control over legislation by these anomalous consular and tribunitian powers. The regular consuls were too much overshadowed by his superior eminence, and too well drilled in compliance to exercise their initiatory functions. In this way Augustus became the fountain-head of all legislation, but he had not the authority to issue ordinances with the full force of law. This power[2] was granted to him in B. C. 19, when the supervision[3] over the laws and customs was transferred to him. This substantially completed the fabric of his imperial functions. A few years later, on the death of Lepidus (B. C. 12), the last dignity of the state, the chief pontificate was added.

7. Imperialism Disguised under Republican Forms.—To all outward appearances the republic was fully restored. The senate still met and transacted business with apparently the old freedom of debate. The magistrates and priests discharged their functions as in the days of the republic. The popular assemblies elected the magistrates and passed laws, and the whole republican machinery was in operation. Augustus demeaned himself as an ordinary citizen; his dress was that of a plain senator, and he walked the streets as a private citizen. In the senate he appeared only as one among his equals. At his table he set an example of sobriety and temperance, and his daughter and granddaughters busied themselves like their neighbors with spinning and weaving. He avoided all pomp and show. His mansion on the Palatine was moderate in size. He voted in the public assemblies like an ordinary citizen, and appeared in the courts when summoned by his neighbors as a witness. The ancient free forms, however, only threw a transparent veil over an actual despotism. Augustus wished to

[1] Tacitus (Ann. iii., 56) recognizes this, for he says: Augustus devised this designation of supreme power, that by avoiding the title of king or dictator, he might yet have an appellation by which he would overtop all the other authorities.

[2] This function has been denied to Augustus by Hœck (Röm. Gesch., vol. i., p. 398) and by Merivale (vol. iii., p. 385). The absence of it would really be in contradiction to his whole system, in which he sought to invest every act with the form of legality. The view rests primarily on Diod. (liv., 10), is confirmed by the law de imperio Vespasiani (Orelli Inscrip. i., p. 567), indirectly by the new Greek text of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (Mommsen, p. 14). This is also the opinion of Walter (Gesch. des röm. Rechts., vol. i., p. 418), of Rudorff (Röm. Rechtsgesch, vol. i, p. 142), and of Mommsen (Mon. Anc., p. 101).

[3] *Cura legum et morum.*

accustom and reconcile men's minds to the new regime, and remove every obstacle to his supreme authority, and so skillfully did he do this, that both republican and monarchist were satisfied; for the one flattered himself that the republic still existed, while the other was convinced that it had passed away forever. The power of the Roman aristocracy had been broken by the civil wars. Augustus sought to humiliate it still further. The honor of a triumph was limited to the imperial family. The dignity of the consulship was lowered, by limiting its duration first to four and then to two months. New patrician houses were created. The senate was purified from time to time by ejecting unworthy members. The people,[1] satisfied with bread[2] and public shows, viewed with secret pleasure the humiliation of the aristocracy, while the Italians, deeply imbued with the philosophy of Epicurus, sought to enjoy their present blessings and tranquillity without being interrupted by the memory of their old, tumultuous freedom. To all, he held out the prospect of honorable employment in the service of the state.

8. His Policy Compared with Cæsar's.—His great predecessor had sought to break down the barrier between Italy and the provinces, and to mould the whole vast empire into one body politic under the sway of one supreme ruler. The same policy is visible in the measures devised by Augustus. Just as the aristocracy had become a privileged class in respect to the people, so the people had prided themselves on their superiority to the provincials. These distinctions Augustus wished to obliterate both by humbling the aristocracy and by elevating the provincials. Citizenship was more widely extended by founding colonies in the provinces, and municipal rights were bestowed upon many provincial cities, while on the other hand Italy was deprived of the two most important privileges that it had hitherto enjoyed—freedom from a standing army and from taxation. Now nine prætorian cohorts[3] were organized

[1] He provided for the poorer classes by settling them in colonies.

[2] The recipients of the largesses of corn were reduced from 320,000 to 200,000.

[3] This was the beginning of the so-called prætorian guard; it took its name from the prætorian guard of the general (see p. 210, n. 5), and consisted of picked troops, each of

under the command of prætects,[1] of which three were stationed in Rome, while the others kept order in different Italian towns. Besides these there were the three city cohorts,[2] a sort of armed police, the seven cohorts[3] comprising the regular police force, and the body-guard of German or Batavian soldiers for the imperial household. In regard to taxes within the city, a duty of one per cent. was imposed on articles sold at auction, five per cent. on inheritances, and two per cent. on the sale of slaves.

CHAPTER LVIII.

ITALY AND THE PROVINCES.—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

1. Measures to Restore Order.—Throughout the whole empire Augustus was unwearied in his exertions to preserve order and tranquillity. In the city of Rome particularly Augustus felt that during his absence it was necessary to have some one whom he could trust to control the people and watch the senate. For this purpose he divided the city into fourteen regions, and each region into several smaller divisions called *vici*. A magistrate[4] with suitable police force was placed over each *vicus*, and all these officers were under the prefect of the city. To the position of prefect, Augustus appointed first his most trusted friend and confidant, Mæcenas,[5] and placed the city cohorts under his command. Augustus, however, did not stop here. He tried to restore the old simple habits of living and the religious customs of the people. He erected new temples to the gods, repaired old ones, had the Sibylline books

1000 men; the city cohorts were commanded by two *præfecti prætoris;* under Tiberius these cohorts were collected at Rome and were commanded by Sejanus alone.

[1] A prefect (*præfectus*) acted as the deputy of an officer. The *præfectus urbi* under the republic governed the city while the consuls were absent (to celebrate the Latin Games on the Alban Mount).

[2] *Cohortes urbanæ.* [3] *Cohortes vigilum.*

[4] *Præfectus urbi;* this office is to be distinguished from the city prefecture which had existed under the republic. Its jurisdiction extended in a circle within twenty miles of the city.

[5] Mæcenas had held this office in B. C. 36 during the war in Sicily, and also in B. C. 31 during the war with Antonius; in B. C. 25 it became a permanent office.

revised, filled up the priestly offices,[1] issued laws to restrain luxury, limited the expense at the public games and prescribed that not more than sixty pairs of gladiators should appear at one time, and strengthened the laws against bribery and corruption. Celibacy was punished by incapacity to receive bequests, and the childless married man was deprived of half of his legacy.[2] Above all, Augustus encouraged every one by his own example, while the literary men under his patronage attempted to lead men's minds back to the good old times, and to restore the antique virtues by which Rome had won her greatness.

2. The Military Roads.—In the provinces this system of administration was felt. The sense of unity and common dependence was fostered. The provincials no longer feared the exactions of the proconsuls, for the governors were directly responsible to the emperor. The laws were administered with justice and impartiality, and intercourse and intercommunication were encouraged. This was a great gain, for in almost every country throughout the Roman world, towards the end of the republic, misgovernment and anarchy had brought untold miseries upon the people. A new order of things was to begin, and the provincials welcomed any change that would bring peace and security. Geographical and statistical information was collected, public roads,[3] and particularly those great highways[4] which had hitherto been confined to Italy, were extended to the whole empire. From the golden milestone[5] in the forum as a centre, these roads radiated in every direction over the vast empire. Throughout their course mile-stones were erected, and they were kept in repair by tolls. To promote easy and quick communication, first messengers and then post-wagons, changing from station to station, carried the news and ordinances to every corner of the empire.[6] Houses were erected

[1] That of the *flamen* Dialis had been vacant since the massacre of Merula by Marius and Cinna.

[2] The so-called *lex Papia Poppæa.*

[3] *Viæ publicæ.*

[4] *Viæ militares;* they were called highways because they were raised above the level of the plain and banks of the rivers.

[5] *Aureum miliarium* erected in B. C. 20. Some few remains of this are supposed to have been found at one end of the arched wall which is supposed to have been the *rostra*, near the arch of S. Severus; at the other end are remains of the *Umbilicus urbis Romæ*, or ideal centre of the city and empire.

[6] Suet. Aug. 49; the people were compelled to furnish at their own expense post-wagons, horses, and couriers. This became in time an intolerable burden (see p. 462, n. 2).

along the roads at a distance of five or six miles, and at each of the houses forty horses were constantly ready. By the help of these relays, it was easy to travel a hundred miles in a day.[1] This vast system of life Agrippa exhibited in his painted world,[2] as it was called, which contained a list of countries, rivers, and places, with the order and distance of each from Rome. The census was taken in the provinces, so that the direct taxes, the poll tax and the land tax, as well as the indirect taxes, could be justly apportioned.

3. Commerce.—Rome still remained the emporium of the vast commerce from the populous provinces. Gaul and Spain, Sardinia and Sicily, Africa and Egypt were all wheat-growing countries, and all contributed their produce to the support of Rome and Italy. The products of India—fabrics of cotton and silk, both then rare and costly, pearls and diamonds, gums and spices—found their way directly from the mouths of the Indus and the coast of Malabar to Berenice* and thence to Alexandria. Papyrus, the best writing-material then known, came from Egypt; woollens from Miletus and Laodiceia, and wines from Greece. Each community retained for the most part its own commercial laws and custom duties, and the direct traffic with Rome was free to all. The awe-stricken provincial gazed in wonder on the imperial city. Along her great highways the armies marched, and a knowledge of her laws and institutions was carried to every corner of the earth.[3] All this helped to foster the sense of unity and common dependence, and paved the way for fusing into one family the manifold nations of the Italo-Hellenic empire.

4. The Imperial City.—The *imperial* city itself grew more magnificent and imposing. The great highways that pierced the Servian walls and found their centre in the forum, the vast aqueducts, the temples, the baths, all made it in the eyes of the Orientals and the Greeks, an object of veneration[4] and

[1] At a later time it is known that a magistrate traveled from Antioch to Constantinople in 5½ days, a distance of 725 Roman miles = 665 English miles.
[2] *Orbis pictus.* [3] Merivale.
[4] Under the reign of Augustus was completed the Basilica Julia, the Pantheon, the Septa Julia of marble, the theatre of Marcellus (twelve arches still standing on the via del Theatro di Marcello) erected in B. C. 13 by Marcellus, and the Portico of Octavia.
* At the foot of the S. Arabicus; see map, p. 7 and 4.

wonder. Within its walls the three great civilizations—the Latin, the Greek, and the Oriental—found their centre, while from it emanated influences before which, as Roman culture gradually spread, the laws, customs, and languages of the provinces yielded more and more.

THE PANTHEON[1]—(ITS PRESENT CONDITION, 1879).

5. The Aristocracy Humbled.—We have already spoken of the measures of Augustus to humble the aristocracy. The former powers and privileges of the aristocracy he took to himself, and sought to open to them new avenues of honor according to the promptness of submission. The senate, as formerly, formed the centre round which the new aristocracy revolved. Its chief task was to devise and carry into execution the will of the emperor, while preserving before the eyes of the world the appearance of independence. Beside the senate, Augustus insti-

[1] This was one of the many edifices erected in the *Campus Martius* by Agrippa in B. C. 27, and was dedicated to Mars, Venus, Julius Cæsar, and all the deities of the Julian line, and hence called Pantheon. It is now the church of *S. Maria ad Martyres*. The belfries at the corners are modern additions. This is the only ancient edifice at Rome which is still in a good state of preservation. The original statues and decorations have been replaced by modern works. Five steps formerly ascended to the pavement, but the ground has now been raised to the pavement. Two marble reliefs excavated in front of the temple, are now in the vestibule.

tuted in B. C. 27 a privy council,[1] selected from the number of his most devoted and trusted confidants, which prepared and put into shape important affairs of state or legislative measures.

6. The Equestrian Order.—As a connecting link between the senatorial class and the mass of the people, stood the equestrian order,[2] whose chief business was, as formerly, that of bankers and merchants. To this class belonged also the sons[3] of senators, until they were admitted to the senate, as well as those who, like Mæcenas, possessed the requisite census, but still were not members of the senate.

7. The People.—Below these stood the mass of the people that only demanded ease and tranquillity, bread and public shows.[4] The number of festivals was largely increased. Augustus himself instituted extraordinary festivities—eight gladiatorial games in which as many as ten thousand gladiators appeared, contests with athletes and running in the circus, animal hunts, and feasts at the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor. Poorer citizens were provided for in new colonies. The recipients of the largesses of corn, which, under Cæsar, had fallen to 170,000, were raised again to 200,000, and in B. C. 5, to 320,000. This number receiving the largesses of corn which was bestowed upon all males down to the small children, shows, if we count the women, an unemployed and thriftless population of 600,000.[5] This vast mass, swayed by every gust of passion, although wholly deprived of political power, for the popular assemblies had lost all real share in legislation, exercised considerable influence. They still prided themselves that they represented the Roman people, and the emperor sought to conciliate their favor.

8. The Condition of Italy.—The rest of Italy might be considered the suburbs of Rome. The energy and native vigor of the Italians had, for the most part, perished in their

[1] *Concilium secretum principis.*
[2] Those who possessed 400,000 sesterces and were born from free parents.
[3] They were distinguished by the name of *equites illustres.*
[4] *Panem et Circenses.*
[5] The population of Rome was in B. C. 4, according to Friedländer (Sittengesch. Roms, p. 54 ff) and Gibbon, about one million; according to Lipsius, at about the same time, four million; Zumpt and Marquardt set it at two millions; Merivale, at about 562,000. The only means of determining the population is from the number of recipients of corn. Höck's estimation based on the *Mon. Ancy.* has been disproved by the discovery of the new Greek text.

contest with Rome for independence. Augustus tried to remedy the confusion occasioned by the confiscations, and sought to restore order and peace. For this purpose he divided the whole of Italy into eleven regions, and magistrates were appointed who made life and property secure. In order to promote the participation of the Italians in the popular assemblies at Rome, it was arranged that the *decuriones*[1] of each city could vote at home and send the result to Rome, which is as near an approach to the modern representative system as any nation in antiquity ever attained.

9. The Army.—On the army the existence of the whole fabric of the Roman state mainly depended, for it guaranteed security against internal as well as external foes. At the close of the civil war Augustus had fifty legions, of which he retained eighteen in his service. To this number he added, in B. C. 4, eight new legions, but afterwards lost three in the defeat of Varus, which he replaced by two new ones, thus leaving at his death twenty-five legions. Their stations for the most part remained fixed and permanent. Eight were stationed along the left bank of the Rhine, three in Spain, seven in Dalmatia, Pannonia and Mœsia, four on the eastern frontier of Asia, two in Egypt, and one in Africa.[2] Rome and Italy were protected by the prætorian and city cohorts. The aggregate of these legions formed an army of at least three hundred thousand men.[3] The soldiers formed a separate class, and being far removed as they were for the most part from the demoralizing influences of the capital, they preserved much of the old virtue, pride and bravery of Rome. The time of service was fixed in B. C. 5, for the prætorians, at sixteen years, and for the others, at twenty.[4] On the army rested the strength of the empire, and it was not long in discovering the secret. Soon the prætorians, and later the legions in the provinces, disposed of the throne at their will.

[1] The members of the provincial senate.

[2] For the stations of the legions in A. D. 23, see map, p. 439; also Marquardt, l. c., p. 433.

[3] Merivale's (vol. iii., p. 411 ff.) estimate is a little different; the number in the text is based on the estimate of Mommsen (Mon. Anc., p. 47).

[4] Each legionary received 225 denarii; each prætorian, 720 denarii or daily two denarii. Domitian increased the pay of the legionaries.—*Marquardt*, l. c., p. 465.

10. Fleets.—A regular navy was organized to keep the seas clear of pirates, to guard grain ships, and convoy the vessels bringing tribute from the East or the West. It was under the command of Agrippa, and was stationed at Ravenna, Misenum and Forum Julii (*Frejus*) in Gaul.

CHAPTER LIX.

The Military Operations—Invasion of Germany—The Imperial Family.

1. Measures in Gaul.—Augustus carried on numerous and important wars, either in person or by his lieutenants, but his efforts were directed to secure peace and tranquillity, not to extend the boundaries of the empire. In B. C. 27, he departed by the Flaminian way, through northern Italy to Lugdunum (Lyons), where he remained for some time in settling the boundaries of the four provinces into which Gaul was divided, and in devising a system of roads centering in Lugdunum. Here, as in Italy, he humbled the aristocracy. The republic had found it for its interest to elevate the aristocratic party first in the Italian towns, then in the provinces. In this more than in anything else, the monarch found it for his interest to change the old policy. The defence of the frontier along the Rhine was carried out on the plan in which Cæsar had conceived it. These encampments, which were for the most part fixed and permanent, were the foundations for the flourishing cities that grew up on the left bank of the Rhine.

2. Other Conquests.—Augustus then employed his army against the rebellious Iberians, but being taken sick he left the conquest of the Cantabri to his lieutenant. Military colonies[1] were founded for the protection of the country, and the Latin language and customs were introduced. The Salassi[2] were chas-

[1] About sixteen colonies, among which were *Corduba* (Cordova), and *Cæsarea Augusta* (Saragossa).

[2] They had offered resistance when Augustus passsed through their country to Gaul.

NORTH SEA
or
GERMAN OCEAN
MARE SUEVICUM
BALTIC SEA
Saxones
Frisii
Chauci
Ingævones
Batavi
Cannenefates
Tencteri
Usipetes
Cherusci
Langobardi
Albis R.
Suevi
Vindili
Semnones
Hermunduli
Chatti
Helvecones
Marcomanni
Bojohæmum
Quadi
Narisci
Varisti
Marsigni
Gotini
Osi
Buri
Lygii Duni
Arii
Burgundiones
Lygii
Silingæ
Vandalii
Rhone
Vistula R.
Gutalus R.
Ascburgium
Colonia Agrippina
Gesoriacum
Confluentes
Mattrbici
Aliso
Teutoburiensis Silva
Lupia R.
Amisia R.
Visurgis R.
Suevus R.
Semanus Silva
Albis F.
Sudeti M.
Hercynian Forest
Rhenus R.
Agri Decumates
Vindelicia
Raetia
Noricum
Pannonia
Vallum Hadriani
Reginum
Celeusum
Aquileja
Danubius R.
Artobriga
Bojodurum
Taracatriae
Lauriacum
Vindobona
Carnuntum
GERMANY
Fisk & Ser. N.Y.

tised, the colony of *Augusta Prætoria* (Aosta) was founded, and thus the great highways over the Little and Great St. Bernard were rendered secure. An expedition was undertaken into the spice region of Arabia Felix under Ælius Gallus in B. C. 24, but it was unsuccessful. On the southern borders of Egypt some successes were gained against Candace, the Ethiopian queen.

3. Visit to the East.—In B. C. 22, Augustus made a prolonged visit to the East. On his way, colonies were planted in Sicily, special privileges were conferred on Sparta; Tyre and Sidon felt the powerful arm of the monarch. The great object of the tour—to secure the standards taken from Crassus by the Parthians—was accomplished.

4. Secular Games.—When Augustus returned to Rome the *imperium* was conferred upon him for another five years, and as the empire could be considered as securely established, he determined to celebrate the event by secular games. The Sibylline books were examined; and the forms of the ceremony were investigated with great care. Heralds traversed the streets inviting the citizens to witness a spectacle which "none of them had ever seen, and none could ever see again." Sacrifices were offered, the "game of Troy" was enacted, presents were distributed to the people, and the festival ended by singing a choral ode composed by Horace for the occasion.

5. Campaigns on the Rhine.—In B. C. 15 the Rhæti and the Vindelici were subjugated by the emperor's stepsons, the former by Drusus Claudius Nero, who entered the country of the Rhæti over the Tridentine Alps; the latter by Tiberius, who ascended the valley of the Rhine from Gaul as far as Lake Constance.[1] Severer and bloodier contests were met with on the Rhenish and the Danubian frontier. The Rhine had long been regarded as the permanent boundary of the empire in that quarter, and the chain of fortified posts along the left bank had served to check the incursions of the Germans. The emperor's stepsons were desirous of extending the Roman power

[1] The road over the Brenner to Augsburg (Augusta Vindelicorum) was constructed (extended by Claudius to the Danube). About the same time king Cottius submitted, and the roads over Mont Cenis, M. Genèvre, and M. Viso secured; a column was erected at Segusio (*Susa*) in memory of this victory, which is still preserved, on which the names of fifteen Alpine subjects of Cottius were inscribed.

into Germany. Cæsar had conquered the Gauls; Drusus wished to conquer the Teutons. He strengthened the line of fortifications along the Rhine from Basle[1] to the Waal. In order to open communication with the country he constructed a canal[2] from the lower Rhine to the Zuyder Zee,[3] and thence to the mouths of the rivers emptying into the North sea. In B. C. 12, Drusus conveyed his army up this canal to the mouth of the Ems,[4] subdued the island of Burchana (*Borkum*) at the mouth of the river, then proceeded up the river to the Bructeri, whom he defeated in battle. The next year he entered the country of the Usipii and planted an outpost on the Lippe. This success so encouraged Drusus that he urged another expedition beyond the Rhine, and Augustus unwillingly yielded. Drusus crossed the Rhine near Mayence, subdued the Chatti, penetrated into the country of the Cherusci, and reached the Elbe. Great dangers beset his path. Omens were invented to excuse his hasty return. A woman of more than mortal stature warned him of the fate that was impending over him. Before the army gained the Rhine, Drusus fell from his horse and died of his injuries. Tiberius was summoned to the Rhine to complete the conquests which Drusus had begun. The tribes nearest the Rhine seemed exhausted by the long continued wars; even the Sigambri sent ambassadors to treat for peace. These ambassadors were seized by Augustus and distributed among the cities of Gaul. The people, deprived of their leaders, submitted, and remained peaceful until the severity of the governor, Q. Varus, aroused their patriotic spirits.

6. The Emperor's Popularity.—Augustus had carried on his great enterprises thus far with success at home and abroad. Security of life and property was guaranteed throughout the empire. He was unwearied in his efforts for his people. For this prosperity they were invited from time to time to thank the gods. The poets celebrated the feeling of gratitude and love between the people and the emperor. He looked upon the people as his children, and they hailed him as "father of

[1] Augusta Rauracorum.
[2] *Fossa Drusiana.*
[3] Flevo L.
[4] Amisia F.

his country." When Valerius Messala, in B. C. 2, greeted him in the senate as "father of his country," Augustus replied with tears that "his wishes were fulfilled; that his vows were accomplished, and that nothing more remained for him to ask from the immortal gods than that he might retain to his dying day the unanimous approval of all orders." The people and the equestrian order took up the voice of the senate; still there were some remains of that old republican stoical spirit. Several conspiracies alarmed the emperor. In B. C. 30, Lepidus, the son of the triumvir, formed a plot against his life. It was detected by Mæcenas, and the author put to death. In B. C. 22, and again in B. C. 19 and B. C. 2, others were discovered in similar attempts, but these were mere isolated evidences of dissatisfaction. The people in general called down blessings on Augustus, the father of his country.

7. The Imperial Family.—In the circle of his own household and family, Augustus[1] was not exempt from bereavement and sorrow. In B. C. 12 and B. C. 8, he lost his two most trusted friends, Agrippa and Mæcenas. Of his stepsons, the nobler and more beloved, Drusus, was taken from him in B. C. 9; while Tiberius, indignant at the dissolute conduct of his

[1] Genealogical list of Augustus and his family:

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

Julius Cæsar Octavianus Augustus m.
1. Claudia. 2. Scribonia. 3. Livia Drusilla. (pp. 234 and 440.)

Julia m.
1. M. Marcellus, (no issue.) 2. M. V. Agrippa. 3. Tiberius (emperor), (no issue.)

1. G. Cæsar m. Livia, the sister of Germanicus, died A. D. 4. 2. L. Cæsar. 3. Julia m. L. Æmilius Paullus. 4. Agrippina m. Germanicus. 5. Agrippa Postumus; put to death in A. D. 14.

1. M. Æmilius Lepidus m. Drusilla, d. of Germanicus. 2. Æmilia Lepida m. 1. A. J. Silanus; 2. Drusus.

1. L. Silanus. 2. M. Silanus. 3. Junia Calvina.

1. Nero m. Julia, d. of Drusus, son of Tiberius. 2. Drusus m. Æmilia Lepida. 3. Caligula (emperor).
4. Agrippina m. Cn. Domitius. 5. Drusilla m. 1. L. Cassius; 2. M. Æmilius Lepidus. 6. Livia m. 1. M. Vicinius; 2. Q. Varus.

Nero (emperor).

wife Julia, and the honors bestowed by Agrippa upon her sons, withdrew to Rhodes, where he remained seven years a discontented exile. At length the dissolute conduct of Julia compelled Augustus—instigated as he was by his wife Livia, who hated Julia and looked upon her children as a hindrance to the aggrandizement of her own—to banish her to the island of Pandataria* on the coast of Campania. There still remained to Augustus his five grandchildren, sons of Julia and Agrippa, on the two oldest of whom, Gajus and Lucius Cæsar, rested the foundation of his joy and hope and plans for the future.

8. Troubles in the Imperial Family.[1]—The position of the emperor was becoming lonely and precarious. The world was at peace. The impulses that had moved Rome were suppressed. The emperor appeared no more in the popular assemblies, and in the senate and public festivals but seldom. The vast expenses of his government compelled him to impose a tax upon the Romans,[2] which, to the end of his reign, remained a cause of complaint and dissatisfaction. About the same time a pestilence swept over Italy. It was evident that the tide of popular favor was ebbing. Finally the premature death of his two grandsons, G. and L. Cæsar, compelled him to adopt Tiberius. Rumors spread that Livia and her son Tiberius had removed the two Cæsars. All happiness fled from the breast of the emperor. He adopted Tiberius and Agrippa Postumus, while Tiberius was compelled to adopt the young Germanicus.[3] The tribunitian power was conferred upon Tiberius for life in B. C. 9, and the proconsular power in B. C. 13.

9. The Empire Shows Signs of Weakness.—In A. D. 6, great preparations were made for a campaign against Maroboduus, the king of the Marcomanni, a powerful people in Germany in the modern Bohemia. At the head of six legions Tiberius advanced from Carnuntum[4] against Maroboduus through the Hercynian forest, united with his lieutenant, who was leading an equal force from the East, and was within a few days march of the enemy, when an insurrection in Pan-

[1] See p. 434. [2] See p. 425.
[3] Drusus had been honored with the title of Germanicus, which was allowed to descend to his son. [4] Near Haimburg. * See map No. 6.

nonia and Dalmatia warned him to turn back. The struggle in these countries to throw off the Roman yoke lasted for three years. The insurrection produced a tremendous impression in Italy. The senate was summoned, the slaves armed; the enemy, it was said, could be in Rome in ten days. A powerful army was raised, and the Dalmatians and Pannonians were at last compelled to submit. It was evident that the empire began to show signs of weakness. Augustus himself was dispirited. The populace began to murmur against him. The bereavements in his own household cast a shadow over his life.

10. Varus Defeated by Arminius.—The emperor's last days were further clouded by a great political disaster. P. Quintilius Varus was governor in Germany, and as he saw no signs of resistance, he believed that he could rule the Germans as he had formerly ruled the effeminate and servile Syrians. Without troubling himself about military measures, he traveled over the country, imposed taxes, and pronounced decisions as if he were a prætor in the forum at Rome. Among the bold and turbulent Germans the spirit of freedom and independence only slumbered; it was not broken. The national hero Arminius[1] raised the standard of revolt. Under this prince a confederacy of all the tribes between the Rhine and the Weser[2] was formed, to throw off the yoke of Rome. The governor collected three legions, and advanced in A. D. 9, to quell the revolt. The Germans retired; but the Romans pushed on until they had advanced into the Teutoburger forest. Then Arminius turned and defeated them with tremendous slaughter.[3] The defiles of the woods were covered far and wide with the corpses of the army, for nearly forty thousand soldiers perished. The eagles were lost, and Varus perished by his own hand.[4] The news of

[1] Hermann. [2] Visurgis.

[3] Opinions differ in regard to the place where the battle took place. It is generally supposed to have been in that part of Osning near the source of the Ems and Lippe (almost directly south of Bielefeld); it is here that the mammoth statue of Hermann was erected in 1877. Hülsenbeck (Forsch. z. d. Gesch., vol. vi., p. 413 ff.) thinks the battle took place between Unna and Werl. Recently, H. Brandes (Neue Yahrb. 1877) has raised serious doubts in regard to the date of the battle; it seems probable that it was fought A. D. 10, and that Tiberius's triumph took place A. D. 11.

[4] The Teutonic tribes, pressed by the Romans on the Elbe and by the Sclavonic nations on the Oder and Vistula, would have been either gradually overpowered and lost, or, at any rate, would never have been able to spread that regenerating influence

the disaster caused the utmost alarm in Rome. The emperor himself was astounded. In his despair he dashed his head against the wall and exclaimed, "Varus! Varus! give me back my legions." The next year Tiberius crossed the Rhine, but the Germans refused battle and he was satisfied with strengthening the defences on the frontier, and withdrew from the country. The Rhine became once more the frontier of the empire. Tiberius returned to Rome to celebrate his triumph over the Pannonians.

11. Death of Augustus.—The emperor's health had long been delicate; it was plain that it was now failing. In the summer A. D. 14, Tiberius was to advance into Illyricum once more, and Augustus accompanied him as far as Beneventum. On his return Augustus was taken ill at Nola. Here he died on the 19th of August, A. D. 14, thirty-five days before the completion of his seventy-sixth year. It is said that as he was dying he asked those around him "if he had not acted well his part." There was much truth in these words, for he had in truth been an actor in all he did.

12. The Prosperity of the Empire.—The long and peaceful reign of Augustus must be considered a fortunate age for the Roman people. The restoration of the republic would have been only the signal for new commotions. The government of Augustus, if not the best, was the best that the Roman people were fitted for. Security in person and property had been established, and the arts of peace had flourished. Augustus could well boast that he "found Rome of brick and left it of marble." Attention was given to agriculture, and a warm encouragement to literature, so that his age was the most brilliant in Roman annals. Under his rule commerce rode securely on every sea. The products of agriculture increased both in Italy and in the provinces. The peace, the prosperity, and the refine-

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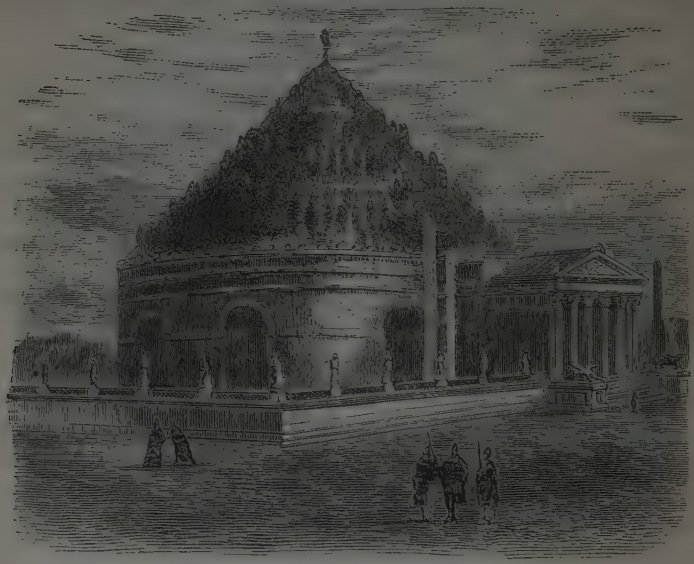
over the best portions of Europe to which the excellence of our modern institutions may, in great measure, be referred. If this be so, the victory of Arminius deserves to be reckoned among those signal deliverances which have affected for centuries the happiness of mankind; and we may regard the destruction of Quintilius Varus and his three legions on the banks of the Lippe, as second only, in benefits derived from it, to the victories of Charles Martel at Tour, over the invading hosts of the Mohammedans.—*Encyc. Metr.*

ment that prevailed, made his reign, if we compare it with that which preceded or followed, a memorable era in Roman history.

13. The Monumentum Ancyranum.—His funeral was celebrated with great pomp and solemnity. Besides his testament[1] he left three other documents: one a summary of the important events during his reign, which were to be engraved upon a brazen tablet and placed before his mausoleum. The



MAUSOLEUM OF AUGUSTUS RESTORED.[2]

greater part of this precious document engraved upon the wall of a temple in Ancyra,* in the Greek and Latin languages, has been preserved. In the second document were directions in regard to the funeral ceremonies. The third contained a list of the military forces, of the incomes and expenses, and the resources of the state.[3]

[1] Livia and Tiberius were his principal heirs; Livia was to receive the name of Augusta; 1,500,000 sesterces were to be distributed among the people. Each prætorian was to have 1000, each soldier of the city cohort 500, etc.

[2] This was erected in the *Campus Martius*. The remains are to be found on the Via de' Pontefici, No. 57. In the Middle Ages it was used as a fortress. Only a few of the tomb-chambers are preserved.

[3] *Index rerum a se gestarum*,

* See map No. 7,

Client States
Imperial Provinces
Senatorial Provinces
EXTENT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE
A. D. 23
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Belgica
Lugdunensis
Aquitania
Narbonensis
Italia
Corsica
Sardinia
Sicilia
Creta
Cyprus
Hispania Tarraconensis
Lusitania
Baetica
Mauretania
Africa
Cyrenaica
Aegyptus
Infer. Germ. legg.
Super. Germ. legg.
Raetia
Noricum
Pannonia
Dalmatia
Moesia
Thracia
Macedonia
Asia
Galatia
Pamphylia
Lycaonia
Cappadocia
Pisidia
Armenia
Damascus
Judaea
Fish & Son, N. Y.

CHAPTER LX.

The Reigns of Tiberius Cæsar and of Gajus Caligula.

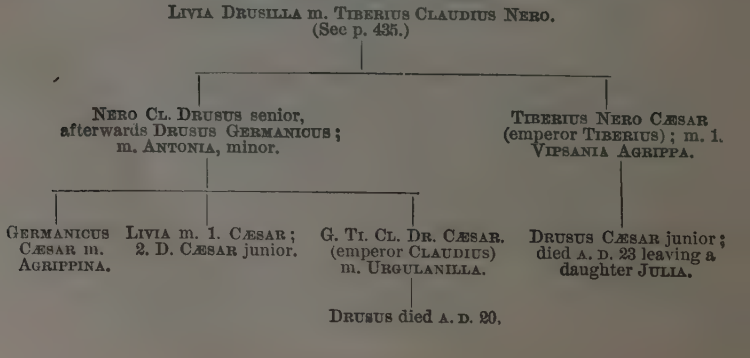
1. During his long reign Augustus had fully attained his purpose. The monarchy was established.[1] He left no children to succeed to his empire. After the death of his grandsons Gajus and Lucius Cæsar, whom we have already mentioned, the only hope of a peaceful succession rested in Tiberius.[2] Augustus therefore associated him with himself in the government, to which, after repeating the same policy that had been so successful with his predecessor in pretending that he wished to be exempt from the emperor's duties, he succeeded at the age of fifty-six.

TIBERIUS.

2. Constitutional Changes.—The last remnant of power, the election of magistrates, was taken from the people and transferred to the senate. The

[1] The character of the old republican government was totally changed. No traces were to be found of the spirit of ancient institutions. The system by which every citizen shared in the government being thrown aside, all men regarded the orders of the prince as the only rule of conduct and obedience. (Tacitus, An. i., 4.)

[2] GENEALOGICAL TABLE.


Livia Drusilla m. Tiberius Claudius Nero.
(See p. 435.)
Nero Cl. Drusus senior, afterwards Drusus Germanicus; m. Antonia, minor.
Tiberius Nero Cæsar (emperor Tiberius); m. 1. Vipsania Agrippa.
Germanicus Cæsar m. Agrippina.
Livia m. 1. Cæsar; 2. D. Cæsar junior.
G. Ti. Cl. Dr. Cæsar. (emperor Claudius) m. Urgulanilla.
Drusus Cæsar junior; died A. D. 23 leaving a daughter Julia.
Drusus died A. D. 20.

emperor nominated candidates from whom the senate elected the prætors and consuls. The people simply announced[1] the election. The emperor assumed the appearance of great moderation. He rejected all adulation, and permitted the senate to decide with freedom the measures which he proposed. Every word, however, was treasured up for future recompense.

3. The Revolt of the Legion.—During the reign of Augustus there had been great dissatisfaction among the soldiers. They demanded an increase of pay and a limit to their term of service. When Tiberius assumed the throne, this dissatisfaction broke out into open enmity. To the legions in Pannonia, Tiberius dispatched his son Drusus, who gave assurances that their grievances should be redressed. An opportune eclipse of the moon restored his ascendency over the minds of the superstitious soldiers. Germanicus met with equal success on the Rhine, where the sedition was quelled.

4. The Invasion of Germany.—Germanicus transported his legions over the Rhine[2] in order to find employment for the discontented soldiers and to avenge the slaughter of Varus. The Cherusci were defeated, and the bones of the Roman soldiers, which had been bleaching in the Teutoberger forest for six years, were buried. One of the lost eagles was recovered, but an ambuscade prepared by Arminius, demanded all the skill of Germanicus to extricate his army. Again all the resources of Gaul, Spain, and Italy were taxed for another campaign. The army was conveyed through the Drusus canal to the Zuyder Zee and so to the Ems, and thence to the Weser, where a great battle was fought. The results, however, were indecisive; the German tribes were far from being subdued, when Tiberius, jealous of the fame that Germanicus was acquiring, recalled him on the pretext that events required his services in the East. Germanicus, after celebrating his triumph,[3] in which the wife of Arminius and the recovered standards of Varus delighted the people, departed to the East. Here he accomplished his task with great skill. Commagene and Cappadocia were

[1] *Renuntiatio.* [2] See map, p. 431. [3] In A. D. 17.

reduced to the form of provinces,[1] and after a tour through Egypt, he returned only to sicken and die, poisoned, as it was asserted, by Cn. Piso, his adjutant. His death caused great grief at Rome. Piso was brought before the senate for trial, but when he was called up for his defence he committed suicide.

5. The Law of Majestas.—Meanwhile Tiberius grew more gloomy and suspicious. Everything that stood in the way of his imperial authority was crushed with a cruel hand. The members of the few noble houses that were left deemed themselves quite equal to the emperor. These, therefore, were the especial objects of Tiberius' jealousy. He sought to humble and depress them. Against the intrigues of the discontented class the law of *majestas*[2] was revived. This law applied originally only to acts against the commonwealth, but Augustus had extended it to defamatory writings. The law was now used to throw a protection around the person of the emperor. Not only acts, but even words or conduct which could be considered as dangerous to his safety were declared to be embraced in the law. A host of informers[3] started up. Encouraged as they were by Tiberius, every place swarmed with them, and the lives of the higher classes were rendered insecure. Suspicion spread into every grade of society, for every friend might prove a traitor. If any one wished to pay off an old debt of vengeance, or to retrieve his fortune, he had but to choose his victim, and invent a crime or some plausible story, or report some careless word or threat against the emperor. In fact, it was dangerous to speak and equally dangerous to keep silent, for silence even might be construed into discontent.

6. The Character of Sejanus.—Tiberius called none of the higher classes to aid him in the government. He formed no "privy council" like Augustus, but resolved to administer the whole government himself. This was impossible, and he

[1] See map, p. 439.

[2] The crime of majestas (see p. 258, n. 6) was defined by Saturninus in B. C. 100, in order to guard the champions of the plebeians. Sulla restricted it to acts against the state. Under Cæsar the law remained the same, but Augustus extended it to writings intended to bring the emperor into contempt.

[3] Delatores.

therefore looked for some one to assist him who was too mean in origin to be dangerous. This man was Ælius Sejanus, whom he placed in command of the prætorian guards.[1] Sejanus conceived the bold design of securing the succession of the throne to himself. It was evident that the government would descend in the family of the Cæsars. He therefore determined to destroy the heirs to the throne, and leave it open to Tiberius to make an independent appointment. Drusus was soon removed by poison. Sejanus inspired the emperor with hatred of Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus. Finally he persuaded Tiberius to retire to the island of Capreæ and leave the affairs of the capital in his hands. Other members of the imperial family, Agrippina and her two sons Drusus and Gajus, were removed or imprisoned. Sejanus, the Romans said, ruled at Rome, while Tiberius was lord of one island. Tiberius became jealous of Sejanus, who had already determined to assassinate the emperor, but Tiberius was too crafty for him, and Sejanus was betrayed, seized, and executed (A. D. 31).

7. Death of Tiberius.—For a moment the citizens hoped that Tiberius would return to the mild policy of his earlier years. He grew, however, more morose and cruel. In fits of gloomy insanity, he gave way to his cruel nature. Many were put to death, while others in despair sought relief from the general degradation and terror by suicide. Meanwhile the excesses and the unnatural profligacies to which Tiberius had abandoned himself, had impaired his constitution. His feeble health promised Rome a speedy deliverance from the tyrant's rule. He expired in the seventy-eighth year of his age and the twenty-third of his reign.[2]

8. Character of Tiberius.—The character of Tiberius as painted by Tacitus was hateful and contemptible. There can, however, be no doubt that in the first years of his reign, he governed with firmness and ability. He devoted himself to

[1] The prætorians were collected in a camp inside of the city; the camp was near where the railroad station now is, in the *Campo di Maccao* or *Militare*.

[2] His property was left to Tiberius Claudius Drusus, son of the elder Drusus, to Gajus, the son of Germanicus, and Tiberius Gemellus, the son of the second Drusus. Gajus was a favorite with the legions, and had received the nickname of Caligula, from caliga, *military buskin*.

the government of Italy, maintained order in the capital, and never, to the very last, relaxed his care of the provinces and the frontier. In the trials[1] for high treason, Tiberius at first often interposed on behalf of the accused. Instances of his liberality[2] are mentioned. There can be no doubt that he began his reign with a desire to administer equal justice. Even in his later years, when a great change had taken place, the stories of his cruelty and suspicion related by Tacitus and Suetonius must be accepted with some degree of allowance.

9. Caligula (A. D. 37–41). — Tiberius associated no one with himself in the government. He designated no one to the throne on his death. The senate, however, recognized Gajus Cæsar, commonly called Caligula, the favorite of the army, and invested him with all the powers of his predecessor. He commenced his reign by issuing a general pardon to all state prisoners. He paid great deference to the senate. He was apparently mild and generous, and the people formed great expectations of a peaceful and happy reign. He banished the delators from Italy, revised the roll of the senate, restored the *comitia* for the election of magistrates, and as consul, he proposed many just and liberal measures. He threw himself into the work of government with all the energy of his impetuous nature. The labor was too much for him. His brain was excitable. When he slept, his dreams were wild and terrible. There were symptoms of madness in his nature. From this time he rushed into the wildest dissipations and extravagancies.

10. Sports of the Amphitheatre.—The games of the amphitheatre were celebrated with great magnificence. Not only senators and knights were forced to the indignity of exhibiting themselves in the arena, but the emperor himself fought as a gladiator, his safety being insured by the blunted swords of his antagonists. Augustus had limited the number of gladiators, but now these restrictions were disregarded, and whole bands were slaughtered. The combats of wild beasts were on

[1] Freytag counts up only 147 trials in all, and as some were tried twice, only 134 persons accused of high treason; Sievers (Tacitus and Tiberius, p. 44), enumerates in the last six years only 48.

[2] In the time of the great fire, when many people were left homeless and destitute.

the same magnificent scale. When the number of condemned criminals was not enough to satisfy the emperor's thirst for blood, then the spectators were exposed to the lions.

11. Caligula's Extravagance. — When his sister, for whom he entertained a vicious passion, died, Caligula had a golden statue erected to her in the senate-house and also one in the temple of Venus, and the senate decreed her divine honors under the name of Panthea. He completed the temple of Augustus, began the Claudian aqueduct, that of the Anio Novus,[1] and constructed a bridge[2] from his residence on the Palatine, across the forum to the capitol in order to facilitate his intercourse with the Capitoline Jupiter, whose image on earth he pretended to be. His vast extravagance soon wasted the treasures[3] which Tiberius had accumulated, and he was forced to resort to increased taxation and to extortions. The law of *majestas* was revived. Executions, exiles and confiscations became frequent. When these resources were exhausted at Rome, he led an army into Gaul, put to death the richest citizens there, and confiscated their property.

12. His Impiety.—Caligula had been imbued in his youth with the ideas of the oriental potentates by Herod Agrippa, a Jewish chief who had been brought up in the palace with him. Stories were reported that Caligula had said that he was going to assume the diadem like an oriental prince. He pretended to commune with Jove himself, and finally proclaimed himself a deity, and ordered his statue to be erected for worship in the temple of Apollo at Miletus, in Asia Minor, and in the temple of the Jews at Jerusalem. He appeared in the costumes of Hercules, Bacchus, Apollo, Juno, Diana and Venus in turn, pretended to imitate the thunder and lightning of Jove, and finally proclaimed himself supreme over all the gods.

13. His Insane Insolence.—On one occasion this tyrant is said to have exclaimed, "Would that the people of Rome had but one neck!" His demeanor grew more insolent until finally he was struck down in the fourth year of his reign by one of the prætorians whom he had insulted.

[1] This was raised on arches 109 feet high and brought water from a distance of 59 Roman miles. See p. 447.

[2] Remains of this bridge have been found on the Palatine, just below the Clivus

CHAPTER LXI.

Reigns of Claudius and of Nero—Contest for the Empire—Galba, Otho and Vitellius.

1. Claudius (A. D. 41–54).—After the death of Caligula great confusion prevailed at Rome.. It was evident that there was a vital defect in the government. No provision was made for a regular succession. The right to nominate a successor the senate might have assumed for itself; but while the senators were discussing the feasibility of restoring the republic, the prætorians acted. They found Claudius[1] in the palace hidden behind a curtain, dragged him out and proclaimed him emperor. Hitherto he had been thought to be imbecile, and had been left to grow up in obscurity and neglect. His fear was excessive, and he sought to propitiate the nobles rather than to crush them as Tiberius and Caligula had done. He set himself diligently to work, recalled the exiles, reversed many of the arbitrary measures of Caligula, and seemed intent on securing a return to good government.

2. Invasion of Germany and Britain.—There was renewed activity in the armies on the frontier. The army crossed the Rhine and chastised the Chatti and Chauci. The most important enterprise, however, was an expedition to Britain. For years but little interest had been taken in this country. The rapid progress of Roman civilization in Northern Gaul, the growth of cities on the banks of the Rhine,[2] and the spread of commercial relations along the shores of Holland, had awakened a spirit of friendly intercourse with Britain. Londinium (London), which Tacitus describes as "famed for the vast concourse of traders, and her abundant commerce and plenty," had become a centre of trade, and the vessels of the Thames found their way to the Rhine. Under Claudius the southern

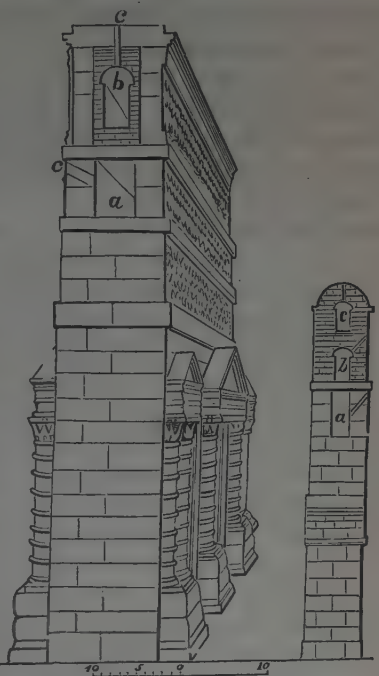
[1] He was the youngest son of the elder Drusus and Antonia.

[2] The places such as Augusta Trevirorum (*Treves*) on the Moselle, and Colonia Claudia Augusta Agrippinensis (*Cologne*) named in honor of his wife Agrippa.

part of Britain to the Avon and Severn was conquered, fortifications were erected and the colony of Camulodunum (*Colchester*) founded. From this, as a centre, Roman arts, manners and trade found their way into the yet unconquered regions of the island.[1]

3. Eastern Princes.—In the East the frontier provinces were placed under the government of native princes. Herod Agrippa was confirmed in the government of Galilee; Antiochus was restored to the throne of Commagene, and Mithridates received the kingdom of Bosporus.

4. Work at Home.—At home Claudius attempted to imitate the policy of Augustus. He endeavored to raise the dignity of the senate, filled up its vacancies, and admitted noble provincials after the example of Cæsar. Many magnificent works were undertaken. The "emissary" was constructed to drain the Fucine lake (*lago di Celano*), a harbor was formed at the mouth of the Tiber, and the aqueduct begun by Gajus was completed. Claudius revised



Section of the Claudian Aqueduct compared with the triple aqueduct of Agrippa.[2]

[1] On his return he enlarged the *pomerium*.

[2] Fig. 1.—Section of (*a*) *Aqua Claudia* and (*b*) *Anio Nova* at the Porta Maggiore. Both were constructed by the emperor Claudius, A. D. 52; the Claudia 45 miles long bringing water from the neighborhood of Subiaco on the Via Sublacensis; the Aqua Nova was conducted from the sources of that river; it was 59 miles long and some of the arches 109 feet in height; (*c*) is an opening to give vent to the air. Fig. 2.—Section of the triple aqueduct of Agrippa; (*a*) the *Aqua Marcia* built by Q. Marcius Rex, B. C. 144. It was 36 miles long and was high enough to supply water to the Capitoline Mount. Pliny pronounces the water of this aqueduct the coldest and best of all; (*b*) the *Aqua Tepula* built by the censors in B. C. 127, and afterwards connected with the (*c*) *Aqua Julia* erected by Agrippa B. C. 33.

the list of the knights, and took a census which showed a result of 5,984,072 citizens representing a population of about twenty-four millions.

5. The Infamous Messalina.—These undertakings were at least proofs of good intentions. Claudius, however, had the misfortune to marry for his third wife the infamous Messalina. Under her influence his reign became disgraceful. She did not scruple to show her contempt for Claudius by forcing Silius, a young and handsome Roman noble, to public marriage with herself. When this disgrace came to the ears of Claudius, he directed her to be executed, and married his niece Agrippina. "From this moment the government assumed a different character," says Tacitus, "for a woman had control of everything."

6. The Adoption of Nero.—The great aim of Agrippina was to advance her son Domitius and secure for him the succession. For this purpose she courted the favor of the army and the people, recalled Seneca from banishment and made him her son's tutor. Domitius was adopted into the imperial family and received the name of Nero. He then married Octavia, the sister of Britannicus.[1] Nero was now in his sixteenth year, and the plans of Agrippina were ripe for execution. Claudius was taken sick, but she determined to hasten his end by poison. The crime of poisoning had become so frequent, that professional poisoners existed in abundance. One of these, Locusta, well-known from the satire of Juvenal and the irony of Tacitus, prepared the fatal potion. The emperor died in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

7. Nero (A. D. 54–68).—During the first five years[2] of his reign, Nero, restrained by his teacher Seneca and Burrus the captain of the prætorian guards, governed with mildness, reduced the taxes, and increased the authority of the senate. Within his own household were his greatest foes. No sooner had he ascended the throne than his mother determined to seize the reins of government herself. She declared that Britannicus was after all the true heir, and that he had arrived at manhood. This excited the jealousy of Nero, and Britannicus was put to

[1] Britannicus was the son of Claudius by Messalina.
[2] *Quinquennium Neronis.*

death. Other crimes followed. Agrippina was murdered at the instigation of Poppæa Sabina, the most beautiful woman of her age, under whose influence Nero fell so completely that he divorced his wife Octavia and lived with her as his mistress. He plunged into the wildest vices, murdered Burrus, broke away from Seneca, and with Tigellinus as the minister of his pleasures, he indulged in the most shameless vices. Poppæa's husband was sent away to Lusitania as governor, while she aspired to reign as empress.

NERO.

8. Proscription of the Nobles.—Nero grew more and more reckless. The nobles whose wealth tempted him or whose influence caused him anxiety, were cut off one by one. All restraint was cast aside, as well as all respect for the customs of his ancestor. He descended into the arena and contended for the prize with singers and musicians, and engaged in contests in the circus. He met with great applause from the people, but the nobles shuddered at the degradation.

9. The Great Fire.—In A. D. 64 a conflagration broke out near the Circus Maximus. The flames spread over the Aventine and the Palatine hills, and through the valleys at their base, until a greater part of the lower city resembled a sea of fire. Three of the fourteen regions were totally destroyed; seven were injured more or less, while only four escaped uninjured. The Capitoline escaped, as also did the forum. Nero was unwearied in his exertions to relieve the people who had lost their property. Temporary buildings were erected, and the price of corn was reduced. In spite of all this, the rumor spread that Nero himself had set the city on fire, and then taken his station on the villa of Mæcenas and chanted "the Sack of Troy," a poem composed by himself. He sought to save himself from reproach by throwing the odium on the Christians, upon whom he inflicted

fearful cruelties.[1] New exactions were made both at home and in the provinces for the rebuilding of the city. In Greece and Asia Minor the treasures in the temples were seized, and the statues of the gods carried to Rome. The city rose with marvellous rapidity from its ruins. On a part of the area was constructed the new palace, "the golden house" as it was called from its splendid decorations. It occupied a part of the Palatine, and extended to the foot of the Esquiline and the Cœlian, and included in its vast enclosure, gardens, artificial lakes, baths and pleasure-grounds. On the spot where the Flavian amphitheatre was afterwards erected was one of the artificial lakes. Before the house stood the colossal statue of Nero, which was one hundred and seventeen feet high.[2]

10. Discontent of the People and the Army.—The exactions for these expenses caused great discontent, and at length a conspiracy was formed under the guidance of Calpurnius Piso. It was so unskillfully laid that it was detected, and many victims, among whom were Lucan and Seneca, perished. The city, says Tacitus, was filled with funerals, while the temples reeked with sacrifices. Fear made the tyrant more cruel. Discontent reached the armies, and Nero determined to sacrifice his proconsuls. Corbulo in the east was an especial object of suspicion. In A. D. 66 Nero undertook a journey through Greece to Egypt. In Greece he contended for musical prizes at the national festivals, and sank so deep in vices that all classes were disgusted. The armies in Spain, Gaul, Africa and Germany raised the standard of revolt almost at the same time. "This revealed," says Tacitus, "the secret of the empire, that a prince could be created elsewhere than in Rome." When the news of the revolt reached Nero he fainted away. "Never," cried he, "was such ill-fortune as mine; other Cæsars have fallen by the sword, I alone must lose the empire while alive."

11. Death of Nero.—The prætorians deserted Nero, and even the populace assailed him with clamors. He fled by

[1] Tacitus xv., 44. Gibbon first suggested that it was on the Jews and not on the Christians (the distinction between them not being understood) that Nero wreaked his vengeance. Merivale accepts this in the main. Plausible as the view is, it seems hardly justifiable to accept it against the clear and definite testimony of Tacitus.

[2] This statue was removed by Hadrian to a pediment a little northeast of the Meta Sudans near the Colosseum.

night from the city. The senate met, declared him a public enemy, and doomed him to death "after the manner of the ancients." "What is that?" asked Nero. On being told that the culprit was fixed naked with his neck in a cleft stick and scourged to death, he called his slave to put an end to his life,[1] while he muttered, "What a loss my death will be to art."

12. Galba and Otho (A. D. 68).—Galba had already been proclaimed emperor by his troops, and the senate ratified the choice. Hitherto the Romans had never looked outside of the Julian line for an imperator; now that this family was extinct, any one might aim for the highest prize. Scarcely had Galba arrived in Rome when the legions in Upper Germany revolted. This induced him to associate a young and active colleague with himself in the government. The choice fell on L. Piso, whose frugal habits and austere virtues increased the unpopularity of Galba. The soldiers, from whom the usual donations were withheld, received their new commander in gloomy silence. No one was more disappointed when Piso was associated in the government than Otho, the husband of Poppæa, who had entered Rome with Galba and hoped to succeed him. When he found his scheme interrupted, he ingratiated himself with the soldiers, who were in ill-humor on account of the parsimony of Galba, and was saluted imperator. When Galba appeared, he was deserted by the prætorians and killed in the forum with his colleague. Otho, who was accepted by the senate, adopted suitable measures for the government of the city. The nobles were conciliated, consuls appointed, and exiles restored. The legions in Spain and Gaul, however, declared Vitellius emperor, while the legions in the East declared for Otho. Civil war seemed imminent between the East and the West. Two divisions of the army of Vitellius were already entering Italy under Valens and Cæcina, through the passes of Mt. Genèvre and the great St. Bernard. Otho encountered their forces at Bedriacum, near the confluence of the Adda and the Po, but being defeated he put an end to his own life, and Vitellius became emperor.

[1] During the reign of Nero the Britons (A. D. 61) under Boadicæa revolted, and Corbulo carried on a war against the Parthians and Armenians.

13. Vitellius (A. D. 68–69).—Vitellius was a glutton and a tyrant, cowardly and vacillating.[1] He neglected every duty and left the management of affairs to the victors at Bedriacum. The contest had been waged thus far by the soldiers in the West. There were nine legions in the East under the command of discreet and able leaders. T. Flavius Vespasianus the commander in Palestine, was declared imperator by his soldiers Leaving his son Titus to conduct the war against the Jews, Vespasian dispatched his generals, Antonius Primus and Mucianus, across the Eastern Alps into Italy. The second battle of Bedriacum decided the contest. The victors advanced to Rome, and a division of the army forced its way through the Colline gate. A terrible combat followed in the streets. The populace looked on, applauded or hooted as in a theatre, helped drag the fugitives forth for slaughter, and snatched plunder from the dead and the dying. During the *mêlée* the Capitoline temple was burnt. The adherents of Vitellius took refuge in the prætorian camp; but this was soon stormed and taken, and Vitellius was put to death.

CHAPTER LXII.

The Flavian Emperors: Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, A. D. 69–96.

1. The Revolt in Germany and Gaul.—Vespasian had scarcely heard of the honors decreed to him by the senate when the empire was threatened with the loss of one of its best provinces. The army in Gaul and on the Rhine had been very much weakened during the late civil wars. Claudius Civilis seized the opportunity to excite a mutiny among the Gauls who served in the legions. The revolt spread through

[1] Tacitus, Hist. iii., 36, describes him admirably.

Gaul, and the Druids predicted another fall of Rome by Gallic arms. Mucianus hastened to meet the danger. The Gauls who had not yet joined the insurrection, held a congress in the territory of the Rhemi—whose capital Rheims afterwards became the sacred seat of the French monarchy—and decided on submission. Some other tribes took occasion to desert to the Romans. Civilis had already been compelled to retreat to the island of Batavi, where he defended himself with great skill and desperate courage; but the obstinacy of the Romans conquered. Civilis saved his life by swimming across the Rhine.[1] When Vespasian arrived in Rome he began at once to restore discipline to the army, to improve the administration of justice, and to purify the senate. Economy and order were introduced, the finances restored, and luxury and extravagance restrained.

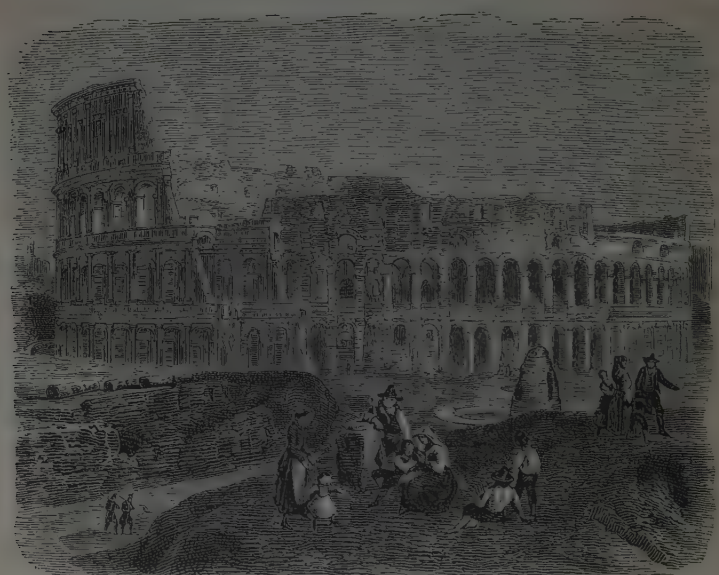
2. The Colosseum and other Structures.—Vespasian expended large sums in public works, rebuilt the capitol, erected a temple of peace and a new forum, and, more than all, commenced the most stupendous work of antiquity, the Flavian amphitheatre, or *colosseum*,[2] as it was afterwards called, either from its size or from the colossal statue of Nero which stood near by it. He patronized learned men. Under his reign Quintilian, the rhetorician, enjoyed the salary which Vespasian allowed to public teachers. The only exception to his clemency was the banishment of the Stoic and the Cynic philosophers.

3. Military Exploits.—When Vespasian was declared *imperator*, he left his son to conduct the war against the Jews. In A. D. 70 Jerusalem was taken, the city demolished, and the Jews from this time were scattered over the empire. Among the prisoners taken to Rome was Josephus, the historian of the war. The arch of Titus, which still stands at Rome, displays the representation of the Jewish sacred vessels that were car-

[1] Merivale says that Civilis at this time gave up the island, and fled across the Rhine. Tacitus (v., 19) states distinctly that he retired to the island (*in insulam concessit*), and after its capture (v. 23) fled across the Rhine. (Dederich G. d Röm. u. d Deutsch, p. 122, and Meyer Der Freiheits krieg d. Betaven unter Civilis, p. 88.)

[2] It was intended for hunts of wild animals (*venationes*) and sea-fights (*naumachiæ*). It seated 87,000 persons. It was erected within the site of Nero's golden house.

ried off by Titus. In Britain, Agricola extended the limits of the empire to the north, and compelled the wild tribes in Caledonia to submit.



THE FLAVIAN AMPHITHEATRE IN ITS PRESENT CONDITION. (Meta sudans.[1])

4. Character of Vespasian. — Vespasian's government was a model of moderation and economy. He was the restorer of the state. He shared the imperial duties with his son, who was acknowledged emperor without difficulty on the death of his father.

5. Titus Declared Emperor (A. D. 79–81). — Titus, when he ascended the throne, laid aside the failings of his youth and ruled with so much firmness and justice, that he was called "the delight of mankind." The law of *majestas* was allowed to slumber, and the infamous trade of the delators was sus-

[1] The *meta sudans* was a magnificent fountain erected by Domitian. The gladiators are supposed to have washed here after their contests in the amphitheatre.

pended. His government was so just and equitable that no one was punished for political offences.

6. Eruption of Mount Vesuvius.—During the first year of his reign, the eruption of Mount Vesuvius took place. The towns of Herculaneum,* Pompeji, and Stabiæ were over-

THE ARCH OF TITUS. (IN ITS PRESENT CONDITION, 1879.)

whelmed. The elder Pliny[1] lost his life in investigating the cause of the eruption. Pompeji was covered with ashes and sand, so that everything remained in a remarkable state of preservation. The city has been excavated, and the vast number of remains enables us to form a tolerably correct conception of the civilization and domestic life of the Romans in the Italian cities in the time of the empire.

7. Death of Titus.—During his reign a great fire swept through the city. The Colosseum,[2] which had been begun by his predecessor, was dedicated with magnificent games that

[1] The younger Pliny gives an account of the eruption in two letters (Ep. vi., 16, 20) to his friend Tacitus.

[2] This name appears first in Bede in the 7th century.

* See map, p. 98.

lasted one hundred days.[1] Titus associated no one with him in the government, though he often spoke of his brother as his destined successor.

8. Domitian (A. D. 81–96).—Domitian, the last of the Flavian dynasty, was a cruel tyrant. He took delight in nothing but contests of wild beasts and in gladiatorial games. During his reign began the series of contests with the barbarian tribes on the Rhine and the Danube frontiers, which soon shook the power and threatened the very existence of the empire. The Dacians crossed the Danube and ravaged the province of Mœsia. Domitian's general, Julianus, prosecuted the war with success, yet Domitian concluded a peace, by which he promised to pay the Dacian king Decebalus, tribute. In Pannonia also the enemy was successful. Agricola, who had carried on a successful campaign in Britain and was in a fair way to subdue the whole island, was recalled because Domitian was jealous of his fame (A.D. 84). In order to provide shows and games for the people, Domitian plundered the nobles. He exacted large

[1] The following admirable description of the amphitheatre and its sports is from Gibbon: "The hunting, or exhibition of wild beasts, was conducted with a magnificence suitable to a people who styled themselves the masters of the world; nor was the edifice appropriated to that entertainment less expressive of Roman greatness. Posterity admires, and will long admire, the awful remains of the amphitheatre of Titus, which so well deserved the epithet of colossal. It was a building of an elliptic figure, five hundred and sixty-four feet in length, and four hundred and sixty-seven in breadth, founded on four-score arches, and rising, with four successive orders of architecture, to the height of one hundred and forty feet. The outside of the edifice was encrusted with marble, and decorated with statues. The slopes of the vast concave which formed the inside were filled and surrounded with sixty or eighty rows of seats of marble, likewise covered with cushions, and capable of receiving with ease above fourscore thousand spectators. Sixty-four vomitories (for by that name the doors were very aptly distinguished) poured forth the immense multitude; and the entrances, passages, and staircases, were contrived with such exquisite skill, that each person, whether of the senatorial, the equestrian, or the plebeian order, arrived at his destined place without trouble or confusion. Nothing was omitted which in any respect could be subservient to the convenience or pleasure of the spectators. They were protected from the sun and rain by an ample canopy occasionally drawn over their heads. The air was continually refreshed by the playing of fountains, and profusely impregnated by the grateful scent of aromatics. In the centre of the edifice the arena, or stage, was strewed with the finest sand, and successively assumed the most different forms. At one moment it seemed to rise out of the earth, like the garden of the Hesperides, and was afterwards broken into the rocks and caverns of Thrace. The subterraneous pipes conveyed an inexhaustible supply of water; and what had just before appeared a level plain might be suddenly converted into a wide lake, covered with armed vessels and replenished with the monsters of the deep. In the decorations of these scenes, the Roman emperors displayed their wealth and liberality; and we read on various occasions, that the whole furniture of the amphitheatre consisted either of silver, or of gold, or of amber. The poet who describes the games of Carinus, in the character of a shepherd attracted to the capital by the fame of their magnificence, affirms that the nets designed as a defence against the wild beasts were of gold wire; that the porticoes were gilded, and that the belt or circle which divided the several ranks of the spectators from each other, was studded with a precious mosaic of beautiful stones."

* See map No. 7.

gifts from the provinces.[1] A triumphal arch and a colossal equestrian statue were erected in the forum, in front of the temple of Vespasian.[2] Domitian had himself styled a god, and was worshipped with divine honors. Discontent prevailed throughout the empire. On the Rhenish frontier an insurrection broke out. It was unsuccessful; but from this time date the cruelties which make the name of Domitian especially infamous. A jealousy of all excellences seemed to possess him. The philosophers, among whom was the wise Epictetus, were banished. The Christians and the Jews were murdered in great numbers, and all classes were teased and irritated. The grim humor with which he delighted to accompany his cruelties, aggravated them. At length his own household rose against him. He was assassinated, and the throne was given to Nerva by the senate.

9. The Last of the "Twelve Cæsars."—Domitian[3] was the last of the "twelve Cæsars." The succeeding emperors assumed the title, but from the fact that Suetonius composed the biography of the first twelve, the name has become their peculiar heritage. The chief authorities for the history of the twelve Cæsars are Tacitus and Suetonius. Much interesting information concerning this period is also gathered from the satires of Juvenal. We must not, however, attach too much importance to the denunciations of these writers against former tyrants. Tyrannicide had long been a favorite subject with poets and rhetoricians, and these tirades were nothing new. Besides, the policy of Trajan, under whose reign both Tacitus and Juvenal wrote, encouraged abuse of his predecessors. If liberty was to be restored, it was necessary to show that it had been overthrown. Tacitus wrote as a Roman of the old school, and every page shows that he was a partisan. Everywhere throughout the provinces,[4] the government was wise and ably administered. The city of Rome alone felt the weight of tyranny.

[1] *Aurum coronarium.*

[2] The columns of this temple (it was erected by Domitian) are still standing; it was restored by Severus.

[3] During his reign the pay of the army was increased from 225 to 300 denarii, paid in four instead of three yearly installments.

[4] Strabo, Philo, and Josephus speak in praise of the government. Valerius Maximus and Paterculus praise Tiberius.

CHAPTER LXIII.

The Reigns of Nerva, of Trajan, of Hadrian, A. D. 96–138—Prosperity of the Empire.

1. Nerva (A. D. 96–98).—Nerva was remarkable for his virtues and clemency. He put a stop to trials for treason, diminished taxes, recalled the exiles, distributed land among the poor, and relieved the people of Italy from the duty of furnishing free post-wagons and couriers.[1] In order to restrain the insolence of the prætorians who had not been consulted in his election, he adopted M. Ulpius Trajanus, the brave commander on the Rhine frontier. The senate confirmed the adoption. After a reign of only sixteen months Nerva died.

2. Trajan (A. D. 98–117).—Trajan was born at Italica in Spain. He was the first emperor who was not a native of Italy. Trajan was at Cologne when he received the reins of government. One of his first acts was to assure the senate that no one of its members should suffer death during his reign. The tranquillity of Rome allowed him to remain a year on the frontier, perfecting its defences. He built a bridge across the Rhine at Mayence,[2] founded colonies beyond the right bank, and marked off the tributary district, the *agri decumates*, by a mound and a ditch from the Rhine to the Danube. On his

TRAJAN.

[1] See p. 425, note 6; this we learn from an inscription on a coin, *vehiculatione Italiæ remissæ.*

[2] Mogontiacum; see map, p. 431.

return to Rome, his equable measures won for him great popularity. The Romans regarded him as the best of all their emperors. He was brave and magnanimous. He knew how to be lenient as well as strict, and to combine business with sociability. The Romans gave him the name of *Optimus* (the *best*), and in later times the senate regarded it as the highest compliment to a new emperor to declare that he "was more fortunate than Augustus and better than Trajan."

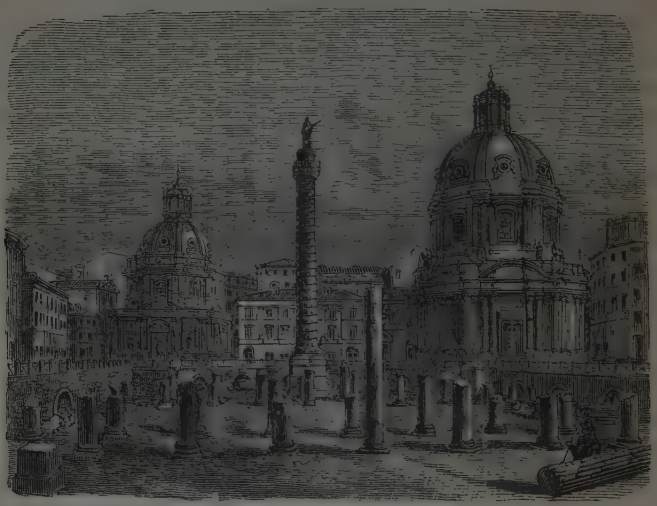
3. War with the Dacians (A. D. 101).—When the Dacians demanded the tribute promised them by Domitian, Trajan crossed the Danube and defeated them in a terrible battle, and their chieftain Decebalus fell by his own sword amid the ruins of his capital.[1] On his return to Rome in A. D. 106 Trajan received the name of Dacicus, and celebrated a magnificent triumph that lasted one hundred and twenty-three days, in which ten thousand gladiators fought and eleven thousand wild animals were killed. In the East he carried on war against the Parthians,* took Ctesiphon and Seleucia, and converted Armenia and Mesopotamia into provinces (A. D. 117). Arabia Petræa also was added to the empire.

4. His Forum and Poor Laws.—Trajan was a generous patron of literature. During his reign flourished the younger Pliny, Juvenal, and Plutarch. He extended the poor-law of Nerva so that five thousand children received allowances of corn, and made loans at 2½ to 5 per cent. to the proprietors of encumbered estates. He embellished Rome with public buildings, temples, and a new forum, in which the five-halled basilica and the magnificent column one hundred and forty-seven feet high, on which are engraved twenty-five thousand human figures, and the summit of which is adorned by his own statue,[2] formed the noblest ornament. In this forum were also erected the Ulpian library and a triumphal arch. Besides these works he constructed a new theatre, an odeum, and a gymnasium, enlarged the *circus maximus*, added to the nine aqueducts a new one, and on the Esquiline hill erected new baths near those of Titus.

[1] Zermizegethusa.
[2] In 1587 Sextus V replaced the statue by one of St. Peter.
* See map No. 7.

Every part of the empire was adorned with magnificent buildings, roads, bridges, or other useful improvements.

5. Prosperity of the Empire.—That Trajan was unwearied in his attentions to the details of business is attested by his correspondence with the younger Pliny, who was governor of Bithynia in A. D. 103. His management of the finances was remarkably good, and his administration of justice was firm and



THE FORUM OF TRAJAN. (IN ITS PRESENT CONDITION, 1879.)

impartial. During his reign the empire reached the highest state of prosperity, and extended its limits on the east and the west to the furthest points it ever reached. He was succeeded by his legate Hadrian.

6. Hadrian (A. D. 117–138).—Hadrian returned to the policy of Augustus, and gave his attention to defending the boundaries of the empire rather than enlarging them. He voluntarily relinquished Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. Hadrian was a man of great ability, and he was deeply versed in almost every department of learning. He had the same genial manners as Trajan, and the same application to business.

Client States
Senatorial Provinces
Imperial Provinces
EXTENT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE
A. D. 120 - 170
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Britannia
Aquitania
Italia
Corsica
Sardinia
Sicilia
Creta
Cyprus
Hispania
Baetica
Mauretania
Africa
Aegyptus
Dacia
Moesia
Thracia
Galatia
Cappadocia
Armenia
Phoenice
Arabia
Osroëne
Adiabe
Fisk & Sc. N.Y.

Returning to Rome laden with the spoils of war, he was enabled to win favor with all classes by his liberality. He remitted to the inhabitants of Italy the arrears of taxes due to the *fiscus* for sixteen years, and burnt the records of the debt in the forum of Trajan. In the provinces a large part of the arrears was also remitted.[1]

7. His Travels.—Disturbances in the East, and all along the frontier, compelled Hadrian to leave the capital. The Danubian frontier particularly demanded his attention. He had no sooner, however, quitted the city than a conspiracy was formed against him; he returned and quelled it with severity. After some slight success against the Dacians he recrossed and broke down the bridge that Trajan had thrown across the Danube. After a short stay in Rome he visited Gaul, crossed over to Britain and saw the advance which had been made in wealth and civilization—the country was well provided with roads which centred in Eboracum (York),* the capital, and a large inland and foreign trade brought wealth and prosperity. Thence he returned to Gaul, crossed the Mediterranean, and visited the distant East. From Syria he journeyed homeward through Asia Minor, making a long stay at Athens, the seat of the great university of the then civilized world.[2]

8. His Buildings.—On his return to Rome, he spent his time in diligent administration of the empire, and decorated the city with splendid buildings—among which may be mentioned the temple of Roma and Venus, and the Mausoleum on the right bank of the Tiber, which is still a majestic ruin under the name of the *Castle of St. Angelo.* Other works were distributed over the empire, as the villa at Tivoli, extensive ruins of which still remain, the ramparts in Britain, the temple of Augustus at Tarraco, a basilica at Nimes (Nemausus), and costly structures at Alexandria. He also established a university at Rome under

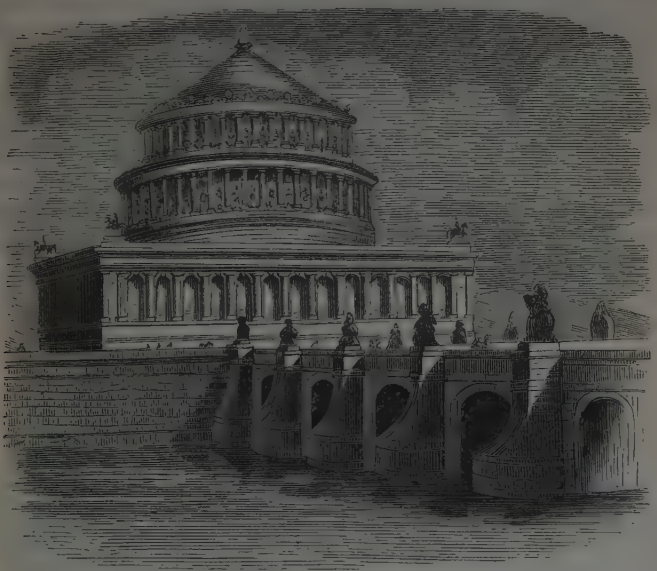
[1] The amount remitted to the fiscus amounted to 900 millions sesterces, as we learn from inscriptions (Orelli Inscr. sel. vol. i., p. 193; Eckhel, p. 478). Many think that this act of Hadrian was sculptured on the two marble screens found in the comitium.

[2] During this journey he had an opportunity to see how intolerable the burden of furnishing free post-wagons and couriers had become to the provincials; he therefore abolished it in the provinces as Nerva had done in Italy, and paid the expenses from his own purse (*fiscus*). By him the postal department (*cursus publicus*) was regularly organized.

* See map No. 7.

the name of the Athenæum, and endowed its professors on a magnificent scale.

9. Revolt of the Jews.—During his reign the Jews revolted on account of the foundation of a Roman colony under the name of *Ælia Capitolina* on the site of Jerusalem, and the erection of the shrine of Jupiter in the holy temple. The Jews fought with great desperation, but were finally subdued. Five hundred and eighty thousand are said to have fallen in battle,



MOLE OF HADRIAN RESTORED.[1]

while vast numbers perished by hunger, pestilence, and fire. The last hope of Jewish independence was gone; the race was now completely dispersed. The colony of *Ælia Capitolina* was then strengthened and the sacred city rebuilt; but the Jews were forbidden to enter it, while to the Christians the same freedom was granted as to the Romans.[2]

[1] This mausoleum is now the Castle of St. Angelo.

[2] See Derenbourg Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de Palestine, p. 420 ff. For Merivale's account of the cause of the insurrection, see l. c., vol. vii., 369 ff.

10. His Inquiring Spirit.—The persecution of the Christians was discouraged. In all parts of his empire Hadrian showed himself a seeker of the truth; Judaism, Christianity, the fantastic theosophy of the Gnostics, and the doctrines of the Alexandrian schools, all claimed his attention, and into the investigation of all he threw himself with ardor and vehemence.

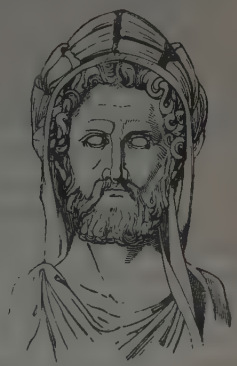
11. Hadrian, Emperor of the Roman World.—Of Hadrian it may be said that he was the first emperor who understood his position as master of the world. All throughout the vast empire conquerors and conquered were recognized as one people, while their equalization was left to the gradual influences that were at work to bring it about. Hadrian associated Commodus Verus in the labors of administration, and adopted him as his successor. He died soon after, and then Hadrian nominated M. Aurelius Antoninus as his successor, at the same time compelling him to adopt two heirs, L. Verus, the son of his late colleague, and Annius Verus, his own sister's son.

CHAPTER LXIV.

THE AGE OF THE ANTONINES—CONTINUED PROSPERITY OF THE EMPIRE, A. D. 138–180.

1. Antoninus Pius (A. D. 138–161).—Aurelius Antoninus, commonly called Antoninus Pius, a title bestowed upon him by the senate, was in simplicity of character and devotion to business one of the best of rulers. He associated Marcus Aurelius with himself in the government, and for twenty-three years they ruled together, vying with each other in noble qualities and in the excellence of their administration. Antoninus avoided war that he might promote the arts of peace. During his long reign he never left Italy. The empire remained in a state of peace and general contentment. He watched

with vigilance over the frontiers, and in some quarters, as in Britain, Dacia, Mauretania, and Egypt, troubles occurred to occupy his legates, but no war of any magnitude. His reign has been pronounced happy because it was barren of events. In the internal administration Antoninus made no changes. He continued a liberal policy toward the senate; he founded schools,[1] repaired roads and harbors,[2] and encouraged trade. The persecution of the Christians was checked, and to him Justin Martyr addressed his apology for Christianity. Antoninus died at Lorium* in the seventy-fifth year of his age. His last thoughts were devoted to the welfare of the republic, and the last watchword he gave to the soldiers was *æquanimitas*, which means not alone *equanimity*, but also



ANTONINUS PIUS.

AQUEDUCT OF THE PONT DU GARD, AT NIMES.

[1] The alimentation of poor children was extended by founding a charity school for girls, which he named after his wife Faustina, to whom he also dedicated the magnificent temple situated at the corner of the forum where the *via sacra* enters.

[2] The city of Nimes, from which his ancestors came to Rome, owed to him the amphitheatre and aqueduct which are the finest ruins of Roman architecture out of Italy.

* See map, p. 4.

purity, serenity, and *contentment* of mind. In this one word was embodied the whole character of his life.

2. Marcus Aurelius (A. D. 161–180).—This prince was surnamed the philosopher, for he modeled his life upon the precepts of the Stoic philosophy. He devoted himself to the cares of his office with patient attention, but his mind was always with his chosen studies, with the sophists and the rhetoricians. Fronto informs us that he was accounted the best orator of his age.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

3. Activity of the Barbarians.—On the frontiers the barbarian forces, pressed by other tribes in their rear and cramped in their ancient homes, became more and more menacing. The time was coming when the pale student of the Palatine must pass his days in the saddle and his nights under canvas in the wildest frontiers of the empire.[1] First, in the eastern provinces, the Parthian king broke the peace and invaded Armenia (A. D. 161). Aurelius' legates defeated him in battle, invaded Mesopotamia,* destroyed Seleucia, and penetrated to Babylon. The Parthian king purchased peace by ceding Mesopotamia to Rome. In the meanwhile, at home, Aurelius conducted the government with deference to the senate, and chose the ablest men for his ministers and prefects. He shared the government with Verus, and for the first time in the history of the empire there were two *Augusti.*

4. The Plague.—The Syrian legions brought back the plague, which extended along the line of their march through several provinces, and so devastated Italy that whole towns with their villas and lands were left without inhabitants or cultivators,

[1] Merivale.

* See map No. 7.

and fell to ruin or relapsed into wildernesses. The efforts to overcome the disease were directed by the celebrated physician Galen. The cause of the pestilence was charged upon the Christians, and the emperor permitted two cruel persecutions in which Justin Martyr died at Rome, and Polycarp at Smyrna.

5. The Frontier.—The dangers from the barbarians grew more menacing on the frontiers. Aurelius put himself at the head of the legions, and during the space of fourteen years[1] he was occupied almost unceasingly in checking the advance of the invaders. During the rest of his life he was engaged on the Danubian frontier in contests with the Marcomanni,* the Sarmatian, the Scythian, and the German tribes. But little is known of the details of these campaigns. The emperor died at Vindobona (*Vienna*) during a campaign, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

6. He Founds an Orphan School.—During the intervals in the numerous campaigns, Aurelius found time to enlarge the charities of his predecessors. He founded an institution for orphan girls, and in A. D. 176 remitted the debts and arrears of taxes due from Italy for a term of forty-six years, and ordered the papers of claims to be burnt in the forum.[2] The equestrian statue which the senate decreed to Marcus Aurelius still stands on the platform of the Campidoglio.[3]

7. The Climax of the Empire.—Aurelius was the last of the princes styled the five good emperors. From his time the glory and prosperity of the Roman people declined rapidly. Aurelius united in himself the different talents of a man of learning, of a fine writer, a skillful soldier, and a judicious ruler. His "Meditations" have made him known to posterity. They are a record of his thoughts and feelings, rather than a formal treatise on ethical philosophy, and form one of the most delightful productions of the human mind.

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[1] From A. D. 167 to 180. * See map No. 7.

[2] To this act some suppose the sculptured figures on the marble slabs in the forum refer: that they led up to the statue of that emperor.

[3] This was erected in the forum near the arch of S. Severus; in 1187 it was transferred to the Lateran, and in 1538 to this piazza. In the piazza Colonna stands the column of M. Aurelius, inscribed, like Trajan's, with reliefs from the wars against the Marcomanni. Four reliefs from the arch of Aurelius are in the Conservatore palace.

CHAPTER LXV.

Internal Condition of the Empire.—Symptoms of Decline.

1. The Barbarians.—Under the reign of the Antonines, the empire presented externally a high degree of prosperity. From the death of Domitian to that of Marcus Aurelius, the government throughout the vast extent of the empire was administered with honesty and wisdom. The armies were restrained and the forms of civil administration carefully preserved. The boundaries of the empire had been maintained on the North, while on the East the dividing line between the Roman world and the barbarians had been advanced from the Euphrates to the Tigris. The symptoms of decline, although hardly visible to common observation, had deeply impressed Aurelius, and had awakened his anxiety and apprehension for the future. The attacks of the barbarians on the frontiers, which had hitherto been local and desultory, now became frequent. The emperor was compelled to carry on war on the Rhine, the Danube, and the shores of the Euxine at the same time. The barbarian tribes seemed to be impelled by new impulses. The unity of the empire imparted a germ of union to its assailants. They presented themselves on every frontier stronger in arms and tactics as well as in numbers. It was evident that the resources of the empire were reduced. In the reign of Aurelius the invasion of the Marcomanni was repulsed with great difficulty. It excited deep alarm and foreboding throughout the empire.

2. Causes of Decline.—The brilliancy of the city and of the great provincial capitals, the magnificence of the games and of the entertainments, still remained undimmed. As yet no distinct murmurs of poverty or distress were heard among the

populace, and it is scarcely possible that during these long years of peace and uniform good government that any but the wisest could detect signs of decay or dissolution. Still, causes were at work that reduced the people to pauperism, crushed out the military spirit, extinguished the fire of genius, and spread decay and desolation throughout the wide extent of the empire. These causes, moralists [1] say, were the disappearance of the precious metals in the East in exchange for silks, carpets and ornaments, and for whatever else in dress, for the table, or the embellishment of their houses pleased the fancies of the Romans or gratified their tastes, which, under the odious name of luxury, were silently weakening the foundations of the government and sapping the subjects of their vigor and military spirit.

3. Luxury and Wealth.—The idea of luxury must always be a relative one. The standard varies in different countries and different ages. Many of the luxuries of Europe are daily fare in Asia, while articles of every day use with us are unknown in the East. Those articles which in one age indicate wealth become in the next common property. In fact every person, every people, and every generation declares those articles to be luxuries which they can dispense with.[2] It is true that, during the period from the battle of Actium to the death of Hadrian, vast fortunes were accumulated, and the ministers of luxury and pomp multiplied possibly beyond the conception of modern ideas. Still the amount of property held by a single individual was probably not larger than that in modern times, and the luxury and magnificence were confined to the great, to the few, and must not be taken as the groundwork of calculation for Italy and the Roman world. The agricultural laborer, as well as the artisan in the provinces, maintained himself as at the present day, by his own labor and that of his household, with few slaves, or according to Zumpt, with none. The stories that Suetonius has related of the

[1] Merivale, vol. vii., p. 479.

[2] Roscher, p. 408.

[3] A freedman in the time of Augustus, though he had suffered great losses in the civil wars, left 3600 yoke of oxen, 250,000 head of small cattle, and 4116 slaves (Plin. Hist. Nat., l. 33, 47. The Russian family Scheremetjew, before the abolition of serfdom, had 200,000 serfs who were themselves in possession of many millions of property.

vast extravagance of Caligula—that he squandered the income of three provinces[1] in a single banquet—of Nero and of Vitellius,[2] are exceptional; the other emperors for many centuries were frugal and often parsimonious. The richest man throughout the Roman world had only about four hundred million sesterces,[3] and only two[4] are mentioned as possessing this sum. The largest income of the richest Roman family was about one million dollars.[5]

4. The Standard of Luxury.—It must also be remembered that the Roman writers, as Pliny, Varro, and Seneca, to whom we are indebted for most of our information, looked to the past as the golden age, and condemned every change, every new convenience, every refinement of life, as dangerous innovations. Varro condemns the importation[6] of food, and the use of vessels as mediums of transporting the products of other lands, and Pliny finds in the artificial growth of asparagus and the use of ice the evidence of the most unbounded extravagance.[7] It is the opinion of Friedländer,[8] that the luxury of the table in ancient Rome did not exceed that of the wealthy

[1] Ten million sesterces.

[2] He was chiefly addicted to the vices of luxury and cruelty. He made generally three meals a day, sometimes four; breakfast, dinner and supper, and a drunken revel after all. This amount of victuals he could well enough bear from a custom to which he had enured himself, of frequently vomiting. For these several meals he would make different appointments at the houses of his friends on the same day. None ever entertained him at a less expense than 400,000 sesterces ($20,000). The most famous was a set entertainment given him by his brother, at which, it is said, there were served up no less than two thousand choice fishes, and seven thousand birds. Yet even this feast he himself outdid at a feast which he gave upon the first use of a dish which had been made for him, and which for its extraordinary size, he called "the shield of Minerva." In this dish there were chopped up together the livers of char-fish, the brains of pheasants and peacocks with tongues of flamingoes and the entrails of lampreys (Suet. Vitell., 13). During the whole time of the empire he found only one imitator, Elagabalus.

[3] About $20,000,000. Voltaire estimated Mazarin's property at 200,000,000 francs. Baron J. Rothschild's (died in 1868) property was estimated at 2000 million francs; John J. Astor was worth 25 to 30 million dollars, and A. T. Stewart left at least 60 millions, and Vanderbilt 80 millions. The value of gold in the time of the Roman empire was at least twice, possibly five times as much as it is now.

[4] Cn. Lentulus and Narcissus, Nero's freedman. [5] $1,218,000.

[6] There is no reason to believe that the importation of food from Asia and Africa into Europe to-day is easier or less costly than into Rome in the time of the empire. Thucydides regarded it as one of the greatest advantages of Athens that the products of all lands found a market there. Varro's view would find but little approval to-day in Germany, where a person in the middle ranks of life has for breakfast, coffee from East India, tea from China, sugar from the West Indies, cheese from England, wine from Spain, caviare from Russia, without any being regarded as luxuries.—*Rosch.*, p. 428.

[7] The mantle woven from gold which the empress Agrippina wore, Pliny, Diod. and Tacitus mention as something marvellous and unexampled. Charles the Bold, at the battle of Grandson, had 400 chests filled with clothing wrought with gold and silver, and 100 coats for himself woven with gold.

[8] Sittengeschichte Roms., p. 30.

in the great cities of Europe in the eighteenth century, nor equal that of the nineteenth. The luxury that prevailed in dress, ornaments, furniture, and buildings, certainly did not exceed, probably did not equal, that of modern times.

5. Prosperity of the Empire.—The importation of articles of luxury such as silks,[1] carpets and ornaments, estimated at one hundred million sesterces yearly, was certainly very small[2] in comparison with that of modern times. This expenditure was very far from exhausting the wealth of the Roman world, and Pliny[3] aptly depicts the tranquil and prosperous state of the empire. "The provincials as well as the Romans," says he, "acknowledged that the true principles of social life, laws, agriculture and science, which had first been invented by the wisdom of Athens, were now firmly established by the power of Rome, under whose auspicious influence the fiercest barbarians were united by an equitable government and a common language. They affirmed, that with the improvement of arts, the human species was visibly multiplied. They celebrated the increasing splendor of the cities, the beautiful face of the country, cultivated and adorned like an immense garden; and the long festival of peace which was enjoyed by so many nations, forgetful of their ancient animosities, and delivered from the apprehension of future danger."[4]

6. Causes of Decline.—To what then shall we attribute the rapid decline of the empire? First we must consider that the Romans had not gained their enormous wealth by legitimate labor,[5] by manufactures and commerce, but by war. When they lost the power to conquer, they could not acquire the habits of industry and accumulation. When, therefore, the limits of conquest had been reached, inactivity set in.

[1] Silks from the East were worth their weight in gold.

[2] Merivale assigns as one cause of decline, the disappearance of the precious metals in the East in exchange for luxuries. According to recent estimates (1870) 122½ million pounds sterling were exported from 1861-69 to Asia, or twelve times as much as in the time of Pliny (£13⅔ million yearly); in the time of Pliny, the proportion between gold and silver was 1 to 10; in the time of Constantine, 1 to 14⅔; these figures show that the imports from the East were far from exhausting the supply of silver; that the produce of the mines supplied the demand.

[3] Nat. Hist. iii., 5.

[4] Gibbon, vol. i., p. 70.

[5] A thousand dollars spent in luxury will pay nearly a thousand dollars of wages. A thousand dollars employed as capital will, in ten years, pay twenty thousand dollars of wages.

The Romans lived on their accumulations. The proletarians were supported in the capital in idleness, a form of luxury which is the most costly of all indulgences, for it corrupts all manners, perverts all offices of nature, wastes all the powers of labor, and has its complete result in poverty, ignorance and political servitude.[1] Although money was diffused throughout the empire in exchange for luxuries, yet this had no elevating effect on the condition of the people. The gap between the rich and the poor was too great. The few were very rich, and the many poor. The latter instead of being encouraged, were depressed. There were no influences[2] to elevate the masses. The grades of society became fixed, and no one could hope to cross the barrier.

7. Extent to which Idleness can be Carried.—Gibbon estimates that no state can, without soon becoming exhausted, support more than about one-twentieth of its able-bodied male population in idleness. The proportion at Rome was much larger, and when the period of conquest ceased, and the amount of wealth expended in enjoyment exceeded the limit of production, the standard of industrial prosperity fell, the laboring classes were oppressed, commerce and agriculture declined, poverty spread throughout the empire, and the unwillingness to multiply became stronger and stronger.[3]

8. The Decrease in Population.—The decrease in the population had been noticed even in the time of the republic, and Polybius says, Rome could no longer place such armies in the field as she had raised in the Second Punic war. In the time of the Gracchi unfavorable legislation had caused the number of small farmers[4] to decrease to such an extent as to awaken the anxiety of the best men in the state, and Cæsar and his successors struggled earnestly to remedy this evil. Livy speaks with wonder of the armies that had fought in former times in Latium, where now only a few slaves tilled the land that had once been the homes of so many hardy warriors. In the time of Hadrian there was possibly some slight gain in the population; yet, with this exception, the returns of the

[1] Walker, The Science of Wealth, p. 397.
[2] Roscher, p. 318 ff.
[3] See p. 427.
[4] See p. 210.

census show no steady increase in the number of citizens from the second Punic war to the death of Marcus Aurelius, that cannot be accounted for by the extension of the franchise.[1] This decrease in the population, combined with the disinclination to military service, rendered it impossible to keep a native army on foot. Augustus found it difficult to fill up the void caused by the defeat of Varus. During the reign of Augustus several laws were passed encouraging marriage, and in B. C. 18, the senate decreed that marriage should be imperative on citizens of suitable age. These efforts, however, produced no lasting effect,[2] for, as Plutarch tells us, people married not to have heirs, but to become heirs, since they could only receive legacies in case they married. The decrease in population continued through the succeeding generations.

9. The Cause of the Decrease in Population.— Roman civilization, instead of being industrial and favorable to the growth of population, was military, and therefore destructive.[3] The Punic wars and the long wars in the East gave a serious check to the increase of population. But before Italy could recover from these losses, the Social[4] and Civil wars followed, and the drain of life became almost constant for nearly two centuries. Still, Italy might have recovered had not other and even more deleterious influences come into play. The importation of grain, which was sold in the markets in Rome below the cost of production in Italy, caused even farming on a large scale to be abandoned, and the conversion of the land into pasturage. The veterans who had been settled in colonies soon became tired of work, sold their little farms and returned to swell the impoverished crowd in the capital that lived on the pittance doled out to them by the state. The result

[1] The population of the city, estimated in the time of Augustus at about 1¼ to 1½ millions, had dwindled in the time of Diocletian to one-half that. The number of citizens, provincials and slaves throughout the empire, cannot be determined with any certainty. It has been estimated to have been in the time of Claudius 120 millions, a total that nearly equals half of that of modern Europe (estimated at 312,398,480 in Behm and Wagner's Bevolkerung. der Erde); this estimate is based on the assumption that the number of citizens (in the time of Claudius about 20,000,000) was half as many as the provincials, and that the slaves equalled the free inhabitants.

[2] Tacitus, Ann. iii., 25. and Pliny, Ep. iv., 15.

[3] See Roscher, p. 281.

[4] Nearly 500,000 perished in the Social war.

was that the rural districts had become almost a desert tenanted by a few wild herdmen and gangs of slaves, while the free population that had once tilled the soil, wasted away under the vice and the profligacy of the capital. Infanticide and exposure of the newly born children which Polybius had specified as one of the causes of the decline of population in Greece, became fearfully prevalent at Rome. Ovid,[1] Seneca,[2] Plutarch,[3] and Quintilian,[4] tell us that the exposure of children as well as the destruction of the unborn was practiced at Rome on a gigantic scale, and although laws were passed to encourage the charitable to rear foundlings, still infanticide was the crying vice of the empire and one of the chief causes of the terrible depopulation of Italy.

10. Lack of Industrial Enterprise.—To these considerations must be added the lack of all industrial enterprise among the Romans. They considered all labor as degrading, and were satisfied to live in the capital in idleness supported by the bounty of the state. They had no mechanical nor inventive genius; the practical proficiency which they seem to have attained in mechanics and engineering was almost wholly due to Grecian architects aided by foreign labor. The trades were handed over to slaves and freedmen, the prosperous middle class had disappeared, while the populace, conciliated by gladiatorial games and the distribution of corn, sank lower and lower, until they became the brutal, sensual mob, which Juvenal and Tacitus paint in the most hideous colors. In the age of the Antonines, this populace had become a motley multitude without opinions or purposes, over which a lethargy, a torpor was creeping that numbed every noble instinct. Their only thought was to live on the public rations, to spend their days in idleness, in the circus and in crime. The higher classes had outlived all their high ideals, and could put forth no effort to awaken the masses from their slumber, nor to induce them to shake off their inactivity.

[1] Ovid, De Nuc., 22.
[2] Seneca, Ad. Helv., xvi.
[3] *De Amor. Prolix.*
[4] *Decl.*, ccevi.

11. Influence of Civilization on the Barbarians.— Even the barbarians admitted within the empire, lost their ancient vigor. The sudden change from a life of rude and violent adventure for the Roman baths and schools of rhetoric, caused an unnatural lethargy. The abrupt introduction to a highly civilized and luxurious life, was too much for them.

12. Superstitious Observances. — A society in such a critical condition could bear no sudden shock. In A. D. 166 the plague broke out, and famines, earthquakes and conflagrations fell in rapid succession upon the capital and the provinces. The vital powers of the empire possessed no elasticity. Every blow seeemed to tell upon it with increasing strength. To repel the barbarians on the frontier, the legions were recruited with strangers, slaves, and the refuse of the streets. Other barbarians were admitted and settled within the borders of the empire, that the first blow might fall on them, and possibly be repelled. In these disasters the people devoted themselves anew to superstitious worship, and raised shrines to every deity whose power they thought could avert the coming evils. The prevailing schools of philosophy all arrived at the same result—stoical indifference to actual life and a future state, a profound resignation to the gloomy fate that weighed down the world. Religious belief, except in the lowest forms of superstition, was absolutely dead. The ancient gods had lost their hold on the people, and no new objects of worship had taken their place.

13. Christianity.—"In the midst of this darkness, a still small voice was heard out of the East, 'Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest;' and after a while the same voice was heard, saying, 'God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life;' and, again, a Roman citizen of Tarsus cried, 'This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners.' There was rest then for the weary and heavy-laden; there was a God, too, and life everlasting, for those who believed in Him and His Son,

who had come into the world to save sinners; and so the new doctrine came to Rome. In that sluggish mass the leaven was hid that was to throw the whole world into ferment; into that dark soil, in which so much that was precious had been interred, a grain of seed was cast that was to grow into a stately tree overshadowing the earth. The doctrine spread at first, as we may readily suppose, among slaves, whose weary lot was consoled with the thought that the Founder of their creed had expired on the bitter cross reserved for them; then gradually among other classes, but especially the Asiatic Greeks and other foreigners, with which Rome was full, until, after much persecution and many relapses, it reached the highest class of all, and Christianity became the religion of the land."

14. Equalizing Influences.—We have already, from time to time, noticed the policy of the empire to conciliate foreign nationalities. Its aim was to preserve and amalgamate the varied communities with their different languages, customs, and religious creeds. Cæsar had commenced the policy which the empire completed, and universal toleration was accorded to the customs, religions, and municipal freedom of the provincials. The right of citizenship was extended to the whole empire. The tendency was to efface distinctions and to weld the varied and diverse elements into one harmonious whole.

15. The National Religion.—The liberty, however, accorded to the foreign forms of worship did not relieve the Roman from the obligation of attending to his own. It was the national deities under whose protection the empire had attained its prosperity. The neglect of this worship would bring adversity and final ruin to the state. Thus far all had joined in the popular worship. This duty—that every man in his devotions should conform to the customs of his country—every philosopher from Cicero to Epictetus had enjoined.

16. The Deification of the Emperor.—Under the empire the custom of deifying the emperors was introduced. This practice originated in the belief that the soul or manes of the departed ancestors became deities; and as it was a com-

mon practice for children to worship the manes of their fathers, so it was natural for the nation to pay divine honors to the emperor, who was regarded as the parent of the country. The statue of Augustus had been set up in the provinces for worship, and the figure of his genius had been placed in the chapels at Rome beside those of the Lares. Tiberius had deprived Cyzicus of its freedom because it had neglected the worship due him. Caligula accepted his divinity as a fact.[1] He ordered images of the gods, and particularly of Jupiter, to be brought from Greece, in order that he might substitute his own head for that of the god.[2] The result was that the emperors were invested with a sacred character, and distant peoples saw in their apotheosis and the vote of the senate conferring divine honors under the title of "Divus,"[3] only a fitting climax to their greatness and that of the empire.

17. Persecution of the Christians.—The custom of burning incense before the emperor's statues became a test of loyalty. In this act of adoration, as well as in the national worship, the Christians not only refused to join, but actually denounced them. The people regarded every calamity as a visitation of divine anger, and sought with scrupulous care to ascertain the cause. It is no wonder that the people attributed their calamities to the anger of the gods whose worship had been neglected. Under the republic, in moments of despair, a Gaul or a Greek had been buried alive in the *comitium*. In the age of Aurelius, victims were sought among those not of a foreign nation, but of a hostile faith. Aurelius regarded the crime of the Christians,[4] the crime of refusing to worship the gods, not as an outbreak of turbulence and disobedience, as had been the case under Nero, but as an insult to the majesty of the national divinities and the national worship. Under the protection of these divinities, the empire had flourished, and now, in the crisis of its fortune, was not the time to test their

[1] Seneca relates that Caligula started up once from his seat when a thunder-storm had interrupted the gladiatorial games, and with fearful imprecations against heaven, declared that this divided empire was intolerable, that either Jupiter or himself must speedily succumb.—*Lecky, Hist. Europ. Mor.*, vol. i., p. 275. [2] Suet., xxii.

[3] It must be remembered that *divus* means not alone *divine* but *deified*.

[4] Seeley, Rom. Imperialism.

value by a wanton defiance. The firmness of the Christians the emperor looked upon as strange and unnatural, and he could not excuse them from not joining in a service which he regarded as innocent and decorous.[1]

18. Infidelity.—We talk of unbelief and despair; but what atheism or despair can equal the set gray monotony of despair that was spreading over the Roman world! The people could not even curse God and die, for they had no gods to curse. The world was sick at heart, and the words that Tacitus puts into the mouth of Tiberius found an echo throughout the Roman world.[2] For their hearts were scarred and seamed with evil thoughts, savagery, and lust. The principles of decay were at work. The brilliant administration of the Antonines only delayed the threatened dissolution. In the age that followed the contrast was sharp and decisive.

CHAPTER LXVI.

The Period of Transition, A. D. 180–284.

1. Character of the Government.—The imperial government had two distinct periods. During the first, which ended with the death of Aurelius, the government was mainly administered wisely and beneficently. Peace reigned throughout the empire. All classes were secure, for the wise administration of the Antonines guaranteed law and order. The second period began with the accession of Diocletian. The period that intervened, that is, from A. D. 180–284, was a revolutionary age—an age of transition. It presents some of the worst tyrannies, some of the bloodiest revolutions, and some of the most enormous calamities known in history. The plague reappeared. The half-barbaric soldiery became mutinous and finally omnipotent. When the government emerged from the fiery

[1] Merivale, vol. vii., p. 489.

[2] Tact. An. iii., 54.

ordeal, it had introduced reforms that enabled it to exist for many centuries.

2. Commodus (A. D. 180–192).—Aurelius was succeeded by his unworthy son Commodus, the last of the Antonines. His skillful generals postponed the fatal day on the frontiers, and Commodus might have passed his life in debauchery, had not a plot against his life aroused him from his lethargy. It was frustrated. The assassin rushed upon the emperor and cried, "The senate sends you this." The assassin was seized by the guards; but these words aroused all the rage of Commodus against the hated order. The delators sprang up again. The ranks of the senate were thinned. In A. D. 189 a pestilence appeared followed by a famine. Commodus gave no heed to the administration. He took delight only in gladiatorial combats. Justice was bought and sold. The "Roman Hercules," as he was called, fought as a gladiator more than seven hundred times. Armed with the sword and mail of a *secutor*[1] he fought against antagonists whose only weapons were of lead or tin.[2] He was finally assassinated by his mistress, and his memory was declared infamous by the senate.

3. Pertinax (A. D. 193).—Commodus was succeeded by Pertinax, but he only had time to banish the delators and to promise to conduct the administration on principles of justice and economy, when he was murdered by the prætorians. The prætorians sold the crown to the highest bidder. It was purchased by a wealthy senator, *Didius Julianus*, for 25,000 sesterces (about $1000) to each soldier, amounting to 300 million sesterces for the whole prætorian guard of 12,000. Each of the armies on the Euphrates, on the Danubian and the Rhenish frontiers, rose in revolt when they heard of this, and nominated their own candidates. Septimius Severus, who commanded on the Danubian frontier, was the fortunate one. He acted with energy. The senate confirmed his title.

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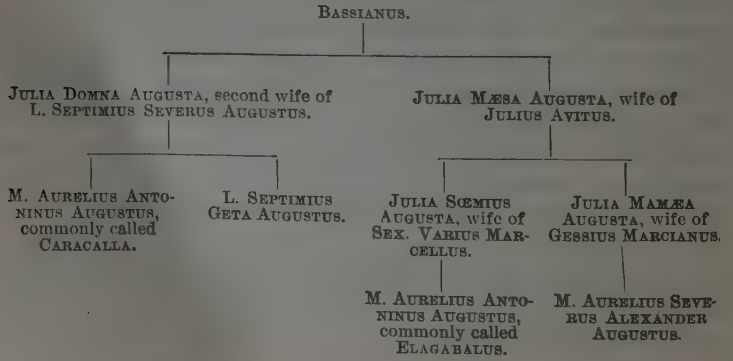
[1] The *Secutor* (*pursuer*) contended with the *Retarius* (*Net-bearer*). The Secutor pursued the Retarius, who fled until an opportunity occurred to throw his net over his opponent and then dispatch him; see p. 410 and note.

[2] He received from the common fund of gladiators a stipend so enormous (about $40,000) that it became an exorbitant tax on the Roman people.

4. Septimius Severus[1] (A. D. 193–211).—Septimius Severus was an able soldier. He disbanded the prætorians and banished them from the city. The emperor, however, could not dispense with guards, and, accordingly, the prætorians were restored on a new model, and the number increased to 50,000. The commander of this new force ranked next to the emperor, and to him was intrusted not only the command of the guards, but legislative and judicial powers, as well as the control of the finances. The senate was deprived of all power. The emperor carried on a campaign against the Parthians, took Ctesiphon, and received the submission of the kings of Mesopotamia and Arabia. The magnificent triumphal arch erected (in A. D. 203) to commemorate these victories still stands at the head of the forum. Severus died at Eboracum (*York*) in preparing for a campaign against the Caledonians, who had made incursions into Britain.

5. Caracalla and Elagabalus (A. D. 211–222).—Severus left the empire to his two sons Geta and Caracalla (211–217). Caracalla killed his brother and then put to death Papinian, the great jurist, for refusing to justify the fratricide. The franchise was bestowed (in A. D. 212) upon all free-born inhabitants in the empire in order to increase the revenue from the five per cent. tax which Augustus had imposed on Roman citizens who received inheritances, or made sales of merchandise. Caracalla

[1] GENEALOGICAL TABLE.


Bassianus.
Julia Domna Augusta, second wife of L. Septimius Severus Augustus.
Julia Mæsa Augusta, wife of Julius Avitus.
M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, commonly called Caracalla.
L. Septimius Geta Augustus.
Julia Sœmius Augusta, wife of Sex. Varius Marcellus.
Julia Mamæa Augusta, wife of Gessius Marcianus.
M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, commonly called Elagabalus.
M. Aurelius Severus Alexander Augustus.

was murdered by his own soldiers at the instigation of *Macrinus* (217–218), who succeeded to the throne. After a reign of fourteen months, he was defeated in battle by Elagabalus (218–222) the sun-priest, who was a true oriental, and appeared in the streets in the oriental costume, painted and bedizened. During this period all literature disappeared, and it is only from notices of foreigners that any glimpse is given of the life in the capital.

6. Alexander Severus (A. D. 222–238).—Elagabalus was succeeded by Alexander Severus, who was an emperor of a very different type. He had been carefully educated, and he strove as far as possible to restore the declining state. He re-established the council of state, and endeavored to elevate the senate in public esteem.[1] His efforts, however, were unavailing. The military power had become predominant, and it required a great man to quell it. The prætorians put Ulpian, the great jurist, to death, and Dio Cassius, the historian, escaped the same fate only by going into exile. The emperor fell in a mutiny instigated by *Maximin*, a Thracian peasant, a man of gigantic stature, who had won the favor of Severus. The degradation of Rome was now complete. Its chief was an illiterate barbarian. He was followed by *Gordian* (A. D. 238–244), who was murdered by the soldiers; by *Philip* (244–249), who celebrated the thousandth anniversary of Rome by magnificent games; and by *Decius* (249–351), who persecuted the Christians, and was slain in a war with the Goths.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

[1] During his reign the magnificent baths (*thermæ Antoninianæ*), begun by Caracalla in 212, were completed. See p. 408.

7. The Age of the Thirty Tyrants (A. D. 251–268).—After the death of Decius, the generals in different provinces were declared emperors,[1] and such confusion prevailed in every quarter, that this period is called the age of the thirty tyrants. The barbarians renewed their attacks with irresistible force. Every part of the frontier was threatened at once. The empire seemed on the point of dissolution. Still, under more able and vigorous generals it rallied once more; its power was recovered, its limits suffered no diminution; its weakness, however, was fully known to its enemies as well as to its subjects.[2]

8. Five Good Emperors (A. D. 268–284). — Under *Claudius* (A. D. 268–270), *Aurelian* (A. D. 270–275), *Tacitus* (A. D. 275–6), *Probus* (A. D. 276–282), and *Carus* (A. D. 282–283), five able emperors, the fragments into which the empire had begun to split were reunited. The security of the frontier was re-established. Claudius routed the Alemanni in Northern Italy, and gained a great victory over the Goths at Naissus in Mœsia. Aurelian defeated the Goths in Pannonia, drove the Alemanni out of Italy, and in order to protect the city in case of future invasions, surrounded it by a wall of about thirteen miles in length. This wall, although many times restored since then, still stands for the most part on the line which Aurelian traced for it. He founded "the city of Aurelian"[3] on the site of Genabum, relinquished Dacia to the Goths and the Vandals, and removed the Roman settlers across the river into Mœsia, a part of which was henceforth known as "Dacia Aureliani." After defeating the Goths, he undertook a war against *Zenobia* (A. D. 264–273), the queen of Palmyra. This city had

[1] As Odenathus, who founded the kingdom of Palmyra; Celsus in Africa; Marinus in Asia Minor; Piso in Thessaly, etc.

[2] On the Upper Rhine and the head-waters of the Danube, the Suevi, or, as Tacitus calls them, the Chatti, had joined with the Boji, Marcomanni and Quadi, under the general name of Alemanni; these tribes had formerly assailed Rhætia, Pannonia, but later they broke through the Roman ramparts, entered the *agri decumates*, and threatened Gaul and Italy; in 272 they penetrated into Italy as far as Ravenna. They gained no permanent footing, but faded away before the enervating influences of the climate and civilized life; on the Lower Rhine, the Chatti, Chauci, Cherusci and other tribes, under the name of Franks, invaded Gaul and penetrated into Spain and passed into Africa; they made no permanent conquests; on the Lower Danube and on the shores of the Euxine, the Goths and the Getæ became the most threatening; they occupied Dacia, they were bold navigators, they crossed the Euxine and ravaged the coast of Asia Minor. On the eastern frontier, the new dynasty of the Sassanidæ was growing in power. About this time the Saracens came into notice, plundering the outskirts between Egypt and Palestine.

[3] *Orleans.*

PALMYRA.—Near View of a Portion of the Ruins. (*See* Page 484.)

The city was pillaged by the Romans under Aurelian, in 272. It was [illegible]

attained remarkable prosperity. Philosophy and the arts flourished, and Zenobia herself was illustrious for her political wisdom, and the encouragement she gave to the critic Longinus. The city, the ruins of which are still among the most remarkable of the ancient world, was taken by storm and Zenobia led in triumph to Rome. *Tacitus* (A.D. 275–6), the next emperor, was elected by the senate. He lost his life in a campaign against the Alani in Asia Minor. On the death of Tacitus his brother *Florian* (A.D. 276) assumed the imperial purple, but he was defeated and put to death by *Probus* (A.D. 276–282). Probus was engaged during his whole reign in driving back the barbarians on the frontiers, and in quelling disorder within the empire. He delivered Gaul from the ravages of the Germans; he crossed the Rhine and recovered the *agri decumates*, and repaired the ancient fortifications from the Rhine to the Danube. Probus was murdered by his soldiers, who conferred the crown upon *Aurelius Carus* (A.D. 282–3), the prefect of the prætorians. Carus proclaimed his two sons to be Cæsars, and then proceeded to conduct the war against the Persians. The sudden death of the emperor saved the kingdom of the Sassanidæ. His two sons were murdered and the crown fell to *Diocletian*.

CHAPTER LXVII.

THE SECOND PERIOD OF THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT—REFORMS COMMENCED BY DIOCLETIAN (A. D. 284–305) WERE COMPLETED BY CONSTANTINE.

1. Character of the Imperial Government.—The accession of Diocletian marks a new era in the history of the empire. He inaugurated a new policy of government, which did away with the last semblance of liberty. From this time the old republican names entirely disappear—the senate and the consuls ceased to have any power. Until the death of Marcus

Aurelius, the government retained much of the character of the old republic. Just as formerly the dictator had managed the state with the confidence of the aristocratic senate, so then it was guided by a permanent prince, nominated by his predecessor. In the first case the power of the dictator was limited in point of time, that of the latter by nothing except his own will. For the most part, however, the emperors chose to regard the senate with deference and to secure its co-operation in the government. The question with Augustus had been to arrange the relations of the military to the civil powers so as to make them as little oppressive and as durable as possible. In the first period, that is to the death of Aurelius, the Roman people were distinctly separated from the barbarians.

2. The Military Power.—During the transition period (A. D. 180–284) the military power became predominant. The Germans were admitted into the empire. The old limits of the frontier still remained, but barbarians swarmed throughout the empire. The word Roman ceased to be a national designation. The army was recruited from the barbarians—Goths and Vandals. Victories were still won, but mostly by barbarian hands. During this period the empire showed a tendency to separate, to break into fragments. Gaul, Britain and Spain, tended to separate from Italy and form new nationalites. In the time of the thirty tyrants, Gaul and Spain were actually separated and governed for some time by independent emperors. The East sought to break away from the West, and this tendency was at a later time recognized by a permanent division of the empire.

3. Changes Made by Diocletian.—These dangers, however, were overcome, the empire rallied, and a new system was introduced that enabled it to support itself over its whole extent for more than another century, and in the Eastern half for many centuries. It was no longer the question to arrange the relations between the *imperator* and the senate, but between the *imperator* and his *legati*, and the army. But now, as then, the only hope of peace was in a strong central government. Liberty was still further diminished, and power still more absolutely

concentrated into one man's hand.[1] In effecting this revolution there came first the temporary arrangement of Diocletian, whose first act was to associate with himself (A. D. 286) his companion in arms, *Maximian*, under the title of *Augustus*, to rule over the West, while Diocletian himself encountered the enemies of the empire in the East. In A. D. 292, he appointed two *Cæsars* as assistants, *Galerius* and *Constantius*. They stood to the *Augusti* as sons and successors. The *Augusti* retained the more peaceful provinces, and assigned to the Cæsars those that required younger and more active men. Each exercised supreme civil and military power in his own territories, but all admitted the supremacy of Diocletian.[2] The government was administered with vigor. The revolt in Egypt was quelled, the Alemanni were kept in check, and the Persians were brought to terms. Successful in every quarter, Diocletian celebrated in the ancient capital a magnificent triumph.[3] During the reign of Diocletian occurred, as reckoned by ecclesiastical historians, the tenth and last persecution of the Christians.[4]

4. Taxation.—The vast increase in expenses necessary to support four courts, two of them at least with oriental magnificence; and the increased number of officials, augmented taxation to such an extent, that the last spark of life was nearly crushed out. The oppressive imposts were wrung from the taxpayers with violence. Industry sank beneath the burden. The desire to accumulate withered, for the government lay in wait for all savings. The people were content to procure from the soil only enough to satisfy their individual wants. The price

[1] See Seeley, l. c.

[2] Diocletian reserved to himself the eastern provinces, and reigned from Nicomedia over Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. To Maximian were entrusted Italy and Africa, with his court at Milan instead of Rome. Constantius, with his capital at Trèves, defended the Rhenish frontier with the provinces of Gaul, Spain and Britain to recruit his legions from. The defence of the Danubian frontier was committed to Galerius, with the provinces of Noricum, Pannonia, and Mœsia. He was established at Sirmium.

[3] Maximian, as ruler of Italy, had the baths of Diocletian constructed between the Viminal and Quirinal. Fragments of the ruins have been found in the southwest side of the Piazza delle Terme. It is related that as many as 40,000 Christians were compelled to work in constructing these baths.

[4] They were (1) under *Nero*, A. D. 64; (2) under *Domitian*, A. D. 95; (3) under *Trajan*, A. D. 106; (4) under *Marcus Aurelius*, A. D. 166; (5) *Severus*, A. D. 202; (6) under *Maximian*, A. D. 235; (7) under *Decius*, A. D. 250; (8) under *Valerian*, A. D. 258; (9) under *Aurelian*, A. D. 275; (10) under *Diocletian* and *Maximian*.

No. 7.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

IN THE TIME OF DIOCLETIAN

Scale of Miles

0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 English

Rha F.
Daix F.
SCYTHAE
R M A T I A
Borysthenes F.
Tanais
Palus Mæotis
Olbia
CAUCACUS MONSALBANUS
Cherronesus Taurica
BOSPORI
Abassi
Colchis
IBERIA
MARE CASPIUM
PONTUS EUXINUS
Trapezus
ARMENIA
MEDIA
ATROPATENE
MEDIA MAJOR
REGNUM PARTHORUM
Byzantium
Nicomedia
Amasia
BITHYNIA
Ancyra
GALATIA
CAPPADOCIA
Mysia
Phrygia
Lycaonia
Pisid.
Carrhæ
Zeugma
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates
Thapsacus
Susiane
Susa
Rhodus
Palmyra
Damascus
BABYLONIA
Judæa
Pelusium
ARABIA PETRÆA
ARABIA
Marmarica
AEGYPTUS
Atlas M.
ARABICUS SINUS
Fisk & See. N Y

of all commodities rose. An effort was made by an imperial edict[1] to fix the maximum prices of all necessaries of life throughout the empire.

5. Diocletian Abdicates.—In A. D. 305, the emperors resigned the government into the hands of the Cæsars. Diocletian returned to Dalmatia, his native country, and built a magnificent palace at Salona on the Adriatic coast.

ARCH OF CONSTANTINE. (IN ITS PRESENT CONDITION.)

6. Contest for the Empire (A. D. 305–324).—On the abdication of Diocletian and his colleague, the two Cæsars assumed the title of Augustus, and appointed two new Cæsars: Maximin, to whom Syria and Egypt were assigned, and Severus who ruled in Italy and Africa. Constantius died soon after at York (A. D. 306), and his son Constantine was proclaimed

[1] In 1826 Col. Leake discovered a copy of this edict (issued A. D. 303) at Stratonicea (*Eski-Hissar*), in Caria. A maximum price is fixed for oil, salt, honey, butchers' meat, poultry, game, fish, vegetables, fruit, clothes, boots and shoes, corn, wine and beer, the wages of laborers and artisans, schoolmasters and orators; meat which in the second century of the empire had been in Rome about two denarii per pound, was fixed at eight; the wages of agricultural laborers was twenty-five.—*Mommsen, Das Edict Diocl. de Pretiis Rerum Venalium*; also *Gibbon*, vol i., p. 440, note.

Cæsar by his legions against the wish of Galerius. A series of bloody wars followed, and Constantine having overcome all his competitors, became sole emperor.[1] He received the epithet of "Great," to which his success had well entitled him.

7. Military and Civil Powers Separated.—Under Diocletian the imperial power had been strengthened by sharing it with three able generals whom he attached to himself. The empire was firmly ruled from four centres—Nicomedia, Sirmium, Milan and Trèves,* while the undisputed ascendency of Diocletian retained all the advantages of unity. This plan enabled the empire to subdue and pacify her subject nationalities, and to surmount the great danger that threatened its existence—the tendency to break into fragments. Constantine completed the revolution begun by Diocletian. The tyranny of the *legati* was broken by separating the military power from the civil. Formerly, the *legatus* had at the same time been both a civil and military governor. Now the emperor alone possessed both civil and military power and the *legati* became civil governors. In this way the second danger was overcome, the formidable military governors were disarmed. The imagination of the people was dazzled by the establishment of a court with oriental magnificence, and their hearts were won by the alliance of the church with the state.

8. Reorganization of the Empire.—The whole empire was divided into four prefectures,[2] and these again subdivided

[1] In Rome, Maxentius, the son of Maximian, was declared emperor by the prætorians. Severus, who had been raised to the rank of "Augustus," undertook to conduct the war against Maxentius, but he was defeated and killed. Galerius sought to subdue the rebellion but he was compelled to retreat. For a time there were six Augusti: Galerius, Maximin and Licinius in the East, and Constantine Maximian and Maxentius in the West. First, Maximian trying to dethrone his son in Rome, was defeated and compelled to take refuge in Gaul, where he was killed by Constantine in A. D 310. Galerius died in A. D. 311. Maxentius was defeated in A. D. 312 by Constantine in the battle of Turin, and as he was attempting to escape to Rome over the Milvian bridge (*Ponte Molle*) he was forced into the Tiber and drowned. The Roman senate decreed games and festivals, and had a triumphal arch erected in memory of the victory. It is adorned with admirable sculptures, stripped from the arch of Trajan. The basilica of Constantine was erected by Maxentius. Maximin was defeated in A. D. 313 by Licinius at Adrianople, and died in the flight. There remained only Licinius and Constantine. After a long and bloody struggle, Licinius being defeated at Adrianople and Chalcedon, Constantine remained sole emperor (A. D. 324).

* Augusta Treverorum.

[2] The four prefectures were those of (1) *Gaul*, comprising the western provinces; (2) *Italy*, extending northward beyond the Alps and southward to the Atlas and Sahara; (3) *Illyricum*, containing the countries between the Danube, the Ægean and Adriatic; (4) the *East*, embracing all the Asiatic provinces. For a list of the 120 provinces and their organization in the year 400 A. D., see pp. xxix. and xxx. At

into thirteen dioceses, consisting of one hundred and twenty provinces.* The military power was entrusted to a master of the cavalry (*magister equitum*) and a master of the infantry (*magister peditum*), under whom were counts (*comites*) and dukes (*duces*); the civil power was committed to four prætorian prefects, and to the so-called vicars (*vicarii*) of the dioceses, and to the consulars, presidents, proconsulars and correctors (*correctores*) of the provinces.

9. The Capital; Taxation; The Army.—For a long time the progress of civilization had been toward the East. This tendency Constantine recognized by transferring his residence to Byzantium, which henceforth received the name of Constantinople. By transferring the seat of government to the East, the degradation of Rome[1] became complete. Even the seat of the western empire was at Milan. The new capital was fortified with walls and towers, embellished with palaces and churches, and decorated with the fairest treasures of art. There were two senates and a multitude of senators scattered throughout the empire. The number of legions was increased from thirty-one to one hundred and thirty-two, while the strength of each was decreased to about fifteen hundred men. The whole army, mostly recruited from barbarian tribes, under two commanders, later under four, occupied seven hundred and eighty-three permanent stations on the frontiers. In order to support this new government, a galling system of taxation was necessary. The taxes were raised by the old method.[2]

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the court were seven chief officers (1) the Grand Chamberlain (*præpositus sacri cubiculi*); (2) the Chancellor (*magister officiorum*); (3) the Quæstor (*quæstor sacri cubiculi*); (4) the Treasurer General (*comes sacrarum largitionum*); (5) the Treasurer of the Privy Purse (*comes rerum privatarum*); (6 and 7) the commanders of the body-guard of infantry and cavalry (*comites domesticorum equitum et peditum*). Each of these had a large number of attendants and officials under him, each of whom, as well as all who came in contact with him, was declared holy (*sacri*), and any injury to one of them was regarded as high treason. A system of graduated titles was introduced, composed of three ranks, (1) the *illustrious* (*illustres*), (2) the *respectable* (*spectabiles*), and the *honorable* (*clarissimi*). Those who had not been raised to the senatorial rank had the title of *perfectissimi* or *egregii;* the senators were *clarissimi;* the two other titles were reserved for the higher officials.

[1] From a description of the city written about A. D. 312, we know that Rome had 6 obelisks, 8 bridges, 11 baths, 856 bath-rooms, 19 aqueducts (4 now in use), 2 circuses, 2 amphitheatres, 3 theatres, 4 gladiatorial schools, 36 triumphal arches. There were 423 streets, 1790 palaces, 46,602 dwelling-houses. From the 37 gates diverged 28 roads.—*Friedländer*, l. c., vol. i., p. 12 f.

[2] The land-tax, poll-tax, tax on trades, indirect taxes, custom dues, forced contributions; it is not certain that Constantine added others.

* See map, No. 8.

10. Christianity the State Religion.—The most important change that Constantine introduced was the adoption of Christianity as the state religion. Constantine related to his biographer Eusebius, that while marching from Gaul at the head of his legions, he beheld in the heavens a luminous cross with this inscription, *By this conquer* (*τούτῳ νίκα*). In consequence of this vision he made a standard for the whole army the *labarum* after the pattern of the cross. In A.D. 313 the celebrated Milan decree was issued which gave the imperial license to the religion of the Christians. When Constantine became sole ruler, he openly declared in favor of Christianity. The favor that Constantine bestowed upon the Christians was dictated by policy; for he hoped to secure their support in the contest with his rival. Just as Augustus had based his empire on a revival of the Pagan faith, so Constantine accepted the Christian, and sought to effect a union between church and state. The efforts of Constantine to bring into harmony the Christian, and Pagan faiths were unsuccessful. He could not keep even the Christians in agreement with one another. In A. D. 325 the first general council of the representatives of the church at Nicæa (*Nice*) met to decide the controversy between Arius and Athanasius.

11. Character of Constantine.—Constantine's character was not free from serious faults. He had Licinius and his own son put to death. His religion was a strange mixture between Christianity and Paganism. He worshipped Pagan divinities, consulted the haruspices, and indulged in Pagan superstitions. The reforms of Constantine were of great importance, because they changed entirely the character of the government. The power of the senate was gone forever, and the restrictions of the old constitutional government disappeared. Constantine created a new senate and a new hierarchy of officers, which became the prototype for the graduated scale of nobility of Europe. His military talents and powers of organization were great. On the Rhenish and Danubian frontiers he drove back the Germans and the Sarmatians, and at the time of his death was about to conduct a campaign against the Persians.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

The Gradual Dissolution of the Empire—The Reunion of the East and the West.

1. Bloody Warfare.—Constantine had divided the empire among his three sons, Constantine, Constans, and Constantius. After several years of bloody warfare Constantius (A. D. 353–361) gained the sovereignty. While he was engaged in the East, he sent Julian, whom he had named Cæsar, to protect Gaul from the Alemanni and the Franks, who had overrun the whole province. Julian drove them out of the country, led three expeditions across the Rhine, and ravaged Germany far and wide. On his return he was proclaimed emperor, and marched against his rival to maintain his cause. A civil war was prevented by the death of Constantius.

2. Julian (A. D. 361–363).—Julian had been educated by the Platonic philosophers, and was a pagan by conviction. He attempted to destroy Christianity by directing against its professors every weapon of petty persecution. He discharged the superfluous officers, improved the administration, and tightened the reins of discipline in the army. He was a brave soldier. He undertook a campaign against the Persians, and attempted to make Babylonia a Roman province. He fell while trying to effect a retreat from the Tigris, and was succeeded by *Jovian* (A. D. 363–4), whose reign is remarkable for nothing except the disgraceful peace which he concluded with the Persians.

3. Division of the Empire.—Jovian was succeeded by *Valentinian* (A. D. 364–375), who resigned the East to his brother *Valens* (A. D. 364–378), while he took upon himself the defence of the Rhenish and Danubian frontiers.[1] Valentinian was killed

[1] With his court first at Milan, afterwards at Trèves, in order to conduct the war against the Alemanni.

in a campaign against the Quadi and the Sarmatians, and the Empire of the West fell to his son Gratian (A.D. 375–383.)

4. Invasion of the Huns.—While Valens was ruling in the East, the Huns appeared on the Danube and defeated the Visigoths,[1] who, being hard-pressed, obtained permission in A.D. 376 to cross the Danube and settle in Mœsia. But the Goths being provoked by ill-treatment from the Roman officials, seized their arms and defeated the Romans at Marcianople and Adrianople (A.D. 378), and slew Valens.

5. Gratian (A.D. 375–383).—Gratian, who had succeeded Valentinian, feeling unable to cope with the new foe, placed, in A.D. 379, the East under the superintendence of the brave *Theodosius* (A.D. 379), who has justly been called the Great. Partly by successful battles, partly by negotiation, he succeeded in reducing the Visigoths (A.D. 382) and afterwards the Ostrogoths (A.D. 386) to subjection and settled them in Mœsia, Thrace, Asia Minor and Illyricum, and admitted forty thousand of them into the Roman army.

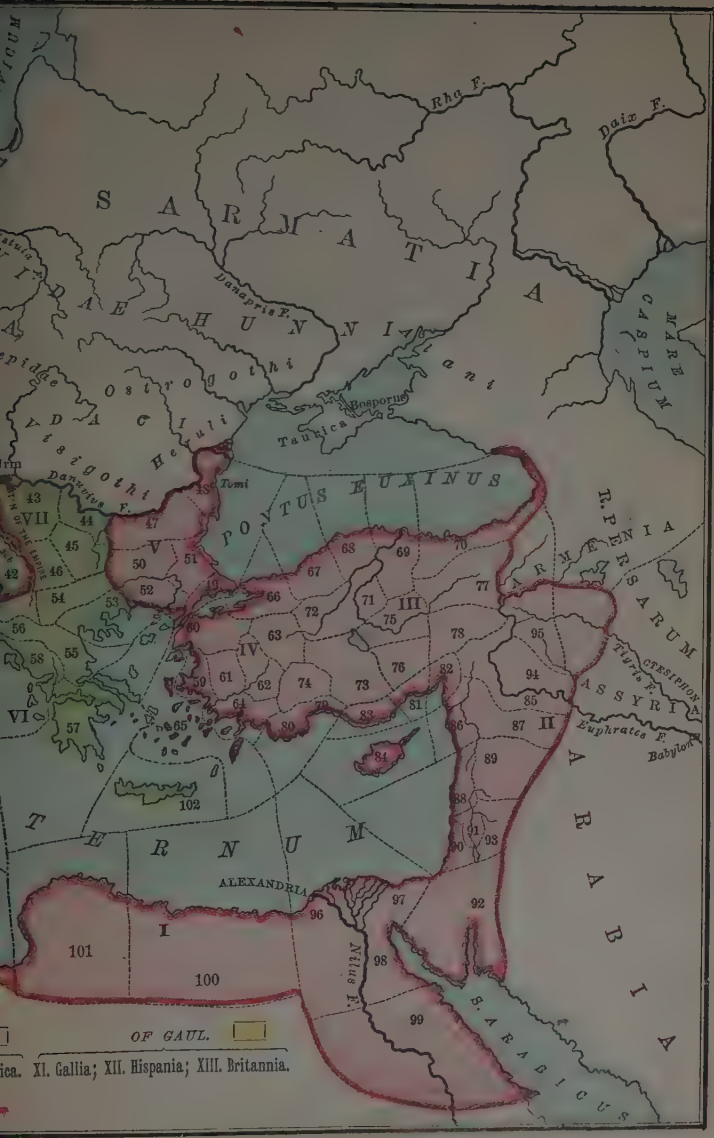
6. Theodosius.—In the West, Gratian was killed by *Maximus* (A.D. 383–388); and *Valentinian II.* (A.D. 388–392), who had succeeded Gratian, as well as *Eugenius* (A.D. 392–394) were conquered and put to death by Theodosius (A.D. 374). As sole emperor (A.D. 394–5) Theodosius repelled the barbarians and strengthened the frontier. On his death the empire was divided between his two sons *Arcadius* and *Honorius;* the former was under the guidance of Rufinus and the latter that of Stilicho. This division of the empire is of importance, for it was the recognition of a tendency that had long been at work. Henceforth there existed a jealousy between the East and the West. The barbarians were often treated with by the Eastern emperor and induced to turn their arms against the West. From this time dates the establishment of the Eastern Empire, which existed from the reign of Arcadius (A.D. 395)[2] to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in A.D. 1453.

[1] When the Visigoths (Western Goths) entered the empire, the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths) pressed forward to fill their vacant room.

[2] Date of the final division of the empire; the frontier line followed up the Savus about 60 miles from Belgrade, thence up the Drinus to its source, and then across the mountains to Lissus. See map.

No. 8.

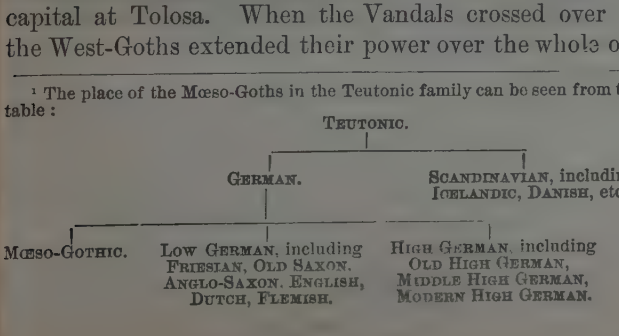
OCEANUS ATLANTICUS
OCEANUS GERMANICUS
M A R E
Gaetulia
Britannia
Hibernia
Gallia
Germania
Italia
Sicilia
Sardinia
Corsica
Londinium
Lugdunum
Alamanni
Burgundiones
Chatti
Thuringi
Langobardi
Suevi
Dacia
Macedonia
Thracia
Asia
Pontus
Aegyptus
Cyrenaica
Africa
Numidia
Mauretania
Tingitana
Caesariensis
Tripolitana
Byzacena
Proconsularis
Hispania
Lusitania
Baetica
Tarraconensis
Gallaecia
Vindelicia
Noricum
Pannonia
Moesia
Achaia
Epirus
Creta
Cyprus
Palaestina
Arabia
Mesopotamia
Syria
Cilicia
Isauria
Lycaonia
Galatia
Pamphylia
Lycia
Phrygia
Pisidia
Asia
Bithynia
Paphlagonia
Pontus
Armenia
Cappadocia
Osrhoëne
Assyria
Arabia
Aegyptus
Thebais
Libya
Arcadia
Valentia
Britannia
Maxima Caesariensis
Flavia Caesariensis
Britannia Prima
Britannia Secunda
Germania Prima
Germania Secunda
Belgica Prima
Belgica Secunda
Alpes Maritimae
Alpes Cottiae
Raetia Prima
Raetia Secunda
Pannonia Prima
Pannonia Secunda
Savia
Dalmatia
Moesia Prima
Dacia Ripensis
Moesia Secunda
Thracia
Haemimontus
Rhodope
Europa
Insulae
Creta
Cyprus
Palaestina Prima
Palaestina Secunda
Palaestina Salutaris
Arabia
Phoenice Libanensis
Phoenice Maritima
Syria Coele
Euphratensis
Cilicia Prima
Cilicia Secunda
Isauria
Lycaonia
Galatia Prima
Galatia Salutaris
Pamphylia
Lycia
Phrygia Pacatiana
Phrygia Salutaris
Pisidia
Lydia
Asia
Hellespontus
Bithynia
Honorias
Paphlagonia
Pontus Polemoniacus
Armenia Minor
Cappadocia Prima
Cappadocia Secunda
Osrhoëne
Mesopotamia
Assyria
Augustamnica Prima
Augustamnica Secunda
Aegyptus Prima
Aegyptus Secunda
Thebais
Libya Superior
Libya Inferior


SARMATIA
DACIA
HUNNI
Rhg F.
Daix F.
Danaprис F.
Ostrogothi
Visigothi
Taurica
Bosporus
MARE CASPIUM
PONTUS EUXINUS
ARMENIA
PERSARUM
ASSYRIA
Tigris F.
Euphrates F.
Babylon
Ctesiphon
ARABIA
ALEXANDRIA
Nilus F.
SARABICUS
OF GAUL.
ica. XI. Gallia; XII. Hispania; XIII. Britannia.

7. Stilicho.—In A. D. 398 the Goths of Mœsia and Thrace revolted under Alaric; but instead of being repressed by the Eastern emperor, Arcadius made Alaric general over Eastern Illyricum. The invasion of the West that followed was attributed to the connivance of the Eastern emperor, who turned the Goths[1] towards Italy in order to save his own territories. The brave Stilicho checked the invaders, finally defeating them in A. D. 403 near Pollentia and Verona, and compelling *Alaric* their leader to retreat. In A. D. 405 the Vandals, Suevi, Alani, and Burgundians, under the leadership of Rhadagaisus, were defeated near Florence and almost totally annihilated. The remnant of the barbarian army crossed the Alps, and plundered Gaul. From this time (A. D. 406) dates the final severance of Gaul from the Roman empire. The Sueves, Alans and Vandals, who gave their names to the province of *Vandal*usia (or Andalusia) passed into Spain (A.D. 409), while the Burgundians founded the kingdom of Burgundy. About the same time (A.D. 418) the kingdom of the Franks was founded by Pharamand. In A.D. 408 Alaric reappeared. Stilicho had fallen, having been sacrificed to the jealousy of the emperor. Rome was besieged, and only saved by paying an enormous ransom (A.D. 409).

8. Sack of Rome by Alaric.—In A. D. 410 Alaric returned for the third time. Rome was taken and sacked, and Southern Italy overrun. His successor, Adolphus, concluded a treaty with Honorius by which the Goths settled in Gaul. His successor, Wallia, drove the Vandals and Alans beyond the Sierra Morena, and founded the West-Gothic kingdom with its capital at Tolosa. When the Vandals crossed over to Africa the West-Goths extended their power over the whole of Spain.

[1] The place of the Mœso-Goths in the Teutonic family can be seen from the following table:


TEUTONIC.
GERMAN.
SCANDINAVIAN, including ICELANDIC, DANISH, etc.
MŒSO-GOTHIC.
LOW GERMAN, including FRIESIAN, OLD SAXON. ANGLO-SAXON. ENGLISH, DUTCH, FLEMISH.
HIGH GERMAN, including OLD HIGH GERMAN, MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN, MODERN HIGH GERMAN.

9. Tendency of the Empire to Break into Fragments.—About the same time Britain (A.D. 418) broke away from the empire. Gaul and Spain soon afterwards were lost. Illyricum and Pannonia were overrun by Goths. Africa was wrested from the empire by the barbarian Genseric. Honorius died in A.D. 423, and was succeeded by Valentinian III. (A.D. 425–455) with Ætius, "the last of the Romans," as his minis-

ter. During his reign the Huns, under *Attila*, who called himself "the Scourge of God," crossed the Rhine and entered the empire. Being defeated by the West-Goths and the Franks under the leadership of Ætius at Châlons (A.D. 451), they invaded Italy the next year and spread desolation and ruin over the whole plain of the Po. Padua, Verona, and Aquileja were destroyed, and the inhabitants fled to the islands of the Veneti,

and laid the foundation of Venice. The chief kingdoms that were founded by the followers of Attila were that of the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, that of the Gepidæ in Dacia, and that of the Heruli in Dalmatia.

10. Sack of Rome by Genseric.—Valentinian was murdered by Maximus, who lost his life the same year in the sack of Rome by the Vandals under Genseric (A. D. 455). The vessels of the barbarians were heaped with gold and silver treasures, and with the ornaments from the temples and the forum. The capitol was stripped of its gilded tiles, and the golden candlesticks that Titus had brought from Jerusalem were taken to Africa.

11. Count Ricimer.—Maximus was followed by Avitus (A. D. 455–6), but the latter was soon compelled to abdicate by Count Ricimer, who commanded the foreign troops in the pay of Rome. Ricimer created and deposed emperors until A. D. 472. During this time Italy was subjected to incessant depredations, so that Ricimer applied to Leo, the emperor of the East, for aid. On the death of Ricimer Leo appointed Nepos emperor, but Orestes, who had obtained the title of patrician, which ranked next to the emperor, deprived Nepos of the royal purple and gave it to his son Romulus Augustulus. Odoacer, by whose aid Orestes had defended the empire. demanded pay for his mercenaries, and, according to the custom of the barbarians, one third of the land of Italy. When this was refused, Odoacer gathered the barbarian forces throughout Italy. Orestes was shut up in Pavia and killed in the assault upon the city. Augustulus was compelled to abdicate, and was permitted to retire with an ample revenue to the villa of Lucullus in Campania. The senate sent a deputation to the Eastern emperor Zeno to represent that there was no longer any need of a separate emperor for the West, and entreated him to confer the administration of the Italian provinces[1] on Odoacer. He granted what he could not refuse, and Odoacer[2] with the title of patrician ruled Italy as the vicar of the Eastern emperor.

[1] See list of Italian provinces, p. xxii.

[2] After a reign of fourteen years Odoacer was compelled to yield his throne to Theodoric, who founded the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy.

12. Reunion of the East and the West.—The East and the West were once more united, and for more than three centuries the empire was ruled from Byzantium instead of Rome. The year A. D. 476, often mistaken as the date of the fall of the Roman empire, only marked the reunion of the West with the East. It was not till later times that this year became such an important epoch. The consequences of this reunion, however, in emancipating the popes from the authority of the emperors, in hastening the development of a Latin as opposed to Greek and oriental forms of Christianity, and in bringing the Teutonic ruler of the West under the power of the popes, were from the first very great.[1] The form of government—the Roman emperor, the consuls, the senate—still existed, and the people cherished the delusion that the barbarian king was only the vicar of the absent emperor.[2] For more than three centuries a single emperor ruled the world.

CHAPTER LXIX.

The Internal History—The Fall of the Western Empire—Christianity the State Religion.

1. The Fall of the Empire.—It is important to remember that the history of the Western Roman empire did not terminate with the year A. D. 476. Legally it had no extinction; the seat of the civil government was simply transferred to Byzantium. The imperial government had been established to protect the frontier and to promote peace and security in Italy and the provinces.[3] Different emperors

[1] Bryce, Holy Rom. Empire, p. 26.

[2] There is no ancient authority for the common statement that Odoacer assumed the title of "king of Italy"; he reigned as king over his own people. For mediæval history it is important to remember that the line of emperors never ceased; that from A. D. 476 to 800, the time when Charles the Great assumed the empire, the Byzantine emperor was always in theory, often in practice, the recognized head of Rome and Italy.

[3] Odoacer reigned 18 years. His followers were mere predatory tribes. No progress was made in reorganizing society until Theodoric, the king of the Ostrogoths (A. D. 490),

erected barriers against the invasion of the barbarians on the frontiers, and, if we except the forays on the Rhine, the peace of the Roman world was not broken until the time of Marcus Aurelius. In the next century the barbarians appeared in powerful confederacies[1] on every frontier, but the empire, strengthened by the reforms of Diocletian, rallied and appeared stronger in the fourth than in the third century. The Huns, Goths, Vandals, Alani, and Franks, hurled themselves in ceaseless succession upon the frontiers, broke their barriers, and poured in a resistless torrent over the Western provinces. Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Africa were sundered from the empire, and the fair plains of Italy were desolated by host after host. Rome was taken and sacked. Her temples were stripped of their ornaments, and finally Italy fell to the position of a province, and its government was assumed by the Eastern emperor.

2. Causes of the Fall of the Empire.—This is what is usually called the fall of the Western empire. The empire was matched in war with the barbarians, and the barbarians conquered.[2] The cause of the inability of the empire to cope with the barbarians is usually ascribed to the degeneracy of the Romans and the enervating effect of luxury. This reason, however, is unsatisfactory, for the luxury of the capital did not reach the armies on the frontiers. They were levied from the peasantry, and were composed of the 'salt of the old Roman world.' Besides, the Roman armies held their own with remarkable bravery. Julian drove the Alemanni across the Rhine; Theodosius quelled the Goths; Stilicho repulsed Alaric; and Ætius, "the last of the Romans," defeated Attila at Châlons. The empire perished because the constant decline in population[3] rendered it impossible to keep a native army on foot. Cæsar had perceived this danger, and he first taught the Romans to

although professing allegiance to the Eastern emperor, attempted to establish a national monarchy and unite the peoples under the laws and policy of ancient Rome. His success awoke the jealousy of Justinian, the Eastern emperor, who determined to reassert his right in the West. Italy was divided into counties and dukedoms, and ruled from Vienna by the viceroy of Justinian.

[1] See p. 482, note 2.

[2] Seeley, l. c., p. 48.

[3] The population of Rome before the plague in A.D. 167 was about 2 millions. Beloch estimates it in the time of Severus at only 125,000.

protect the frontiers by artificial ramparts, to colonize the nearest barbarian tribes in order that the first blow might fall on them and perhaps be repelled, and to recruit the Roman army from the enemies' country. Under the empire the army became a barbarian horde, commanded sometimes by barbarian chiefs. Stilicho was a Vandal, and Ætius a Sarmatian. Ricimer made or unmade emperors at his pleasure. Whole tribes—the Vandals in Pannonia, the Goths in Mœsia, the Franks along the Rhine—were admitted within the empire. The barbarians really settled and occupied the empire rather than conquered it. Italy attracted the spoilers. Here the same policy was tried that had proved fatal in the provinces. The defence of Italy was committed to a barbarian army commanded by barbarian chiefs. At last these chiefs learned their strength. Odoacer determined to exert it and have Italy for himself. Although the empty title and office of emperor of the West were abolished, still such was the halo of greatness that gathered round the imperial name, that Odoacer refrained from grasping the sceptre in his own hands, but remained satisfied with the title of patrician, and he ruled the West as the viceroy of the Eastern emperor.

3. Character of the Barbarians.—All the barbarians who acted a prominent part in plundering Italy and the provinces, must not be looked upon as savages. They had long ceased to be mere destroyers. In their intercourse with the Romans for many centuries, they had received Christianity and many of the elements of civilization, and had learned to understand and speak the popular dialects[1] of the country, which already resembled the Italian more than the Latin; they were just as civilized as our ancestors were in the middle ages. A few of them had a shadow of classical education, as Theodoric the Visigoth, and the younger Alaric, but the case was quite different with Ricimer and his equals, who no doubt heartily despised the culture of the Romans.[2] The Germans particularly, although like the others, faithless and cruel, still had

[1] *Lingua vulgaris.* [2] Neibuhr, l. c.; Pritchard, Hist. of Man, vol. iii, p. 423.

great regard for the rights of men and paid great respect to the female sex. It was these traits of character among the Germans and the Goths which, when enlightened by Christianity, distinguished the age of chivalry and romance.

4. The Romance Languages.—The six so-called Romance languages—Italian, Wallachian, Provençal, French, Spanish, and Portuguese—are all derived from the Latin or rather from the ancient Italian. Although we can trace these six languages back to the Latin, still the classical Latin would fail to supply a complete explanation of their origin. The ingredients for these languages must be sought in the ancient dialects of Italy and the provinces—the Umbrian, the Oscan, in the so-called vulgar or popular speech—which the barbarians who settled in the empire adopted, and engrafted upon them their own idioms, phrases, and constructions. The French, then, is provincial Latin, as spoken by the Franks, a Teutonic race.[1] It must, however, be remembered that the Romance languages did not spring from the classical Latin, but from the vulgar, local, provincial dialects of the middle, the lower, and the lowest classes of the Roman empire. Many of the words which give to French and Italian their classical appearance, are really of much later date, and were incorporated into those languages by mediæval scholars, lawyers and divines.[2]

[1] If a German speaks a foreign tongue he commits certain mistakes which a Frenchman never would commit, and *vice versa*. A German speaking would be inclined to say: *to bring a sacrifice;* a Frenchman would never make that mistake. A Frenchman, on the contrary, is apt to say, that he cannot attend any longer. Englishmen, traveling abroad, have been heard to call for *wächter*, meaning waiter; they have declared, in German, *Ich habe einen grossen Geist Sie nieder zu klopfen*, meaning they had a great mind to knock a person down. No Roman would express the idea of entertaining or amusing by *intertenere*. Such an expression would have conveyed no meaning to Cicero or Cæsar. The Germans, however, were accustomed to the idiomatic use of *unterhalten*, and when they had to make themselves understood in Latin, they rendered *unter* by *inter*, *halten* by *tenere*, and thus formed *entretenir*, a word owned neither by Latin nor German. *Gegend*, in German, means region or country. It signifies originally that which is before or against, what forms the object of view. Now in Latin *gegen*, or against, would be expressed by *contra*, and the German, not recollecting at once the Latin word *regio*, took to translating their idea of *Gegend*, that which was before them, by *contratum*, or *terra contrata*. This became the Italian *contrada*, the French *contrée*, the English *country*. These mistakes grammarians call Germanisms, Gallicisms, or Anglicisms. Now the Germans who came to settle in Italy and Gaul, and who learnt to express themselves in Latin, committed precisely these mistakes. The Roman subjects did the best they could to understand the Latin jargon, and, if they wished to be very polite, they would repeat the mistake which their masters had committed. In this manner the most ungrammatical, the most unidiomatic phrases would, after a time, become current in the vulgar speech. (Max Müller, l. c., vol. ii, p. 305 ff.)

[2] Max Müller, l. c., vol. i, p. 222 ff.

5. Philosophy and Religion.—In order to understand what form of Paganism prevailed in the empire when Christianity became the state religion, we must briefly review the changes that have been made in the national worship since the compromise effected between Greek philosophy and Stoicism, in the days of the republic. Under the empire the old prejudices against philosophy and foreign forms of worship died out. Then the various forms of oriental superstition —the worship of the Syrian sun-god, of Isis and Serapis— Persian and Egyptian mysticism, and various forms of secret and unhallowed worship, found their way to Rome. The philosophers eliminated certain elements common to all these systems of religion, and combined them with the most visionary part of Plato's philosophy.[1] The native gods lost their power, and the people became perplexed with the multitude of new gods. The result was that the people selected a certain number of gods—among which Jupiter, the god of the clear sky, and the old Italian sun-god held the first rank—whom they thought best able to help them in their distress. Paganism in its last form returned to what perhaps was its oldest form, and became sun-worship.[2]

6. Revival of Paganism.—During the revolutionary age the calamities and miseries—the plague, the unparalleled political disasters, the *fiscus*, which destroyed all capital and with it all desire to accumulate—compelled men to be religious, for religious feeling is always strong in proportion to the sense of weakness. Men in their distress filled the temples in the vain hope that piety might avert the impending calamities. If we pass over the revolutionary age, we find that a great change had taken place. The people who in the age of the Antonines were alike indifferent to every form of philosophy, have become intensely religious. "Free-will asserted itself again, and acts of

[1] Apulejus tried to bring this new system (Neoplatonism) into conformity with the national religion, by calling the demons (who were supposed to hold intercourse with men and whose interventions explained the mysteries of the world) *lares* and *manes* and *genii*. This device succeeded, in a measure, and the new philosophy gained acceptance among the higher classes.

[2] See Preller, Römische Mythologie, p. 26, also Seeley, l. c., p. 91.

free choice were done. The government was none the less despotic, but free-will made terms with the victorious power of government and accepted a fraction, but a secure fraction, of its original possessions. A distinction was introduced like that which we now recognize between political and social life. In political life, despotism reigned with more undisputed title than ever, and was more remorselessly cruel. But from social life despotism was almost expelled." [1]

7. Progress of Christianity.—We have already spoken of the entrance of Christianity into the Roman empire, and the fact that it found its first converts among the slaves and freedmen. Since that time Christianity had made great progress, and had found favor with many of higher rank. In the beginning of the second century, Pliny [2] speaks of the Christians as a well-known class, and the laws [3] against them as well understood. The revival of religion during the revolutionary age was felt in the action of the government against the Christians. It was in the name of religion [4] that Decius and Aurelian assailed the Christians. In the time of Diocletian, the Christians had become so numerous that his edict commanding them to offer sacrifices was resisted throughout the empire.

8. Christianity the State Religion.—Constantine, though personally indifferent to every form of religion, had the acuteness to perceive that Christianity was a great power in the state, and in order to conciliate the favor of its followers, he issued an edict,[5] licensing the religion of the Christians, and promising them his favor and protection. After his success in the field, Constantine recognized the rights of Christians, and protected their churches.[6] Still, he did not break with Pagan-

[1] Seeley, l. c., 89.

[2] He was governor of Bithynia in A. D. 111–113.

[3] *Secundum mandata tua hetærias vetueram.*

[4] It is a mistake to suppose that Christianity made the Roman world religious; it was intensely religious before Christianity had become the state religion.

[5] The Edict of Milan, A. D. 313.

[6] From this age dates the rise of that form of architecture, which was modelled upon the Roman *basilica*, in which the main body of the building (the *nave*, so-called from its resemblance to the interior of a ship, *navis*) accommodated those assembled for pleasure or business; the *aisle* (alæ, *wings*), divided from the nave by pillars, afforded freer passage as well as retirement from the crowd; while the semicircular end (*apse*) was for the prætor and those who appeared before his tribunal. In the churches these divisions became the *nave*, *aisles*, and *choir*. The two oldest and finest examples of Christian basilicæ were those of St. Peter, built by Constantine (on the site of the present St. Peter's), and St. Paul, built by Honorius.

ism. He was chief pontiff of Jupiter, and even looked forward to being himself enrolled among the objects of national worship. He was unwilling to make any distinction [1] between his Pagan and Christian subjects, or to establish Christianity by any formal act. Still, by the edict of toleration, and by practising the forms of Christian worship himself, Constantine encouraged his subjects to embrace something better than the Sun-worship. The forms of Paganism had waxed old and were ready to vanish. It was well that it was so; it was well that "the Roman empire, searching eagerly to find a religion, discovered in its own bosom a worship which had the two things which the age demanded—a supernatural pretension and an ideal of moral goodness." [2]

[1] The retention of the old Pagan name of *Dies solis*, or Sunday, for the weekly Christian festival, is in great measure owing to the union of Pagan and Christian sentiment, with which the first day of the week was recommended by Constantine to his subjects, Pagan and Christian alike, as the "venerable day of the sun." His decree regulating its observance has justly been called a new era in the history of the Lord's Day. It was his mode of harmonizing the discordant religions of the empire under one common institution.—*Dean Stanley, Eastern Church*, p. 193. [2] Seeley, l. c., 95.

SUMMARY.

First Period of Imperialism—B. C. 31–A. D. 180.

Extent of the Empire.

Reign of Augustus, B.C. 31–A.D. 14.

Powers Conferred on Augustus.

When Augustus became sole ruler, the Roman empire extended from the Atlantic ocean to the Euphrates on the east, and from the British channel, the German ocean, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euxine on the north to the African desert on the south. Augustus carefully avoided every title that could give offence to the people. The senate was raised in general estimation, and on its dignity he founded his government. While avoiding all show and grandeur and discarding every title, even the name of dictator, that had any unpleasant recollections attached to it, he managed to grasp within his own hands all the offices of the state that had any real power attached to them. As imperator he had the proconsular power or command of the armies; as president of the senate he guided the councils of that body; as consul and censor, he had the powers attached to these offices, and finally the tribunitian power and the chief pontificate were added.

Police Measures.

Augustus restored order in Italy and the provinces. Nine prætorian cohorts kept order in Rome and Italy. To these must be added the regular and special police force in the city.

Campaigns.

During the reign of Augustus campaigns were carried on against the tribes in northern Spain, as well as those of the Eastern Alps—the Rhætians and Vindelitians, and those on the Rhenish[1] and Danubian frontiers.

Defeat of Varus, A.D. 9.

The last years of the emperor's life were clouded by a defeat in Germany under Varus.

Extension of the Empire.

During the reign of Augustus several important provinces were added to the empire—Egypt, the granary of the empire, Rhætia, Noricum, Pannonia and Mœsia. Under his successors, the boundaries of the empire were still further extended. Cappadocia and Germania, acquired by Tiberius; Britain, by Claudius; Mauritania Tingitana, Mauritania Cæsariensis, by Gajus Cæsar; Alpes Cottiæ and Thrace (A.D. 46), under Nero; and Arabia (A. D. 105), Dacia (A. D. 107), Armenia (A. D. 114), Mesopotamia (A. D. 115) and Assyria (A.D. 115), by Trajan.

Period of Good Government.

During the first period of imperialism, the forms of the constitution were generally observed. Some emperors—as Tiberius and Nero—by reviving the law of Majestas, and the encouragement they gave to 'informers,' were cruel tyrants; the weight of their tyranny, however, fell chiefly on the city, while the provinces were ably governed.

Prosperity.

Under Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, the government was wisely and honestly administered, and the empire reached a high state of prosperity. The city of Rome was adorned with magnificent structures, while roads, harbors, bridges, aqueducts and buildings were constructed in the provinces.

Transition Period—A. D. 180–284.

Period of Anarchy.

During this period the prosperity of the empire declined rapidly. The remnants of the old republican government disappeared. The soldiers deserted and either settled among the provincials, or formed themselves into banditti and ravaged the country. Population declined, morality decreased, patriotism died out, provinces seemed on the point of breaking away from the empire, the internal administration was neglected, the soldiery made and unmade emperors, and the empire seemed tottering to its fall.

Mutinous Soldiery.

Diocletian, A. D. 284–305.

When Diocletian ascended the throne, he restored the discipline in the army and introduced reforms that enabled the empire to exist for many centuries.

[1] The principal towns on the Rhenish frontier were Colonia Agrippinensis (*Cologne*), Bonna (*Bonn*), Ad Confluentes (*Coblentz*), Mogontiacum (*Mayence*), Borbetomagus (*Worms*), Argentoratum (*Strasburg*), and Augusta Rauracorum (*Basle*).

Second Period of Imperialism—A. D. 284–476.

Reforms of Diocletian.

Diocletian's first act was to associate Maximian with himself as ruler, under the title of 'Augustus.' Then two 'Cæsars,' who were to stand to the *Augusti* as sons and successors, were created to rule the more unsettled provinces. This arrangement secured the throne against a vacancy, and thus deprived the soldiers of the power of making or unmaking emperors at their pleasure. Throughout the empire anarchy was repressed, and the prætorians were diminished in numbers and made to feel the restraints of discipline.

Reforms Completed by Constantine.

The reforms begun by Diocletian were completed by Constantine. The prætorians were abolished, a court on the oriental plan was organized, and a graduated system of titles introduced. The army was reorganized, the military power was taken from the *legati* and reserved for the emperor.

The New Capital.

By transferring the capital to the East, and by the creation of a new senate, Constantine broke away from the restraints which the senate had hitherto exercised on the authority of the emperor, and freed himself from the restrictions which the old constitution imposed upon him. The government was converted into an oriental despotism.

Christianity.

Constantine showed favor to the Christians, granted them the free exercise of their religion, and by dis-associating the government with Paganism, he founded it to a certain extent on Christianity.

Disadvantages of these Changes.

The empire, strengthened by these reforms, rallied and continued its existence for several centuries. The creation of several co-ordinate rulers was a source of numerous quarrels, and the partition of the empire into præfectures increased the tendency to break into fragments. Constantine was hardly dead before a series of bloody wars commenced between his appointed successors. The empire was soon divided. A jealousy sprang up between the East and the West. The Eastern emperor often turned the barbarians towards the West, in order to save his own dominions. Rome was sacked by Alaric (A.D. 410) and Genseric (A.D. 455). The western provinces were overrun by the barbarians, the army became a barbaric horde, and province after province broke from the empire, until finally Italy alone was left. This also the barbarians determined to possess. The emperor was deposed, and Odoacer, the barbarian chief, ruled Italy as the viceroy of the Eastern emperor.

Dissolution of the Empire, A.D. 337–476.

Reunion of the East and the West, A.D. 476.

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With copious extracts from the leading authors, English and American. With full Instructions as to the Method in which these are to be studied. Adapted for use in Colleges, High Schools, Academies, etc. By BRAINERD KELLOGG, A.M., Professor of the English Language and Literature in the Brooklyn Collegiate and Polytechnic Institute, Author of a "Text-Book on Rhetoric," and one of the Authors of Reed & Kellogg's "Graded Lessons in English," and "Higher Lessons in English." Handsomely printed. 12mo, 478 pp.

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